



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

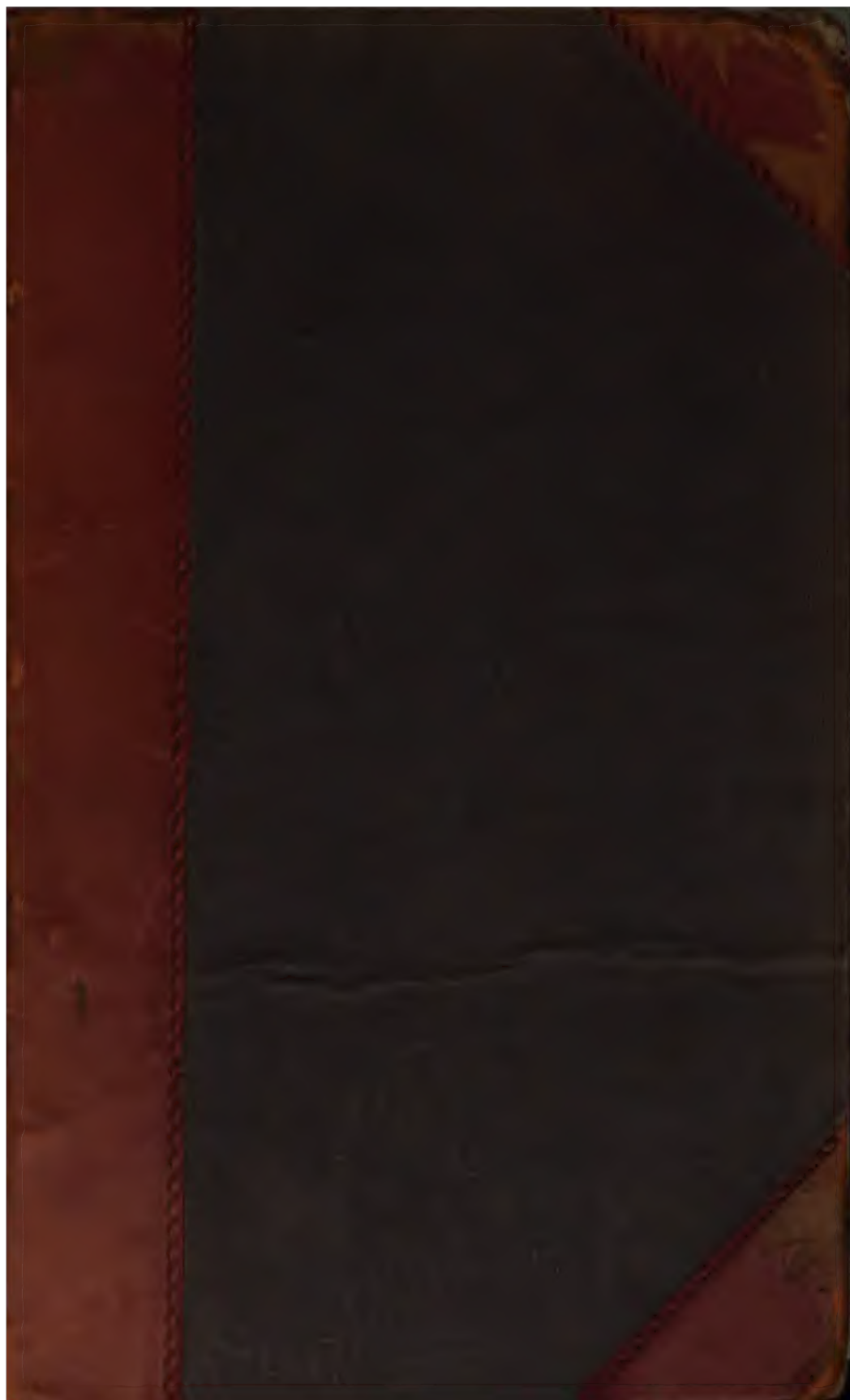
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







600031489V



111





\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

.

.

\_\_\_\_\_

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

\_\_\_\_\_

.

[Issued as pts 23, 31, 35, 36 of  
The Foreign Library].



THE  
HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY  
M. MICHELET,  
MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF  
FRANCE, CHIEF OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION IN THE ARCHIVES  
OF THE KINGDOM.

---

TRANSLATED  
BY WALTER K. KELLY.

---

VOL. I.



LONDON:  
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 186, STRAND.  
1844.

237. e. 368.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE STRAND.

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

---

I DEDICATE this book to my masters, to those of them who are living, and to those who are no more.

I present it to my pupils, who themselves are become masters. I present it especially to my critics, to those who will be pleased to correct, amend, remodel it, and adapt it to the ulterior advancements of knowledge. "*Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia.*"

My book (the most rigid criticism will own this fact) is wholly derived from original sources. Nevertheless, I am much indebted to some of our contemporaries. It is my duty to state this; it is a happiness for their friend or disciple to name the men to whom he feels himself united by that closest of ties, intellectual affinity and communion of thought. The vast and conscientious history of our venerable Sismondi, and the fine narratives of the two Thierry, have never been out of my hands. Still more, however, do I owe to the works of M. Guizot.\* Beneath the history of facts he has discerned the history of ideas. Before the publication of his '*Cours*' there existed no such analysis of the great social and intellectual facts belonging to our annals. It would be a long list that should enumerate all my obligations to the illustrious historian: there is one I shall never acknowledge as fully as my heart would dictate—I mean the kind interest he has always taken in my labours.

---

\* I speak here of the writers who have embraced the history of France in its whole extent. I will acknowledge in their respective places my obligations to those who have treated with superior merit of some special portion of our political or literary history. Among others I ought to mention the learned continuators of the Benedictines, and my colleagues of the Society of the Antiquaries of Normandy. I shall also have occasion to state all I owe to several learned foreigners, J. Grimm, Gans, &c. M. Gieseler's Manual has been of the greatest use to me, with regard to ecclesiastical history. Not to overlook any of my obligations, I will mention one of a different kind. Many of my pupils have ably seconded me, particularly MM. Monin, Duruy, and Ravaisson. The latter has assisted me with equal intelligence and zeal in the notes, illustrations, and tables of contents, of the first four books.

See at the end of Book iv. the personal considerations which determined me to put forth this publication.

In order to explain wherein I coincide with, and wherein I depart from, the two schools that have preceded me, it would be necessary to state the views I take of the historical method. But he who would discuss the general question of method ought to be able to speak with a voice of authority. I will leave my book to speak for me. Let it explain its own method, if it can.

A word only as to the general arrangement.

In the first and second books will be found considerations of *racés*. These appear conjoined, but not intermingled, in the Roman and the Carlovingian empires.

The third and fourth books deal with *the provinces*, their geography, and then their tendency towards the unity of the monarchy. This feudal period of our history ends before the year 1300, with St. Louis, the end and ideal of the middle ages. The modern age begins with Philip the Fair, with the decline of the papacy, and the slap inflicted on Boniface VIII.

The fifth and sixth books are devoted to our *institutions*, and show how far these are original or borrowed from those of foreign countries. Here we have the determining points of French nationality.

To the following books belong the progress of that nationality from the fourteenth century to our own times, and the great work of equality and civil order, slowly prepared by the monarchy, consummated by the republic, and crowned and proclaimed through Europe by the victories of Bonaparte.

The above is a brief summary of the political, the outward history: but this is illustrated in my book by the inward history, by that of philosophy and religion, of law, and of literature. The endeavour is a great one, if the work is not so. It is nothing less than a recital and a system, a formula of France, considered on the one hand with regard to its diversity of races and provinces, and its geographical extent; on the other, as to its chronological development, and the increasing unity of the national drama. It is a tissue, the woof of which is space and matter, and the warp time and thought. Such, at least, is the ideal we have kept before our eyes.

November 1, 1833.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## BOOK THE FIRST.

### CELTS—IBERIANS—ROMANS.

CHAPTER I.		PAGE
Celts and Iberians .....		1
CHAPTER II.		
State of Gaul in the Age preceding the Conquest—Druidism—Caesar's Conquest.....		20
CHAPTER III.		
Gaul under the Empire—Decline of the Empire—Christian Gaul .....		35
CHAPTER IV.		
Recapitulation—Various Systems—Influence of the Indigenous and of the Foreign Races—Celtic and Latin Sources of the French Language—Destiny of the Celtic Race .....		64

### ILLUSTRATIONS TO BOOK THE FIRST.

On the Iberians or Basques .....	84
On the Religious Traditions of Ireland and Wales .....	90
On the Celtic Stones .....	96
Triads of the Island of Britain .....	99
On the Bards .....	104
On the Legend of St. Martin.....	106
Abstract of Mr. Price's Work on the Races of England.....	112

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### THE GERMANS.

CHAPTER I.	
Germanic World—Invasion—Merovingians .....	115
CHAPTER II.	
Carlovingians—VIIIth, IXth, and Xth Centuries.....	178
CHAPTER III.	
Dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire.....	214

### ILLUSTRATIONS TO BOOK THE SECOND.

On Auvergne in the Fifth Century .....	258
On the Captivity of Louis II .....	262



frames, fair skin, and flaxen hair; with elastic energy, but little power of endurance or length of wind;\* men of rude, wild joviality, of boundless hope, vain as not having yet encountered any thing that could stand before them. They wished to go and see what manner of man was that Alexander, that conqueror of Asia, before whose face kings fainted with dismay.† What do you fear? the man of terror asked them. Lest the heavens fall, said they,‡ and he got no other reply. The heavens themselves scarcely affrighted them; they shot their arrows at it when it thundered.§ If the ocean itself overflowed and came against them, they did not refuse the fight, but marched to meet it sword in hand.|| It was a point of honour with them never to yield a foot. Often they persisted in remaining under a burning roof.¶ No nation held its life more cheaply. Instances were seen among them of men who bound themselves to die for some money or a little wine: they mounted upon a platform, distributed the wine or the money among their friends, lay down upon their bucklers, and gave their throats to the knife.\*\*

Their banquets rarely terminated without strife. The thigh of the beast belonged to the bravest,†† and each man would be the bravest. Their greatest pleasure, next to that of fighting, was to gather round the stranger, to make him sit down with them, whether he would or not, and tell them stories of distant lands. These barbarians were insatiably covetous and curious. They impressed strangers, carried them off from the markets and the roads; and forced them to talk.‡‡ They were themselves terrible, indefatigable talkers, abounding in figures, solemn and ludicrously grave in their guttural pronunciation.§§ It was a serious business in their

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. v. *Τοῖσδε σαρξὶ κάθυγροι καὶ λευκοί*.—Appian. apud Scriptores Rerum Francicarum, i., 462. *Ὑπὸτε ἰδρῶτος καὶ ἀσθματος—εξελεύοντο ταχέως*.

† Plutarch in Alex. c. 96. Long after the death of Alexander, Cassander, who had become King of Macedonia, was walking one day in Delphi, and was examining the statues, when suddenly perceiving that of Alexander, he was so overcome that his whole frame trembled, and he was seized with giddiness.

‡ *Εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίσσει*.—Strab. l. vii.

§ Aristot. de Morib. l. iii. c. 10.

|| *Ælian. l. xii. Γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη καὶ τὰ δόρατα προσείοντες*.—Aristot. Eudemior. l. iii. c. 1. *Οἱ Κελτοὶ πρὸς τὰ κύματα ὅπλα ἀπαντῶσι λαβόντες*.

¶ *Ælian. ibid.*

\*\* Posidon. l. xliii. ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 18. *Ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ δύνου κεραμίων ἀριθμὸν τινα, καὶ πιστευσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι, ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεύθαι· παραστὰς δὲ τις ξίφος τὸν λαμὸν ἀποκόπτει*.

†† Posid. apud Athen. l. iv. c. 18.

‡‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. v. p. 306.—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 5. *Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis, ut et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant;—et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumstat*.

§§ Diodor. Sic. l. iv. *Εἰσὶ καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς βαρύνχοι καὶ παντελῶς τραχύφωνοι· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγμαῖοι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς. Πολλὰ δὲ λεγόντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς...*

assemblies to enforce a hearing for the orator in the midst of endless interruptions. It was necessary that a man, employed to enforce silence, should march sword in hand against the interrupter; upon the third call to order, he cut off a good piece of the man's garment, so that he could not wear the rest.\*

Another race, that of the Iberians, early makes its appearance in the south of Gaul, by the side of the Galls, and even along with them. These Iberians, whose type and tongue have been preserved in the Basque mountains, were a people of ordinary genius; laborious, agricultural, miners, attached to the earth whence they extracted metals and corn.† Nothing indicates that they were primitively so warlike as they afterwards became, when, driven back into the Pyrenees by the conquerors from the south and from the north, and finding themselves in their own despite guardians of the defiles, they were so often buffeted, and wrought, and hardened by war. The tyranny of the Romans was able once to drive them to a heroic despair, but generally their courage was that of resistance,‡ as the courage of the Gauls was that of attack. The Iberians do not seem to have possessed, like the latter, a taste for distant expeditions and adventurous wars. Iberian tribes did emigrate, but it was against their will, and under the pressure of more powerful peoples. The Galls and Iberians mutually formed a perfect contrast; the latter with their garments of black fur, and their boots of woven horse hair;§ the Galls clothed in glittering tissues, fond of bright and varied colours, like the plaid of the modern Gaels of Scotland,|| or else almost naked, with their white breasts and their gigantic limbs loaded with massive gold chains.¶ The Iberians were divided into

\* "Ὅσον ἀγροστον ποιῆσαι τὸ λοιπόν. Strabo, l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i., 30. I cannot quit this subject without remarking how much the ancients were struck with the rhetorical instinct and the noisy disposition of the Gauls. *Natus in vanos tumultus gens* (Tit. Liv. on the taking of Rome). The public criers, the trumpeters, and the advocates, were often Gauls. *Insulber, id est mercator et præco* (Cic. fragm. or contra Pisonem). See too the whole oration *pro Fonteio*. *Pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, virtutem bellicam et argute loqui* (Cato in Charisio? I cite from memory). Ἀπειληταί, καὶ ἀνατακτοὶ τετραγυρδημένοι.—Diod. Sic. lib. iv.

† Strab. l. iv.—Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 20.

‡ The Iberians must not be confounded with their neighbours the Cantabrians. W. von Humboldt has established this distinction in his admirable little work upon the language of the Basques. See the Illustrations.

§ Τριχίνας εἰλοῦσι κημίδας.—Diodor.

|| Diodor. Sic. l. v. Χιτῶνας μὲν βαπτούς, χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διηριθμένους, καὶ ἀναξυρίσιν\* ἐπικροποῦντες δὲ σάγους ῥαβδατούς... πλωθίοις πολυανθείσι καὶ πικροῖς διελημμένους.—Virgil, Æneid, l. viii. v. 660: *Virgatis lucent sagulis*.—I have elsewhere collected other similar passages.

¶ Diod. Sic. l. v. Περὶ τοὺς καρπούς καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ψέλλια φοροῦσι\* περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγκῶνας κρικῶς παχείς δλοχρύσους, καὶ δακτυλοὺς ἀξιολόγους, ἐτι δὲ χρυσοὺς θώρακας.

Virgil, Æn. l. viii. v. 659.

Aurea cæsaries ollis, atque aurea vestis

Auro innectuntur. ; tum lactea colla

Auro innectuntur. » 2

small mountain tribes, which, says Strabo, rarely league together, such is the excessive confidence of each in his own strength. The Galls on the contrary were fond of associating in great hordes, encamping in large villages in vast plains wholly open; readily connecting themselves with strangers; familiar with persons unknown to them; great talkers, laughers, orators; mingling with all men and upon every occasion; dissolute from levity; blindly and promiscuously revelling in base pleasures,\* (the brutality of drunkenness belongs more to the Germans,) evincing in short all the good qualities and all the vices of quick sympathies.

These joyous boon companions were not to be trusted too implicitly. They loved betimes to banter (*gaber*, as they said, in the middle ages). Speech had for them nothing of a serious character; they promised, then they laughed, and there was an end of the matter. (*Ridendo fidem frangere.* Tit. Liv.)

The Galls did not content themselves with driving back the Iberians into the Pyrenees, they crossed those mountains, established themselves at the two angles of the Peninsula, south-west and north-west, under their own name, whilst in the middle, mingling with the vanquished, they assumed the names of Celtiberians and Lusitanians.†

Then, or perhaps previously, the Iberian tribes of the Sicans and of the Li-gor,‡ passed from Spain into Gaul and Italy; but in Italy, as in Spain, they were attacked by the Galls. The latter crossed the Alps under the name of Ambra (*valiant men*§), forced back the Ligurians into the mountainous coast from the Rhone to the Arno, and drove the Sicans into Calabria and Sicily.

In both peninsulas the victorious Celts mingled with the inhabitants of the central plains, whilst the beaten Iberians maintained themselves in the extreme regions, in Liguria and in Sicily, in the Pyrenees, and in Bœtica. The Ambra Galls of Italy occupied the whole valley of the Po, and spread through the Peninsula to the mouths of the Tiber. They were in process of time subdued by the Rasena or Etruscans, whose empire was subsequently restricted between the Macra, the Tiber, and the Apennines, by new Celtic immigrations.

Such was the aspect of the Gallic world. This young, plastic, and fluctuating element was modified betimes in Italy and Spain by commixture with the indigenous inhabitants. In Gaul it would

\* Diod. Sic. l. v. ap. Scr. Fr. i. 310.—Strab. l. iv.—Athen. l. xiii. c. 8. We find subsequently among the Celts of Ireland and England some trace of the dissolute manners of ancient Gaul. Leland says (vol. i. p. 14), that the Irish regarded adultery as "a pardonable gallantry." O'Halloran, i. 394.—Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and Pope Adrian in his famous brief to Henry II., charge them with the guilt of incest. See Usser. Syl. epist. 70, 94, 95.—St. Bernard in Vita S. Malach., 1932, s. 99.—Gerald. Cambr. 742, 743.

† Diodor. Sic. l. v.—Isidori Originum, l. ix.—Plin. l. iii. c. 3.

‡ Iberians of the mountains. W. v. Humboldt. See Illustrations.

§ See Am. Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, i., 10.

long have continued in the flux and reflux of barbarism, had not a new element from abroad brought it a principle of stability, a social idea.

Two peoples were at the head of civilisation in that remote antiquity, the Greeks and the Phœnicians. The Tyrian Hercules then traversed every sea, purchasing and bearing away from each country its most precious productions. He did not neglect the fine granite of the coast of Gaul, or the coral of the Isles of Hieres; he inquired after the precious minerals which then lay immediately beneath the surface in the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps.\* He came and went, again and again, and at last established himself in the land. Attacked by the sons of Neptune, Albion and Ligur (these two words signify mountaineer),† he must have succumbed, had not Jupiter supplied the place of his exhausted arrows by a shower of stones. These stones still cover the plain of La Crau in Provence. The victorious deity founded Nemausus (Nîmes), ascended the Rhone and the Saône, slew in his den the brigand Tauriske, who infested the roads, and built Alisia upon the Ædunan territory (*Pays d'Autun*). Before his departure he laid out the road which crossed the Col de Tende, and led from Italy to Spain through Gaul. This became the base upon which the Romans afterwards constructed the Aurelian and the Domitian Ways.

Here, as elsewhere, the Phœnicians did but clear the way for the Greeks. The Dorians of Rhodes succeeded the Phœnicians, and were themselves supplanted by the Ionians of Phocæa. The latter founded Marseilles. This city, so remote from Greece, subsisted by miracle. Landwards it was surrounded by puissant Gaulish and Ligurian tribes, which did not permit to take one inch of ground without fighting for it. At sea it encountered the great fleets of the Etruscans and the Carthaginians, who had organised the most sanguinary monopoly upon the coasts: the stranger who traded in Sardinia was doomed to be drowned.‡ Every thing thrived with the Marseillaise; they had the satisfaction of seeing the Etruscan marine destroyed in one battle by the Syracusans, without themselves once drawing the sword, and afterwards Etruria, Sicily, Carthage, and all the trading states annihilated by Rome. The fall of Carthage left an immense vacancy which Marseilles would fain have filled; but such a part no longer befitted the humble ally of Rome, a city without territory, a people of an honest and thrifty spirit, but more mercantile than political, and which, instead of gaining over and attaching to itself the barbarians of the vicinity, was always at war with them. Such, however, were the good conduct and the perseverance of the Massalians, that they extended their establishments along the Mediterranean from the maritime Alps to Cape St.

\* Strabo, l. iii. iv.

† *Alb*, mountain, in Gaelic; *gor*, elevated, in Basque. W. von Humboldt.

‡ Strabo, l. xvii. Καρχηδονίους δὲ καταποντοῦν, εἰ τις τῶν ξένων εἰς Σαρδῶν παραλεύσειεν, ἢ ἐπὶ ζήλας.

Martin, that is, as far as to the first Carthaginian colonies. They founded Monaco, Nice, Antibes, Éaube, Saint-Gilles, Agde, Ampurias, Denia, and some other towns.\*

Whilst Greece was beginning the civilisation of the southern shores, Northern Gaul was receiving her civilisation from the Celts themselves. A new Celtic tribe, that of the Kymry (Cimmerii?†) joined that of the Galls. The new comers, who settled principally in the heart of France, upon the Seine and the Loire, had, it seems, more gravity and consistency in their mental character. Less indisciplinable, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—that of the Druids. The primitive religion of the Galls, which was superseded by Kymric Druidism, was a religion of nature, as yet rude and coarse, no doubt, and very far from the systematic form it afterwards assumed among the Gaels of Ireland.‡ That of the Kymric Druids, as far as we can discern it through the dry indications of ancient authors, and in the greatly adulterated traditions of the modern Kymry of Wales, had a much more elevated moral tendency; they taught the immortality of the soul. Still the genius of this race was too materialist to allow such doctrines to bear their fruit betimes. The Druids could not withdraw the race from the habits and ways of clanship. The material principle, the influence of the military chiefs, subsisted side by side with the sacerdotal domination. Kymric Gaul was but imperfectly organised; Gallic Gaul was not so at all; it escaped from the Druids, and overflowed upon the world by the Rhine and by the Alps.

It is at this epoch that history places the journeys of Sigovesus and Bellovesus, nephews of Ambigat, king of the Bituriges, who are said to have led the Galls into Germany and Italy. They pursued their way, guided solely by the flight of birds. According to another tradition, it was a jealous husband, Aruns, an Etruscan, who, to avenge himself, gave the barbarians the first taste of wine. They liked it, and followed him to the country of the vine.§ These first emigrants, Eduans, Arverns, and Bituriges (Gallic tribes of Burgoyne, Auvergne, and Berri), established themselves in Lom-

\* See the interesting history of Massilia (Am. Thierry, tom. ii. chap. i.). It is one of the most remarkable portions of this excellent work. As for the influence of the Greek colonies upon the civilisation of Gaul, I have attempted, in a subsequent part of this work, to show how much it has been exaggerated.

† Appian (Illyr. p. 1196, et de B. Civ. i. p. 625) and Diodorus (lib. v. p. 309) say that the Celts were Cimmerians. Plutarch (in Mario) intimates the same thing. The Cimmerians, says Ephorus (apud Strab. v., p. 373), live in dwellings under ground, which they call *argillas*. The word *argel* signifies a chamber under ground in the poetry of the Welsh Kymry (W. Archæol. i. p. 80, 152). The Cimbri swore by a bull. The arms of Wales are two cows. Several German critics, however, make a distinction between the Cimmerii and the Cimbri, and between the latter and the Kymry. They refer the Cimbri to the Germanic race.

‡ See the Illustrations.

§ Liv. l. v. c. 34.—Plutarch in Camillo.



bardy, despite the Etruscans, and took the name of *Is-Ambra*,\* *Is-ombrians*, *Insubrians*, synonymous with Galls: it was the name of those ancient Galls, the *Ambra*, or *Umbrians*, whom the Etruscans had subjugated. Their brethren, the *Auleroes*, *Carnutes*, and *Cenomans* (*Manceaux* and *Chartrains*), next arrived, under a chief named *Hurricans*,† formed a settlement at the expense of the Etruscans of *Venetia*, and founded *Brixia* and *Verona*. Lastly, the *Kymry*, jealous of the conquests made by the Galls, crossed the Alps in their turn; but the valley of the *Po* was already pre-occupied; forced therefore to proceed as far as the *Adriatic*, they founded *Bologna* and *Senagallia*, or rather they set themselves down in the towns which the Etruscans had already founded. The Galls were strangers to the idea of the city, measured and laid out in accordance with religious and astronomical notions; their towns were but great open villages, like *Mediolanum* (*Milan*). The Gallic world is the world of the tribe;‡ the Etrusco-Roman world is that of the city.

Behold, then, the tribe and the city face to face, upon the battleground of Italy. The tribe, at first, has the advantage; the Etruscans are compressed within the limits of *Etruria*, properly so called, and thither the Gauls soon follow them. They pass the *Apennines*, those blue-eyed men, with sandy moustaches, and with collars of gold upon their white shoulders; and they defile before the Cyclopiæ walls of the panic-stricken Etruscans. They arrive before *Clusium*, and demand lands. We know that, on this occasion, the Romans interfered on behalf of the Etruscans, their ancient enemies, and that a panic terror surrendered Rome to the Gauls. They were much amazed, says *Livy*, to find the city deserted; more amazed still, to see at the doors of the houses old men majestically seated, awaiting death. The Gauls, by degrees, familiarised themselves with those motionless figures, which, at first, had impressed them with awe. One of them, in his barbarous merriment, took it into his head to play with the beard of one of those haughty senators, who responded with a blow of his staff.§ This was the signal for massacre.

The young men, who had shut themselves up in the *Capitol*, resisted for some time, and at last paid ransom;|| such, at least, is the more probable tradition; the Romans preferred the other. *Livy* asserts that *Camillus* avenged his country by a victory, and massacred the Gauls upon the ruins they had made. What is more certain is, that they remained seventeen years in *Latium*, even at *Tibur*, at the very gates of Rome. *Livy* calls *Tibur* *arcem Gallici*

\* *Is*, *ios*, *low*.—*IS-OMERIA*, *Low Umbria*.

† According to the interpretation of *Am. Thierry*, i. p. 43.—*Liv.* v. c. 35.

‡ Some scholars have even doubted that their *oppida* in *Cæsar's* time were anything else than places of refuge.

§ *Liv.* l. v. c. 21. *M. Papirius Gallo* barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso, iram movisse dicitur.

|| *Polybius* and *Suetonius*, cited in *Michelet's Histoire Romaine*, i. 3.

*belli*. It was in this interval that the heroic duels of Valerius Corvus and of Manlius Torquatus, with Gaulish giants, were said to have taken place. The gods took part in these affairs: a sacred crow gave the victory to Valerius; Manlius tore the collar (*torquis*) from the insolent barbarian, who had defied the Romans. It was for a long time afterwards a popular image; on the *Cimbrian buckler*, converted into a shop sign, was seen the portrait of a barbarian, puffing out his cheeks and lolling out his tongue.\*

The city was at last to prevail over the tribe; Italy over Gaul. The Gauls driven out of Latium continued to war, but only as mercenaries in the service of Etruria. They took part with the Etruscans and the Samnites in those terrible battles of Sentinum and of the Lake Vadimon, which secured to Rome the dominion of Italy, and subsequently that of the world. In those engagements they displayed their vain and brutal audacity, fighting naked against well armed men, dashing their war chariots with loud din against the impenetrable masses of the legions, and meeting the terrible *pilum* with bad broadswords that bent at the first blow.† This is the common history of all the Gaulish battles; never did they amend their defects. Still the Romans had need of mighty efforts and of all the devotedness of Decius. At last, they, in their turn, made their way into the land of the Gauls, took back the ransom of the Capitol, and placed a colony in Sena on the Adriatic, the principal town of the vanquished Senoni. That whole tribe was exterminated, so that there remained not one of the sons of those who boasted that they had burnt Rome.‡

These disasters of the Gauls in Italy may perhaps be accounted for by the part which their best warriors took in the great migration of the Transalpine Gauls towards Greece and Asia (B. C. 281). Our Gaul was like that vase told of in Gallic mythology, in which life boils up and overflows incessantly:§ it received the barbarism of the north in torrents, to pour it out upon the nations of the south. After the Druidic invasion of the Kymry it had suffered the warlike invasions of the Belgians or *Bolg*. These latter, the most impetuous of the Celts, like the Irish their descendants,|| had made their way

\* Aulus Gell. l. ix. 3.—Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 10.

† Liv. l. xxii. *Gadii*—*Gallii prælongi ac sine mucronibus*.—Polyb. l. ii. *Τοῖς θυμοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἔφοδον, ἕως ἂν ἀκέραιον ᾖ, φοβερώτατόν ἐστι πᾶν το γαλατικὸν φύλον, αἱ τε μάχαιραι—μὲν ἔχουσι μὲν πρῶτην καταφορὰν καιρίαν, ἀπο δὲ ταύτης ἐυθὺς ἀποξυσσύνται καμπτόμενο κατὰ μήκος καὶ κατὰ πλάτος*.—A true symbol of the Gaelic race.

‡ Florus, lib. i. c. 13.

§ See further on.

|| Impetuosity, promptitude and fickleness are characteristics common in an equal degree to the *Bolg* of Ireland, Belgium, and Picardy, (*Bellovacii*, *Bolci*, *Bolgæ*, *Belgæ*, *Volci*, etc.) and to those of the south of France, notwithstanding the mixture of races.

The Belgians are denominated in the old Irish traditions, *Fir Bholg*. Ausonius (*De Clar. Urb. Narb.*) informs us that the primitive name of the Tectosages was *Bolg*: *Tectosages primævo nomine Bolgæ*. Cicero names them

from Belgium, through the Galls and the Kymry, to the south as far as Toulouse, and had settled in Languedoc under the names of Arecomiques and Tectosages. Thence they took their way to a new conquest. Galls, Kymry, and even some Germans descended with them along the valley of the Danube, and the whole swarm poured in on Macedonia. The world of the antique city, which was gathering strength in Italy by the progress of Rome, had been shivered in Greece since Alexander's day. Still that little Greece was so strong by art and nature, so dense, so serried with towns and mountains, that it was not to be entered with impunity. Greece is like a three-fold trap; you may enter it and find yourself caught in Macedonia, then in Thessaly, and again between Thermopylæ and the Isthmus.

The barbarians made a successful incursion into Thrace and Macedonia, committed frightful ravages there, passed even Thermopylæ, and were finally wrecked against the sacred rock of Delphi. The god defended his temple; it needed but a tempest and some fragments of rocks rolled down by the besieged to put the Gauls to the rout. Gorged with wine and victual, they had been vanquished beforehand by their own excesses. A panic terror seized them in the night. Their *brenn*, or leader, advised them, in order to facilitate their retreat, to burn their chariots and slaughter their 10,000 wounded;\* then he drank as before and stabbed himself. But his men could never extricate themselves from so many mountains and such difficult passes, through the midst of a people rancorously incensed against them.

Other Gauls (Tectosages, Trocmi, and Tolistoboi) had more success beyond the Bosphorus. They cast themselves into that great Asia, amidst the quarrels of Alexander's successors. Nicomedes, king of Bythia and the Greek cities, which could hardly maintain their

*Belgæ*: Belgarum Allobrogumque testimoniis credere non timetis? (Pro Man. Fonteio.). *Volgæ* and *Volcæ* are used indifferently in the manuscripts of Cæsar. Lastly, St. Jerome tells us that the language of the *Tectosages* was the same as that of *Trèves*, the capital town of Belgium.—Am. Thierry, i. 131.

\* His last counsels were followed as far as regarded the wounded, for the new *brenn* caused ten thousand men, who could not hold out on the march, to be slaughtered; but he preserved the greater part of the baggage. Diod. Sic. xii. 870. The Gauls who invaded Greece, if they found children more than commonly fat, or that seemed suckled with a better milk, drank their blood and devoured their flesh. Pausanias, l. x. p. 650. After the fight the Greeks buried their dead, but the Kymro-Galls sent no herald to demand their own dead, and cared little whether they were buried or were devoured by wild beasts and vultures. Pausanias, l. x. At *Ægæ* they scattered the ashes of the kings of Macedon to the wind. Plut. Pyrrh. Diod. et Val. When the *brenn* was informed by the reports of deserters what were the numbers of the Greek troops, filled with disdain for them, he advanced before Heraclea, and attacked the defiles the next day at sunrise, "without," as an ancient writer remarks, "having consulted any priest of his nation as to the future success of the fight, or, in lieu of such persons, any Greek diviner." Pausanias, l. x. p. 648; Am. Thierry, *passim*. The *brenn* said at Delphi, "it was right that rich gods should bestow their bounty on men—that they had no need of wealth, inasmuch as it was they who were used to bestow it on men." Justin, xxiv. 6.

ground against the Selucidæ, purchased the succour of the Gauls—an interested and pernicious succour, as was soon perceived. These terrible guests divided Asia Minor between them to pillage and put to ransom.\* The Hellespont fell to the Trocmi, the coasts of the Ægean Sea to the Tolistoboi, the south to the Tectosages. Behold, now, our Gauls returned to the cradle of the Kymry, not far from the Cimerian Bosphorus; behold them established upon the ruins of Troy and in the mountains of Asia Minor, whither the French will lead the crusade, so many centuries after, under the banners of Godefroy de Bouillon and Louis the Young.

Whilst these Gauls are gorging themselves fat in luxurious Asia, the others are wandering about, everywhere, in search of fortune. Whoever has need of blind courage and cheap blood buys the aid of Gauls, a prolific and martial nation, which could supply the demand of so many armies and wars. All the successors of Alexander had Gauls in their service, Pyrrhus especially, that man of adventures and of frustrated victories. Carthage also had Gauls in the first Punic war; she paid them badly, as we know,† and they had a great share in the horrible war of the mercenaries. The Gaul, Autarite, was one of the revolted leaders.

Rome took advantage of the embarrassments of Carthage, and of the interval between the two Punic wars, to crush the Ligurians and the Gauls of Italy.

The Ligurians lurking at the foot of the Alps, between the Var and the Macra, in places overrun with wild thickets, were harder to find than to vanquish. They were agile and indefatigable races of men,‡ tribes of brigands rather than of warriors, who placed their reliance on the rapidity of their flight and the depth of their retreats. All those fierce mountaineers, Salyans, Deceates, Euburiates, Oribians, and Ingauns, long escaped the Roman arms. At last the consul Fulvius set fire to their haunts; Bebrius forced them down into the plain, and Posthumius disarmed them, leaving them hardly iron enough to till their fields (B.C. 238-233).

For half a century, since the extermination of the people of the Senoni by the Romans, the memory of that terrible event had not

\* Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16—Strabo, l. xiii.

† She delivered up 4000 of them to the Romans. See Diodorus Siculus and Frontinus, l. iii. 16.

‡ Florus, ii. 3. Such was the strength of the Ligurians that it was said proverbially, The strongest Gaul is laid low by the leanest Ligurian. Diod. Sic. v. 39. See too, lib. xxxix. 2; Strabo, iv. The Romans borrowed from them the use of oblong bucklers, *scutum ligusticum*. Liv. xvii., 35. The women who worked in the quarries stepped aside for a while when the pains of labour came upon them, and returned to their work when they were delivered. Strabo, iii.; Diod. iv. The Ligurians faithfully adhered to their old customs, that of wearing long hair, for instance. They were called *Capillati*.—Cato says in Servius, "Ipsi unde oriundi sint exacta memoria, illiterati, mendaces, quæ sunt et vera minus meminere." Nigidius Figulus, Varro's contemporary, speaks to the same purpose.

become effaced among the Gauls. Two kings of the Boii (country of Bologna), At and Gall,\* endeavoured to arm the people in order to seize the Roman colony of Ariminum, and they called in the aid of Gaulish mercenaries from beyond the Alps. The Boii killed the two chiefs and massacred their allies rather than engage in war against Rome. Rome, rendered uneasy by the movements which had taken place among the Gauls, incensed them by prohibiting all commerce with them, especially that of arms. Their discontent was carried to the highest pitch by a proposal made by the Tribune Flaminius, that the lands conquered from the Senoni, fifty years before, should, at last, be colonised and divided among the people. The Boii, who had learned from the foundation of Ariminum what it was to have the Romans for neighbours, repented that they had not assumed the offensive, and wished to form a league between all the nations of the north of Italy. But the Veneti, a Slavonic people, hostile to the Gauls, refused to enter into the league; the Ligurians were exhausted, the Cenomans secretly sold to the Romans. The Boii and the Insubrians (Bologna and Milan) left alone, were obliged to call in from beyond the Alps some Gesatæ (*Gaisda*), men armed with *gais*, or pikes, who gladly served for pay under the rich Gaulish tribes of Italy. Their leaders, Aneroste and Concolitan, were gained over by force of money and promises.

The Romans, informed by the Cenomans of all that was going on, took alarm at this league. The senate caused the Sybilline books to be consulted, and there it was read with dismay, that the Gauls were twice to take possession of Rome. It was hoped to avert this evil by interring alive two Gauls, a man and a woman, in the very heart of Rome, in the ox market. In this manner the Gauls had *taken possession of the soil of Rome*, and the oracle was accomplished or eluded. The terror felt by Rome had spread over all Italy; all the peoples of that country believed themselves alike menaced by a horrible invasion of barbarians. The Gaulish chiefs had brought forth from their temples the gold embroidered flags which they called *the immovable*. They had solemnly sworn and made their soldiers swear, that they would not undo their baldrics till they had mounted the Capitol. They swept away all before them, flocks and herds, and fettered peasants whom they made march under the lash; they carried off the very furniture of the houses. The whole population of central and southern Italy rose spontaneously to put a stop to such devastations, and 770,000 soldiers† were ready, if need were, to follow the Roman eagles.

One of the three Roman armies was to guard the passes of the Apennines leading into Etruria; but the Gauls were already in the

---

\* The Atis and Galatus of the Greek and Latin historians. Polyb. ii. See Thierry's *Histoire de Gaulois*, tom. i.

† See the passages from Polybius in Michelet's *Hist. Rom.* book ii. c. 5.



heart of that country, and within three days march of Rome, B.C. 225. The barbarians, fearing lest they should be hemmed in between the city and the army, retraced their steps, slew 6,000 of the Romans who pursued them, and they would have wholly destroyed them if the second army had not come up with the first. They then withdrew to place their booty in safety, and had already reached a point on a line with Cape Telamone, when by an amazing chance, a third Roman army returning from Sardinia, disembarked near the camp of the Gauls, who were thus surrounded. They presented a front upon two sides at once. The Gesatæ threw off all their clothes by way of bravado, and placed themselves naked in the front ranks with only their weapons and bucklers. The Romans were for a moment intimidated by this strange spectacle, and by the tumult of the barbarian army. "Besides a multitude of horns and trumpets that never ceased to sound, there rose all at once such a concert of bellowings, that not only the men and the instruments, but the earth itself and the places all round, seemed to be emulously roaring. There was something appalling in the countenances and the gestures of those gigantic men that appeared in the foremost ranks with no other clothing than their arms. There was not one but was decked with collars, chains, and bracelets of gold." The inferiority of the Gaulish weapons gave the Romans the advantage. The Gaulish sword was only formed for striking with the edge, and it was of such a bad temper that it bent at the first blow.

The result of this victory having been the subjugation of the Boii, the legions passed the Po for the first time, and entered the country of the Insubrians. The impetuous Flaminius would have perished there, had he not cajoled the barbarians with a treaty until he found himself in strength. Being recalled by the senate, which liked him not, and which pretended that his nomination was illegal, he resolved to vanquish or to die, broke down the bridge behind him, and achieved a signal victory over the Insubrians. Then, and not till then, he opened the letters in which the senate presaged his defeat upon the authority of the gods.

His successor Marcellus was a brave soldier. He killed the brenn Virдумar in single combat, and consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius the second *spolia opima*, won since the days of Romulus. The Insubrians were reduced (B.C. 222), and the Roman sway extended over all Italy as far as to the Alps.

Whilst Rome now thought herself secure of her dominion over the prostrate Gauls of Italy, Hannibal was at hand to raise them up. The crafty Carthaginian made good use of them. He placed them in the vanguard, and made them cross the marshes of Etruria, whether they would or not, the Numidians forcing them forward at

the point of the sword.\* Still they did not fight the less gallantly at Thrasimene and Cannæ: Hannibal gained those great victories with the blood of the Gauls.† Upon one occasion when he wanted their aid, being separated from them in the south of Italy, he was unable to move. So strong was the vitality of that Italian Gaul, that after Hannibal's disasters it again bestirred itself under Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar. It needed thirty years of war (B.C. 201—170), and the treachery of the Cenomani, to consummate the ruin of the Boii and Insubrians (Bologna and Milan). The Boii, moreover, emigrated rather than submit. The remains of their hundred and twelve tribes rose in a mass, and went in quest of a settlement upon the banks of the Danube, at the confluence of that river and the Save. Rome declared solemnly that *Italy was closed against the Gauls*. This last terrible struggle took place during the war of Rome against Philip and Antiochus. The Greeks imagined, at that time, that they were the grand subject that occupied the thoughts of Rome; they knew not that she employed against them but the smallest portions of her forces. Two legions were enough to overthrow Philip and Antiochus, whilst for many years in succession the two consuls and the two consular armies were sent against the obscure tribes of the Boii and the Insubrians. Rome braced up her sinewy arms against Gaul and Spain; it needed but a touch of her finger to lay the successors of Alexander at her feet.

Before leaving Asia she quelled the only people who could renew the war in that quarter. The Galatians, who had been settled for a century in Phrygia, had grown rich at the expense of all the adjoining peoples, which they forced to pay them tribute. They had heaped together the spoils of Asia Minor in their fastnesses of Mount Olympus. One characteristic fact portrays the opulence and the sumptuous habits of those barbarians. One of their chiefs or tetrarchs gave out that for a whole year he would keep open house for all comers; and not only did he entertain the crowd that came from the neighbouring towns and districts, but he caused travellers to be seized and detained till they had sat at his table.

Though the majority of the Galatians had refused aid to Antiochus, Manlius, the prætor, attacked their three tribes (Trocmi, Tolistoboi, Tectosages), and beat them in their mountains with missile weapons, against which the Gauls, accustomed to fight with the sword and the lance, had little else to oppose but stones. Manlius obliged them to surrender up the lands taken from the allies of Rome; he compelled them to renounce brigandage, and imposed upon them the alliance of Eumenes, who was to keep them in check.

It was not enough that the Gauls were vanquished in their Italian and Asiatic colonies, if the Romans did not penetrate into Gaul,

---

\* See the author's *Roman History*, ii., initio.

† Ibid.

that fountain-head of barbarian invasion. They were called thither at first by their allies, the Greeks of Marseilles, who were ever at war with the Gauls and Ligurians in their vicinity. Rome needed to be mistress of the western entrance of Italy, which was occupied by the Ligurians of the sea coast. She attacked the tribes of which Marseilles complained, and then those of which Marseilles made no complaint;\* she gave up the land to the Massalians and retained the military posts in her own hands, that of Aix among others, where Sextius founded the colony of Aquæ Sextiæ. Thence she turned her eyes towards Gaul.

Two vast confederations divided that country between them. On the one side were the *Ædui*, a people we shall subsequently see closely united with the tribes of the *Carnutes*, *Parisii*, *Senones*, &c. On the other side the *Arverni* and the *Allobroges*. The former appear to have been the men of the plains—the *Kymry*, subject to sacerdotal influence—the party of civilisation. The others, mountaineers of *Auvergne* and of the *Alps*, were the ancient *Galls* who had formerly been driven back into the mountains by the *Kymric* invasion, but who had again recovered their preponderance by their very barbarity and their attachment to clanship.

The clans of *Auvergne* were then united under one chief, or king, named *Bituit*. These mountaineers believed themselves invincible. *Bituit* sent a solemn embassy to the Roman generals to demand the liberation of one of the captive chiefs. In it appeared his royal hunting pack, composed of enormous hounds, procured at great cost from *Belgium* and *Brittany*. The ambassador, superbly dressed, was surrounded by a troop of young horsemen glittering with gold and purple. Beside him was a bard with his *rotte*, singing at intervals the glory of the king and of the *Arvenian* nation, and the exploits of the ambassador.†

The *Eduans* saw the Roman invasion with pleasure; the *Massalians* interposed and obtained for them the title of *allies and friends of the Roman people*. *Marseilles* had introduced the Romans into the south of Gaul, the *Eduans* opened to them *Celtic*, or central Gaul, and the *Remi* subsequently gave them admission into *Belgium*.

The enemies of Rome acted with the usual Gallic precipitation, and were vanquished in detail upon the borders of the *Rhone*. The silver chariot of *Bituit* and his pack of war hounds served him in no great stead: yet the *Arverni* alone amounted to 200,000 men; but they were terrified by the elephants of the Romans. *Bituit* said before the battle, looking at the little Roman army and its serried legions: "There is not enough there for a meal for my dogs."‡

\* See Am. Thierry, ii. 164.—Liv. epist. l. ix.—Florus, l. iii. c. 2.

† Am. Thierry, ii. 169—Applan. Fulv. Ursin.

‡ Paul. Oros. l. v. Fabius—adeo cum parvo exercitu occurrit, ut Bituitus paucitatem Romanorum vix ad escam canibus, quos in agmine habebat, sufficere posse jactaret.

Rome laid her hand on the Allobroges, declared them her subjects, and thus secured to herself the gate of the Alps. Domitius, the proconsul, repaired the Phœnician Way, and called it the Domitian. The consuls who succeeded him had only to advance towards the west, between Marseilles and the Arverni (B. C. 120-118). They proceed towards the Pyrenees and founded a potent colony, *Narbo Martius*, Narbonne, almost at the entrance of Spain. This was the second Roman colony established beyond the limits of Italy (the first had been sent to Carthage). Connected with the sea by works of prodigious magnitude, it had, in imitation of the metropolis, its capitol, its senate, its thermæ, its amphitheatre; it was the Gaulish Rome and the rival of Marseilles. The Romans did not choose that their influence in Gaul should continue to depend upon their ancient ally.

They were establishing themselves peaceably in those regions, when an unforeseen event, immense and fearful as an universal deluge, had like to have swept all away, and even Italy herself. That barbarian world which Rome had barred in within the limits of the north with so rude a hand, was, nevertheless, still in existence. Those Kymry she had exterminated at Bologna and Senagallia, had brethren in Germany. Gauls and Allemanns, Kymry and Teutons, flying, it is said, from an inundation of the Baltic, took their course towards the south. They had ravaged all Illyria; beaten, on the confines of Italy, a Roman general who had sought to exclude them from Norica; and made their way round the Alps through Helvetia, the principal tribes of which, the Ombrians, or Ambrons, the Tigurines (Zurich) and the Tughenes (Zug), swelled their horde. The whole united body entered Gaul, to the number of 300,000 fighting men, their families—their old men, women, and children—following in chariots. In the north of Gaul they fell in with ancient Cimbrian tribes, and deposited with them, it is said, a portion of their booty. But central Gaul was devastated with fire and sword, and reduced to famine all along their line of march. The populations of the country took refuge in the towns to let the torrent sweep by, and were reduced to such scarcity that they endeavoured to subsist upon human flesh.\* The barbarians, when they reached the borders of the Rhone, learned that again on the other side of that river lay that Roman empire of which they had already encountered the frontiers in Illyria, Thrace and Macedon. The immensity of the great empire of the south impressed them with superstitious reverence; and they said to M. Silanus, the magistrate of the province, with the simple good faith that characterises the Germanic race, that *If Rome would give them lands, they would willingly fight for her.* Silanus haughtily replied that Rome had no need of their services, then crossed the Rhone, and was beaten. P. Cassius, the consul, who came next to the defence

\* *Cæsar, Bell. Gall. lib. vii. c. 77. In oppida compulsi, ac inopiâ subacti, eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt.*

of the province, was slain; Scaurus, his lieutenant, was taken prisoner, and the army passed under the yoke of the Helvetians, not far from the Lake of Geneva. The emboldened barbarians wished to cross the Alps. The only question with them was whether the Romans should be reduced to slavery or exterminated. In the course of their noisy debates it occurred to them to interrogate their prisoner Scaurus. The hardihood of his reply infuriated them, and one of them ran him through with his sword. Upon reflection, however, they postponed crossing the Alps; the words of Scaurus were perhaps the salvation of Italy.

The Tectosage Gauls of Tolosa, connected with the Cimbri by a common origin, called in their aid against the Romans whose yoke they had shaken off. The march of the Cimbri was too slow; the consul, C. Servilius Cæpio, entered the town and sacked it. The gold and silver formerly carried away by the Tectosages from the pillage of Delphi; that of the Pyrenean mines; that which the piety of the Gauls locked up in a temple of the city, or cast into a neighbouring lake; all this had made Tolosa the richest town of Gaul. Cæpio took from it, it is said, a hundred and ten thousand pounds weight of gold, and fifteen hundred thousand pounds of silver. He sent this treasure towards Marseilles, and had it seized by the way by men of his own, who slew the escort. But this robbery did not avail him; all those who had touched that fatal booty came to a miserable end; and it became a proverbial expression to designate a man doomed to an implacable fatality—"He has Tolosa gold."

At first, Cæpio, jealous of a colleague inferior to him in birth, chose to encamp and fight separately. He insulted the deputies whom the barbarians sent to the other consul; these latter, boiling with rage, solemnly devoted to the gods all that should fall into their hands. Of eighty thousand soldiers, and forty thousand slaves, or sutlers, but ten men, it is said, escaped. Cæpio was among these ten. The barbarians religiously fulfilled their oath. They slew every living being in the two camps, gathered up the arms, and cast the gold and silver, and even the horses, into the Rhone.\* That bloody day, as fearful as that of Cannæ, opened them a way into Italy: but the fortune of Rome stayed them in the province, and and turned them aside towards the Pyrenees. From thence the Cimbri spread all over Spain, whilst the rest of the barbarians were awaiting them in Gaul.

Whilst they were thus losing time, and wasting their strength upon the mountains, and against the obstinate courage of the Celtiberians, dismayed Rome had recalled Marius from Africa. There needed nothing less than the man of Arpinum, in whom all the Italians beheld one of their own people, to re-assure Italy, and arm

---

\* Paul. Oros. l. v. c. 16. Aurum et argentum in flumen abjectum—equi ipsi gurgitibus immersi.

it unanimously against the barbarians. That stern soldier, almost as terrible to his own men as to the enemy, fierce as the Cimbrians to whom he was about to give battle, was to Rome a preserving deity. During the four years in which the barbarians were expected, neither the people, nor even the senate, could make up their minds to name any other consul than Marius. On arriving in the Province, he first of all hardened his soldiers by engaging them in prodigious tasks; he made them dig the *Fossa Mariana*, which facilitated his communication with the sea, and allowed his vessels to avoid the embouchure of the Rhone, which was obstructed with sand-banks. At the same time he crushed the Tectosages, and secured the fidelity of the Province before the barbarians had again put themselves in motion.

The latter at last shaped their course towards Italy, the only country of the West which had, as yet, escaped their ravages. But the difficulty of victualling so great a multitude, obliged them to separate. The Cimbrians and the Tigurines turned off through Helvetia and Norica. The Ambrons and the Teutons, taking a more direct course, were to trample down the legions of Marius, enter Italy by the maritime Alps, and rejoin the Cimbrians upon the banks of the Po.

Marius observing them from his intrenched camp, first near Arles, and afterwards under the walls of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), obstinately refused to give them battle. He wished to accustom his men to the sight of those barbarians, with their huge stature, their fierce eyes, and their strange arms and garments. Their king, Teutobochus, could leap over four or even six horses placed abreast;\* when he was led in triumph to Rome he was taller than the trophies. The barbarians, defiling before the intrenchments, offered the Romans a thousand insulting defials: "Have you no message to send to your wives?" they said, "we shall soon be with them." One day one of these northern giants went up to the very gates of the camp to challenge Marius himself. The general sent him word that if he was tired of life he had only to go and hang himself; and as the Teuton persisted in calling him out, he sent him a gladiator. Thus he checked the impatience of his own men; and meanwhile he knew what was passing in the barbarian camp, through young Sertorius, who spoke their language and mingled with them under the Gaulish garb.

In order to make his soldiers wish more ardently for battle, Marius had pitched his camp upon a hill without water, and overlooking a river. "You are men," he said to them; "you shall have water for blood." The fight actually took place ere long on the banks of the river. The Ambrons, who were alone in this first encounter, at first astounded the Romans with the strange muffled

\* Florus, l. iii. Rex Teutobochus, quaternos senosque equos transilire solitus.

sound of their war cries, as they shouted under their bucklers, "Ambrons! Ambrons!" The Romans were victorious, however, but they were driven back from the camp by the women of the Ambrons, who took up arms to defend their liberty and their children, and struck down right and left from their chariots without distinction of friend or foe. All night the barbarians lamented their dead with savage howlings, which, reverberated by the echoes of the mountains and the stream, struck terror even into the souls of the victors. The next day but one Marius drew them into another engagement by means of his cavalry. The Ambro-Teutons, carried away by their courage, crossed the river, and were overwhelmed in its bed. A corps of three thousand Romans took them in the rear, and decided their defeat. According to the most moderate estimate the number of the barbarians captured or slain was ten thousand. The valley, fattened by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility: the inhabitants of the country used no other fences or props for their vines than the bones of the dead. The village of Pourrières to this day recalls the name given to the plain, *Campi putridi* (field of putrefaction). As for the booty, the army gave it all to Marius, who after a solemn sacrifice burnt it in honour of the gods. A pyramid was erected to Marius, a temple to Victory. The church of Sainte-Victoire, which took the place of the temple, used to be visited by an annual procession, a custom that was never interrupted until the period of the French Revolution. The pyramid subsisted until the fifteenth century; and Pourrières adopted for armorial bearings the triumph of Marius, represented upon one of the bas-reliefs that adorned that monument.\*

Meanwhile the Cimbrians, having passed the Noric Alps, had descended into the valley of the Adige. It was with terror the soldiers of Catulus saw them sporting almost naked on the ice, and sliding upon their bucklers down the cliffs and precipices of the Alps.† Catulus, a methodical tactician, thought himself in safety behind the Adige, and under the protection of a little fort, which he fancied that the enemy would spend their time in endeavouring to carry. But no: they piled rocks on rocks, threw a whole forest over these, and so crossed over. The Romans fled, and did not stop until they found themselves on the other side of the Po. The Cimbrians did not think of pursuing them: whilst waiting for the arrival of the Teutons, they enjoyed the heaven and the soil of Italy, and suffered themselves to be vanquished by the delights of that lovely and effeminating land. Wine, bread, every thing was new to these barbarians.‡ They melted beneath the southern sun, and beneath the still more enervating agency of civilisation.

\* Am. Thierry, *Hist. des Gaul.*, ii., 226.

† Florus, l. iii., c. 3. *Hi jam (quis crederet?) per hiemem, quæ altius Alpes levat, Tridentinis jugis in Italiam provoluti ruina descenderant.* Plut., c. 22. *Τοῖς θυραίοις πλατείς ὑποτάθοντες τοῖς σέμασι.*

‡ Florus, iii., 3. *In Venetia, quo fere tractu Italia molliissima est, ipsa soli*

Marius had time to join his colleague. He received deputies from the Cimbrians, who wished to gain time. "Give us," they said, "lands for ourselves, and for our brothers the Teutons."—"Never mind your brothers," replied Marius, "they have lands; we have given them some they will keep to all eternity." And when the Cimbrians threatened him with the arrival of the Teutons, "They are here," he said; "it would not be becoming of you to go away without saluting them;" and he had the captives brought in. The Cimbrians demanding of him on what day and at what place he would fight, to determine who should possess Italy, he appointed them a meeting for the third day, in a field near Verceil.

Marius placed himself so as to make the enemy face the wind, the dust, and the burning rays of a July sun. The Cimbrian infantry formed an immense square, the first ranks of which were all linked together with iron chains. Their cavalry, fifteen thousand strong, was fearful to behold, with their helmets covered with the grinning jaws of wild beasts, and surmounted with birds' wings.\* The camp and army of the barbarians occupied a league in length. In the beginning of the engagement, the wing in which Marius was stationed, thinking it saw the enemy's cavalry flying, rushed to pursue it, and lost its way in the thick dust; whilst the enemy's infantry dashed, like the waves of a great sea, against the centre, where stood Catulus and Sylla, and then all was lost in a cloud of dust. The principal honour of the victory was due to the dust and the sunshine.† (B.C. 101.)

The barbarian camp, the women and children of the vanquished, remained to be disposed of. At first the women, clad in mourning, besought the victors to promise that their honour should be respected, and that they should be given as slaves to the Roman priestesses of fire.‡ (The worship of the elements existed in Germany.) Then, seeing their petition treated with derision, they provided with their own hands for their liberty. Marriage was a grave matter among these races. The symbolical marriage gifts, the harnessed oxen, the weapons, and the war-horse, told the virgin plainly enough that she was becoming the companion of her husband's dangers, and that they were united together for life or death, in one common destiny. (*Sic vivendum, sic perendum.*—Tacit.) It was to his wife that the warrior submitted his wounds after battle. (*Ad matres et conjuges vulnera referunt; nec illæ numerare aut exigere*

colique clementia robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis usu carnisque coctæ et dulcedine vini mitigatos....

\* Plut., c. 37.—Θηρίων φοβερῶν χάσμασι...λόφοις πτερωτοῖς...

† Florus., l. iii.—Plut., in Mar., c. 27.—Κονιορτοῦ ἀρβεντος ἀπλήτου...συγαυίαςσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις το καῦμα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον.

‡ Paul. Oros., l. v., c. 16. Consuluerunt consulem, ut si inviolatâ castitate virginibus sacris ac diis serviendum esset, vitam sibi reservarent.—Florus, l. iii., c. 3. Quum, missâ ab Mario legatione, libertatem ac sacerdotium non impetrasset.



*plagas pavent.*) She shrank not from numbering and examining them; for death was not to part the wedded pair. Thus, in the Scandinavian poems, Brunhild burns herself upon the body of Siegfried. The women of the Cimbrians first of all set their children free by death, strangling them or casting them under the chariot wheels; then they hanged themselves, or bound themselves with a running knot to the horns of oxen, and goaded the animals that they might be trampled under their feet. The dogs of the horde defended the corpses, and the Romans had to exterminate them with their arrows.\*

Thus vanished that terrible apparition from the north, which had stricken such terror into Italy. The word *Cimbrian* remained synonymous with *strong* and *terrible*. Rome, nevertheless, was not sensible of the heroic genius of those nations which were one day to destroy her; she believed in her own eternity. The prisoners the Romans were able to make among the Cimbrians were distributed through the towns as public slaves, or destined to the gladiatorial combats.

Marius caused to be engraved upon his buckler the face of a Gaul lolling out his tongue, a popular emblem in Rome since the times of Torquatus. The people called him the third founder of Rome, after Romulus and Camillus. Libations were made in the name of Marius, just as in honour of Bacchus or Jupiter. He himself, inflated with his victory over the barbarians of the north and of the south, over Germany and the *African Indies*, thenceforth drank only from that two-handled cup, out of which tradition related that Bacchus had drunk after his Indian victory.†

## CHAPTER II.

State of Gaul in the Age preceding the Conquest—Druidism—Cæsar's Conquest.

(a. c. 58-51.)

THAT great event—the Cimbrian invasion—had but a very indirect influence over the destinies of Gaul, its principal theatre. The Teuton Kymry were too barbarous to incorporate themselves with the Gaulish tribes which Druidism had already withdrawn from their

\* Plin., l. viii., c. 40. Canes defendere, Cimbris cæsis, domus eorum plaustris impositas.

† Valerius Maxim., l. iii., c. 7.—Sallust, B. Jugurth. ad calc.: Ex cæ tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.—Vell. Paternulus, l. ii., c. 12: Videtur meruisse—ne ejus nati rempublicam pœniteret.—Florus, l. iii., c. 3: Tam lætam tamque felicem liberatæ Italiæ assertique imperii nuntium—populus Romanus accepit per ipsos, si credere fas est, Deos, etc.—Plut. in Mario.—Of

primitive rudeness. Let us investigate somewhat in detail that Druidic religion,\* which began the moral cultivation of Gaul, prepared the Roman invasion, and opened the way to Christianity. It must have attained its full development, its complete maturity in the age which preceded Cæsar's conquest; perhaps it was then even verging towards its decline; the political influence of the Druids had at least diminished.

It seems that the Gauls at first adored material objects, phenomena and agencies of nature, lakes, fountains, stones, trees, and winds, especially the terrible *Kirk*.† This rude worship was in process of time elevated and generalised; those beings, those phenomena had their genii, and so too had places and tribes. Thence the god *Tarann*, the spirit of thunder;‡ *Vosege*, a deification of the *Vosges*; *Pennin*, of the Alps; *Arduinne*, of the Ardennes; thence the *Genius of the Arverns*; *Bibracte*, a goddess and a city of the *Ædui*; *Aventia*, among the *Helvetii*; *Nemausus* (Nîmes), among the *Arecomikes*, &c., &c.

By a further effort of abstraction, the general forces of nature, those of the human soul and of society were also deified. *Tarann* became the god of the sky, the mover and arbiter of the world. The sun, under the name of *Bel* or *Belen*, brought forth plants wholesome to man, and presided over medicine. *Heus* or *Hesus* presided over war;§ *Teutates* over commerce and industry. Eloquence even and poetry had their symbol in *Ogmios*,|| who was armed like Hercules with club and bow, and drew men after him fastened by the ear to chains of gold and amber that issued from his mouth.

Here we see there is some analogy with the Olympus of the Greeks and Romans.¶ The resemblance became changed into identity when Gaul, subjugated by Rome, had but for a few years undergone the influence of Roman ideas. Then the Gaulish polytheism, honoured and favoured by the emperors, merged finally in that of Italy, whilst Druidism, its mysteries, its doctrines, and its priesthood, were cruelly proscribed.

πολλοὶ ἐτίστην τε Ρώμης τρίτον ἐκείων εἰληγόρευον... ἐνθούμενοί τε μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἕκαστοι κατ' οἶκον, ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ Μαρίας δεῖπνον, καὶ λοιβῆς ἀπύρχοντο.

\* The following details respecting the Druidic religion are derived verbatim from the excellent work of Amédée Thierry.

† Maxim. Tyr., Sermon. 18.—Senec. Quæst. Nat., l. v., c. 17.—Posidon. ap. Strab., l. iv.—P. Oros., l. v., c. 16.—Greg. Turon. de Glor. confess., c. 5.

‡ TARANNIS. Lucan., l. i.—VOSEGE. Inscript. Grut. p. 94.—ARDOINNE. Inscript. Grut.—GENIO ARVERNORUM. Reines, append. 5—BIBRACTE. Inscr. ap. Scr. Res. Fr. i., 24.—NEMAUSUS. Grut. p. iii. Spor. p. 169.—AVENTIA, Grut. p. 110.—BELENUS. Auson. Carm. ii. Tertull. Apolog. c. 24.

§ In a bas-relief found under the church of Notre Dame in Paris, in 1711, Hesus is represented crowned with foliage, half naked, a woodman's axe in his hand, with his left knee resting upon a tree he is cutting.

|| The sacred writing of the Irish was called *Ogham*. See Tolland, O'Halloran, and Vallancy and Beaufort, in "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," etc.

¶ See Cæsar, Bell. Gall., l. vi., c. 17.

The Druids taught that matter and spirit are eternal; that the substance of the universe remains unalterable, amid the perpetual variation of the phenomena in which the influence of water and of fire\* alternately prevail; and lastly, that the human soul is subject to metempsychosis.† With this last doctrine was connected the moral idea of rewards and punishments; they considered the degrees below the human condition as states of trial and chastisement. They had even another world,‡ a world of happiness, wherein the soul retained its identity, its passions, its habits. In their funerals they burned letters which the dead man was to read or deliver to others of the dead.§ Frequently they even lent money to be repaid them in the other world.||

These two combined notions of the metempsychosis and of a future life, formed the basis of the system of the Druids; but their science did not end there; they were, moreover, metaphysicians, physicians (that is, expounders of nature), mediciners, sorcerers, and above all astronomers.¶ Their year was composed of lunations, which gave the Romans occasion to say that the Gauls measured time by nights and not by days. They accounted for this custom on the ground of the infernal origin of that people and their descent from the god Pluto.\*\* Druidical medicine was founded entirely upon magic. It was necessary to gather the *samoletus* plant fasting, and with the left hand, to pluck it from the ground without looking at it, and to cast it in the same way into the reservoirs where the cattle drank; it was a preservative against all the maladies incident to them.†† The Gauls prepared themselves for gathering *selage* by ablutions, and an offering of bread and wine. They set out barefoot, dressed in white, and as soon as they discovered the plant, they stooped, as if by chance, and slipping the right hand under the left arm, they plucked it up without ever employing iron, and then wrapped it up in a linen cloth, which was to be used but once.‡‡ There was another ceremonial for *vervain*; but the universal remedy, the *heal all*, as the Druids called it,§§ was the famous misletoe. They

\* Cæs., l. vi., c. 14.—Diodor., l. v., p. 306.—Val. Max. l. ii., c. 9.

† Strabo, l. vi., p. 197.—*Ἀφθάρτους λέγουσι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον επικρατῆσαι διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος*.—Cæsar, l. iv., c. 14.—Mela, l. iii., c. 2.—Ammian. Marc., l. xv. c. 9.—Val. Max., l. ii.

‡ Lucan, l. i.—Mela, l. iii., c. 2.—See, at the end of the book, the illustrations respecting the religious usages of the Gauls and the Irish. I have related these traditions, because, recent as they may appear, there is an indigenous character deeply stamped upon them. The myth of the beaver and the lake looks very much as if it had arisen at the period when our western regions were still covered with forests and marshes.

§ Diod., l. v., p. 306.

|| Mela, l. iii., c. 2.—Val. Max., l. ii., c. 9.

¶ Cæs., l. vi., c. 18.—Mela, l. iii., c. 2.—Plin., l. xvi., c. 44.

\*\* Cæs., l. vi., c. 18.

†† Plin., l. xxiv., c. 11.

‡‡ Ibid.

§§ *Omnia sanantem* appellantes. Plin., l. xvi., c. 44.

believed it planted upon the oak by a divine hand, and beheld in the union of their sacred tree with the everlasting verdure of the mistletoe a living symbol of the doctrine of immortality. The plant was gathered in winter at the period of its bloom, when it is most visible, and when its long green branches, its leaves, and the yellow tufts of its flowers, decking the leafless tree, present the only image of life amidst the death and barrenness of nature.\*

It was on the sixth day of the moon that the mistletoe was to be cut. A Druid in white robes climbed the tree with a golden sickle in his hand, cut the plant at the root and cast it down to other Druids who received it in a white *sagum*, for it was not to be allowed to touch the ground.† Two white bulls, whose horns were bound for the first time, were then sacrificed.

The Druids predicted future events from the flight of birds, and from the inspection of the entrails of victims. They also fabricated talismans, such as the amber chaplets, which the warriors wore in battle, and which are often found beside them in tombs. But no talisman equalled the *serpent's egg*.‡

These notions of eggs and serpents remind us of the cosmogonic egg of the oriental mythologies, and of the metempsychosis, and the eternal renovation whereof the serpent was the emblem.

Female magicians and prophetesses were attached to the order of Druids, but did not partake of its prerogatives. Their institution imposed on them whimsical and contradictory laws: here the priestess could disclose the future to none but the man who had profaned her; there, she was devoted to perpetual virginity; elsewhere, though married, she was doomed to long intervals of celibacy. Sometimes these women were required to be present at nocturnal sacrifices in a

\* Plin., l. xvi., c. 44.

Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum  
Fronde vivere nova, quod non sua seminat arbor,  
Et croceo facta teretes circumdare ramos.

VIRG. ÆNEID, l. vi.

† Plin., l. xvi., c. 44.

‡ Pliny, l. xxix., c. 44. This supposed egg appears to have been nothing else than an echinite, or petrified sea-urchin.

During the summer, says Pliny, numberless serpents collect in certain caves of Gaul, where they twine together, and with their saliva mixed with the foam that exudes from their skin, produce this species of egg. When it is perfect they raise and support it in the air with their hissing breath; this is the moment when it must be seized, before it has touched the ground. A man, posted for that purpose, rushes forward, catches the egg in a linen cloth, springs upon a horse ready waiting for him, and gallops away full speed; for the serpents pursue him until he has put a running stream between himself and them. It was necessary to take it away at a certain period of the moon. It was tried by plunging it in water; if it floated, though girt with a golden circle, it had the virtue of giving success in judicial suits, and of opening a free access to the persons of kings. The Druids wore it on their necks, richly set, and they sold it at a very high price.

state of complete nudity, their bodies painted black, their hair in disorder, and their whole frames agitated by frantic transports.\* Most of them dwelt amid savage rocks, exposed to the tempests of the Armorican Archipelago. At Sena (Sein) was the celebrated oracle of the nine dread virgins called *Senes*, from the name of their island.† To entitle a man to consult them it was necessary that he should be a mariner, and furthermore, that he should have visited their island for that sole purpose.‡ These virgins knew the future; they healed incurable diseases; they foretold and produced tempests.

The priestesses of the Nannetes at the mouth of the Loire inhabited one of the small islands of that river. Though they were married no man durst approach their dwelling; it was they who, at prescribed periods, visited their husbands upon the mainland. Leaving their isle at nightfall in light barks, managed by themselves, they passed the night in cabins prepared for their reception; but as soon as morning began to dawn, starting from the arms of their husbands, they ran to their boats and rowed back to their lonely abode.§ It was their duty every year, crowned with ivy and green foliage, to pull down and reconstruct the roof of their temple in the interval between two successive nights. If one of them unfortunately let any part of the sacred materials fall to the ground, she was lost: her companions fell upon her with horrid yells, tore her to pieces, and scattered her bleeding remains.|| The Greeks thought they recognised the worship of Bacchus in these rites. They likewise assimilated to the orgies of Samothrace, other druidical orgies celebrated in an island near Bretagne,¶ whence the awe-stricken mariners, as they sailed over the neighbouring deep, heard frantic cries and the clashing of barbarian cymbals.

The Druidical religion had, if not instituted, at least adopted and maintained the practice of human sacrifices. The priests stabbed the victim below the diaphragm, and drew their prognostics from the attitude in which he fell, from the convulsions of his limbs, and from the abundance and colour of his blood. Sometimes they crucified him upon beams set up in the interior of their temples, or poured upon him a shower of darts and arrows till he died.\*\* Frequently, too, they erected a colossal figure of osier or of hay, and filled it with living men; a priest applied a lighted torch to the figure, and the whole speedily disappeared in smoke and flame.†† Votive gifts were doubtless often substituted for these horrible offerings. Ingots

---

\* Plin., l. xxii., c. 2.—Tacit. Annal., l. xiv.

† Galli Senas vocant. Mela, l. iii., c. 5.

‡ Ibid.

§ Strab., l. iv., p. 198.

|| Ibid.—Dionys. Perieget. v. 566 et seq.

¶ Fest. Avien. Peripl.—Dionys. Perieg.—Strab., l. iv., p. 198.

\*\* Strab., l. iv., p. 198.—Diod., l. v., p. 308.

†† Cæs., l. vi., c. 16. Strab., l. iv., p. 198.

of gold and silver were cast into the lakes or nailed up in the temples.\*

A word as to the hierarchy. It comprised three distinct orders. The inferior order was that of the bards, who retained in memory the genealogies of the clans, and sang to the *rotte* the exploits of the chiefs and the national traditions. Then came the sacerdotal order properly so called, composed of the ovates and of the Druids. The ovates had charge of the externals of religion and of the celebration of the sacrifices; they studied especially the natural sciences applied to religion, such as astronomy, divination, &c. They were the interpreters of the Druids, and no civil or religious act could be accomplished without their ministry.†

The Druids, or *oak-men*,‡ were the crowning order of the hierarchy; in them resided its power and its science. Theology, morals, legislation, every higher branch of knowledge was their peculiar privilege.§ The order of Druids was elective. The initiation sometimes lasted twenty years, and many were the severe trials undergone in the depths of the woods and caverns. It was necessary for the aspirant to learn by rote the whole body of the sacerdotal sciences; for they wrote nothing, at least until the period when they were able to make use of the Greek characters.||

The most solemn assemblage of the Druids took place once a year in the territory of the Carnutes, in a consecrated place, reputed to be the central point of all Gaul, whither men flocked from the most distant provinces. The Druids then issued from their solitudes, seated themselves in the midst of the people, and delivered their judgments. There, doubtless, they chose their supreme Druid, who was to watch over the maintenance of the institution. It was not an uncommon thing for the election of this chief to excite civil war.

Even though Druidism had not been enfeebled by these divisions, the solitary life to which the majority of the members of the order seem to have been devoted, was ill adapted to strengthen its influence over the people. Moreover, there was not here, as in Egypt, a population densely accumulated along a narrow line. The Gauls were dispersed through the forests and marshes that covered their wild country, exposed to all the hazards and chances of a barbarous life. Druidism had not sufficient hold upon these scattered and isolated populations; they escaped betimes from its grasp.

Thus when Cæsar invaded Gaul¶ she seemed palpably incom-

\* So at Toulouse. See above.

† *Οἰάτεις ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι*.—Strab., l. iv., p. 197.—Diod., l. v., p. 308.—Amm. Marc., l. xv. c. 9.

‡ *Derw* (Cymric), *Deru* (Armorican), *Dair* (Gallic): *oak*.

§ Diod., l. v., p. 308.—Strab., l. iv., p. 197.—Amm. Marc., l. xv., c. 9.

|| Cæs., l. vi., c. 14.

¶ For the revolutions of the Roman Province, between the days of Marius and Cæsar, see Am. Thierry. A great part of Aquitaine followed the example of Spain, and declared for Sertorius. It was from Gaul that Lepidus invaded Italy.

petent to the task of self-organisation. The old spirit of clanship, the warlike impatience of discipline which Druidism probably kept down, had recovered strength; only the difference of their physical strength had established a sort of hierarchy between the tribes, some of which were clients of others; the Carnutes, for instance, of the Remi; the Senones, of the Ædui, &c. (Chartres, Rheims, Sens, Autun.)

Towns had been formed, each furnishing a sort of asylum amidst this life of warfare; but all the husbandmen were serfs, and Cæsar could say with reason, There are but two orders in Gaul, the Druids and the cavaliers (*equites*). The Druids were the weaker of the two; it was a Druid of the Ædui who called in the Romans.

I have spoken elsewhere of this prodigious Cæsar, and of the motives which determined him so long to quit Rome for Gaul, to become an exile that he might return as master. Italy was exhausted, Spain incapable of discipline; Gaul was requisite as an instrument towards the enslavement of the world. I would fain have seen that blanched face,\* prematurely faded by the debaucheries of Rome, that delicate and epileptic man,† marching through the heavy rain of Gaul at the head of the legions, swimming across our rivers, or riding on horseback between the litters in which his secretaries were carried, dictating four, five, or six letters at once; shaking Rome from the heart of Belgium; exterminating upon his path two millions of men,‡ and subjugating, in ten years, Gaul, the Rhine, and the Northern Ocean (B.C. 58-49).

This Gaul, this barbarous and warlike chaos, was a splendid raw material to be wrought by such a genius. The Gaulish tribes on all sides seemed to invite the stranger. Enfeebled Druidism seems to have held sway in the two Britains, and in the basins of the Seine and of the Loire.§ In the south the Arverns and all the Iberian popula-

---

But Sylla's party gained the upper hand. Aquitaine was reduced by Pompey, who founded military colonies there, at Toulouse, Biterræ (Béziers), and Narbonne (A.C. 75), and gathered all the outlaws who infested the Pyrenees into his new town of *Convenæ* (gathering of men assembled from all countries); this is the modern Saint-Bertrand de Comminges. The principal agent of the violence committed by Sylla's party in Gaul had been one Fonteius, whom Cicero found means to have acquitted. (See the oration *Pro Fonteio*.) Such were the hardships entailed on Roman Gaul that the deputies of the Allobroges were on the point of engaging their country in Catiline's conspiracy.—See the Author's *Roman History*.

\* Sueton. in *J. Cæs.*, c. 45. *Fuisse traditur colore candido.*

† *Id. ibid.* *Comitali quoque morbo bis inter res gerendas correptus est.*

‡ Sueton., *Plut. passim.*—*Plin.*, vii., 25. Eleven hundred and ninety-two thousand men before the civil wars. *Sublimitatem omnium capacem quæ cælo continentur, sed proprium vigorem celeritatemque quodam igne volucrum—epistolas tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librariis dictare, aut si nihil aliud ageret, septenas.*

§ The Carnutes (Chartres), a Druidic people, were under the patronage of the Rhemi (Rheims). The Senones (Sens), allies of the Carnutes and Parisii, had been vassals or clients of the Eduans (Autun), as perhaps also the Bituriges (Berri). *Cæs.*, *B. Gall.*, lib. vi., c. 1, et *passim*.

tions of Aquitaine had, in general, remained faithful to their hereditary chiefs. In Celtic Gaul itself, the Druids had only been able to resist the old spirit of clanship by favouring the formation of a free population in the great towns, the chiefs or patrons of which were, at least, elective, like the Druids. Thus two factions divided all the Gaulish states; that of the hereditary principle, or of the chiefs of the clans; that of election, or of the Druids and temporary chiefs of the town populations.\* At the head of the latter faction were the Ædui; at that of the former were the Arverns and the Sequani. Thus began in those days the opposition between La Bourgogne (Ædui) and Franche-Comté (Sequani). The Sequani, oppressed by the Ædui, who closed the Saône against them, and stopped their great trade in swine,† called in, from Germany, tribes alien to Druidism, which were designated by the common name of Suevi. These barbarians desired nothing better; they crossed the Rhine under the command of one Ariovistus, beat the Ædui and imposed a tribute upon them; but they treated the Sequani, who had called them in, still worse. They took the third of their lands from them, according to the usage of German conquerors, and they desired as much more besides. Thereupon, the Ædui and Sequani, reconciled by misfortune, sought other foreign aid. Two brothers were all powerful amongst the Ædui. Dumnorix, enriched by the taxes and tolls of which he had obtained the monopoly by fair means or by force, had ingratiated himself with the humbler sort in the towns and was aspiring to the tyranny. He connected himself with the Helvetian Gauls, married a Helvetian woman, and urged that people to quit its barren valleys for the rich plains of Gaul. The other brother, who was a Druid, a title probably identical with that of divitiac, which Cæsar assigns him as a proper name, sought less barbarian liberators for his country. He repaired to Rome and implored the assistance of the senate,‡ which had called the Ædui *relations and friends of the Roman people*. But the chief of the Suevi sent, on his own part, and found means to procure for himself likewise the title of friend of Rome. The impending invasion of the Helvetii probably obliged the senate to unite itself with Ariovistus.

Those mountaineers had, for three years, been making such preparations, that it was clear they intended to prohibit themselves from ever returning. They had burned their twelve towns and their four hundred villages, and destroyed the furniture and the provisions

\* Cæs., l. i., c. 16. *Vergobretum* (ver-go-breith. Gael. 'man for judgment'), qui creatur annuus et vitæ necisque in suos habet potestatem. L. vii., c. 33. Legibus Æduorum iis qui summum magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus non liceret—quum leges duo ex una familia, vivo utroque, non solum magistratus creari vetarent, sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent. L. v., c. 7. Esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se (regulum?) multitudo, quam ipse in multitudine—*et passim*.

† Strabo, l. vi. "Whence the finest cargoes of swine's flesh are imported into Rome."

‡ Cic., *De Divin.*, i.



which they could not carry with them. It was said that they intended to pass through the whole extent of Gaul, and establish themselves in the west, in the country of the Santones (Saintes). Doubtless they expected to find more repose on the banks of the great ocean than in their rude Helvetia, the gathering place to battle of all the nations of the ancient world, Gauls, Cimbrians, Teutons, Sueves, and Romans. Their number, including women and children, amounted to three hundred and seventy-eight thousand. Their cumbrous multitude made them prefer the route through the Roman Province. There, on entering it towards Geneva, they found Cæsar barring their way; and he kept them in play long enough to erect a wall, ten thousand paces long and sixteen feet high, from the lake to the Jura. They were then forced to take their way through the rugged valleys of the Jura, to pass through the country of the Sequani, and to ascend the Saône. Cæsar came up with them as they were crossing the river, attacked the tribe of the Tigurines, separated from the rest, and exterminated it. Being reduced to a scarcity of provisions by the ill will of Dumnorix the Æduan, and of the party who had called in the Helvetii, he was obliged to turn away towards Bibracte (Autun). The Helvetii thought he was flying and pursued him in their turn. Cæsar, thus placed between enemies and unfriendly allies, extricated himself by a bloody victory. The Helvetii, again assailed in their flight towards the Rhine, were obliged to lay down their arms and to engage to return to their country. Six thousand of them, who fled by night to escape this disgrace, were brought back by the Roman cavalry, and, says Cæsar, were *treated as enemies*.\*

It was to no purpose that the Helvetii had been repulsed, if the Suevi established themselves in Gaul. The migrations were continued; already 120,000 warriors had passed; Gaul *was about to become Germany*. Cæsar appeared to yield to the entreaties which the Sequani and the Ædui made to him in their distress. The same Druid who had solicited succour from Rome, guided Cæsar towards Ariovistus and undertook to explore the way. The chief of the Suevi had obtained from Cæsar himself during his consulship, the title of ally of the Roman people; he was amazed at being attacked by him. "This," said the barbarian, "is my Gaul, my own; you have yours; if you leave me in quiet, it will be the better for you; I will make all the wars you wish without trouble or danger to you. Are you not aware what manner of men are the Germans? It is now more than fourteen years that we have not slept beneath a roof."† These words made but too deep an impression on the Ro-

\* Cæsa., l. i., c. 28. Cæsar—reductos in hostium numero habuit.

† Ibid., c. 36. Quum vellet, congredieretur; intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos xiv., tectum non subiissent, virtute possent.—Cæsar rallied the courage of his men (c. 40), by reminding them that they had already beaten the Germans in the war against Spartacus.

man army. All that was related of the stature and ferocity of those northern giants dismayed the small men of the south,\* and nothing was to be seen in the camp, but people making their wills. Cæsar made them ashamed of this: "If you abandon me," said he, "I will still go on. The 10th legion will be enough for me." He then led them to Besançon, seized it, made his way up to the camp of the barbarians not far from the Rhine, forced them to fight, though they would rather have waited for the new moon, and destroyed them in a furious battle. Almost every man who escaped the sword perished in the Rhine.

The Gauls of the north, Belgians, and others, concluded, not without apparent probability, that if the Romans had driven out the Suevi, it was but to take their place as lords over Gaul. They formed a vast coalition, and Cæsar seized this pretext for entering Belgium. He took with him as guide and interpreter the divitiac of the Ædui.† His aid was sought by the Senones, ancient vassals of the Ædui, and by the Remi, suzerains of the Druidical country of the Carnutes.‡ Probably these tribes devoted to Druidism, or at least to the popular party, saw with pleasure the arrival of a friend of the Druids, and reckoned on his aid against the northern Belgæ, their ferocious neighbours. It was in like manner that five centuries afterwards the catholic clergy of the Gauls favoured the invasion of the Franks against the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians.

Gloomy and discouraging, nevertheless, for a general of less hardihood, would have been the prospect of that war, to be waged in rugged plains beset with thickets, and in the virgin forests of the Seine and the Meuse. Like the conquerors of America, Cæsar was often obliged to cut his way axe in hand; to cast bridges over marshes; to advance with his legions sometimes on firm ground, sometimes by fording, or swimming. The trees of the Belgian forests were entangled together by art, as those of America are naturally interwoven by creeping plants. But Pizarro and Cortes, with such a superiority of arms, warred with certainty; and what were the Peruvians compared with those hardy, fiery-tempered populations of the Bellovaci and the Nervii (Picardie, Hainault-Flandre) who fell by hundreds of thousands upon Cæsar? The Bellovaci and the Suessones came to a mutual accommodation through the mediation of the divitiac of the Ædui;§ but the Nervii, backed by the Atrebatas and the Veromandui, surprised the Roman army on its

\* Cæs., l. ii., c. 30. The Gauls said at the siege of Genabum, "Where could men of such diminutive stature find the strength to rear so huge and ponderous a castle?"

† It was this divitiac who had previously led the way when Cæsar marched against the Suevi, l. i., c. 41.—The Germans have no Druids, says Cæsar, l. vi., c. 21. (Neque Druides habent—neque sacrificiis student.) They would seem to have been the protectors of the anti-druidic party in Gaul.

‡ Cæs., l. ii., c. 1, et lib. vi. in principio.

§ Down to the period of the expedition into Britain we see Cæsar everywhere accompanied by the divitiac of the Æduans. Doubtless the Roman gave

march upon the banks of the Sambre, in the depths of their forests, and went very near to destroying it. Cæsar was obliged to seize a standard and charge in person. That brave people was exterminated. Their allies, the Cimbrians, who occupied Aduat (Namur?) affrighted by the works with which Cæsar was encompassing their town, made a feint of surrendering, threw down part of their weapons from their walls and attacked the Romans with the remainder. Cæsar sold 53,000 of them as slaves.

Thenceforth no longer concealing his scheme of subduing Gaul, he set about reducing all the tribes upon the coast. He forced his way through the forests and swamps of the Menapii and the Morini (Zeland and Gueldre, Gand, Bruges, Boulogne). One of his lieutenants subdued the Unelli, Eburones, and Lexovi (Constances, Evreux, Lisieux); another, the young Crassus, conquered Aquitaine, though the barbarians had called in from Spain the old comrades of Sertorius.\* Cæsar himself attacked the Veneti and other tribes of Bretagne. That amphibious people dwelt neither upon the land nor upon the water. Their forts, situated upon peninsulas alternately inundated and left dry by the tide, could neither be besieged by land nor by sea. The Veneti kept up an incessant communication with insular Britain and derived assistance from it. In order to reduce them it was necessary to be master of the sea. No difficulties appalled Cæsar; he made vessels; he made sailors, and taught them to bring the British vessels to a stand by grappling them with iron hands and cutting their cordage. He treated that hard people hardly, but little Britain could only be conquered in the great one: Cæsar resolved to pass over thither.

The barbarian world of the west he had undertaken to subdue was three-fold. Gaul, situated between Britain and Germany, was in relation with the one and the other. The Cimbri were found in all three; the Helvii and the Boii in Germany and in Gaul; the Parisii and the Gaulish Atrebates existed also in Britain. In the intestine divisions of Gaul the Britons seem to have sided with the Druidical party, and the Germans with that of the chiefs of clans. Cæsar smote the two parties both within and without; he crossed the ocean; he crossed the Rhine.

Two great Germanic tribes, the Usipii and the Teucteri, harassed on the north by the incursions of the Suevi, as the Helvetians had been on the south, had likewise passed into Gaul (B. C. 55). Cæsar stopped them, and under pretext that whilst a parley was in hand he had been attacked by their young men, he fell upon them unawares and massacred them all. To strike the more terror into the

---

them to suppose that he would re-establish the authority of the Eduan, that is, the Druidic and popular party, in Belgium. L. ii., c. 14. *Quod si fecerit, Æduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum, quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.*

\* Cæs., l. iii., c. 25. *Duces li deliguntur qui unâ cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur.*

Germans he went in search of those terrible Suevi, near whom no nation durst dwell. In ten days he threw a bridge over the Rhine, not far from Cologne, despite the breadth and impetuosity of that vast river. After having in vain ransacked the forests of the Suevi, he re-crossed the Rhine, traversed all Gaul, and the same year embarked for Britain. When these prodigious marches, more amazing still than victories, were known at Rome, a shout of admiration was raised at so much daring and at such tremendous rapidity. Twenty days' supplications to the gods were decreed. "Compared with the exploits of Cæsar," says Cicero, "what had Marius done?"\*

When Cæsar wished to pass into Great Britain he could obtain no information from the Gauls respecting the sacred island. Dumnorix, the Æduan, declared that religion forbade him to follow Cæsar.† He attempted to escape by flight, but the Roman, who knew his restless genius, sent in pursuit of him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive; he was killed defending himself.

The ill-will with which the Gauls regarded the expedition had like to prove fatal to Cæsar. In the first place they left him in ignorance of the difficulties of the disembarkation. The deep vessels employed upon the ocean drew too much water, and could not approach the shore; it was necessary for the soldiers to leap into the deep sea, and so form their line of battle in the midst of the waves. The barbarians, who covered the beach had an excessive advantage; but the besieging machines came to the rescue and cleared the shore with a hail of stones and other missiles. Meanwhile the equinox was approaching; it was full moon, the period of the highest tides. In one night the Roman fleet was shattered or rendered unserviceable. The barbarians, who in their first astonishment had given hostages to Cæsar, endeavoured to surprise his camp. Being vigorously repulsed, they offered to submit once more. Cæsar ordered them to give hostages twice as numerous, but his vessels were repaired, and he set off that same night without waiting their answer; a few days later the season would hardly have allowed him to return.

The following year we behold him almost simultaneously in Illyria, at Treves, and in Britain. None but the spirits of our old legends have ever travelled in such fashion. This time he was guided into Britain by a fugitive chief of the country, who had sought his aid. He did not withdraw until he had put the Britons to flight, and besieged King Caswallawn in the swamps to which he had retired with his men and his cattle. He wrote to Rome that he had imposed a tribute on Britain, and he sent thither vast quantities of the pearls of little value that were collected upon its coasts.‡

Since this invasion of the sacred island, Cæsar had no longer any

\* Cicer. De Provinc. Consularibus. Ille ipse C. Marius—non ipse ad eorum urbes sedesque penetravit.

† Cæs., l. v., c. 6. Quod religionibus sese diceret impediri.

‡ Sueton., in J. Cæsare, c. 47: Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum—multi prodiderunt.

friends among the Gauls. The necessity of buying up Rome at the expense of Gaul, of gorging so many friends who had obtained for him five years' continued command, had forced the conqueror to the most violent measures. According to one historian he despoiled the sacred places and gave up towns to pillage that had in no wise merited such treatment.\* Everywhere he established chiefs devoted to the Romans and overthrew the popular government. Gaul paid dearly for that union, quiet, and culture, of which the Roman sway was to make known to it the benefits.

Famine obliging Cæsar to disperse his troops, insurrection everywhere broke out. The Eburones massacred one legion and besieged another. Cæsar, in order to deliver the latter, forced his way with 8000 men through 60,000 Gauls. The next year he assembled the states of Gaul at Lutetia, but the Nervii and the Trevires, the Senones and the Carnutes did not make their appearance there; Cæsar attacked them separately and crushed them all. He passed the Rhine a second time to intimidate the Germans who might desire to aid their brethren in Gaul; then he smote simultaneously the two parties that divided the latter country. He dismayed the Senones, the Druidical and popular party, (?) by the death of Acco their chief, whom he caused to be solemnly judged and put to death. He prostrated the Eburones, the barbarian and German party, by hunting their intrepid Ambiorix through the whole forest of Ardennes, and giving them all up to the Gaulish tribes who better knew their lairs in the woods and marshes, and who came with dastard avidity to take their part in hunting down and devouring this quarry. The legions enclosed that unhappy country on all sides, and prevented the escape of any one.

These barbarities mutually reconciled all Gaul, and united it against Cæsar (B. c. 52). The Druids and the chiefs of clans were for the first time of one mind. Even the Eduans were, secretly at least, against their old friend. The signal went forth from the Druidic land of the Carnutes of Genabum. Shouted from man to man, through the fields and the villages,† it arrived that same evening at a distance of 150 miles among the Arverni, formerly the enemies of the Druidical and popular party, now its allies. The vercingetorix (general-in-chief) of the confederation was an intrepid and ardent young Arvernian. His father, the most potent man in Gaul in his time, had been burnt, as guilty of aspiring to royalty. The young man who inherited his vast body of retainers, constantly repulsed the advances of Cæsar, and never ceased to inflame his countrymen against the Romans in their public assemblies and in their religious festivals. He called the very serfs of the rural districts to arms, and declared that all cowards should be burnt alive;

\* Sæpius ob prædæ quam ob delictum. Sueton., c. 54.

† Cæs., l. vii., c. 3. Nam, ubi major—incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt.

lesser faults were to be punished with the loss of an ear or the eyes.\*

The plan of the Gaulish general was to make a simultaneous attack on the Province in the south, and on the quarters of the legions in the north. Cæsar, who was in Italy, divined every thing, prevented every thing. He crossed the Alps, secured the Province, made his way over the Cevennes through six feet deep of snow, and suddenly appeared amongst the Arverni. The Gaulish chief, who had already set out for the north, was compelled to return, his countrymen being impatient to defend their families. This was all that Cæsar desired. He quits his army, under pretext of raising levies among the Allobroges, ascends the Rhone and the Saône without making himself known, through the frontiers of the Eduans, joins his legions and rallies them. Whilst the vercingetorix expects to draw him out by besieging the Eduan city of Gergovia (Moulins), Cæsar massacres all in Genabum. The Gauls hurry to the scene, but it is only to witness the capture of Noviodunum.

Then the vercingetorix declares to his countrymen, that there is no safety for them unless they succeed in famishing the Roman army; the only means to which end is, to set fire to their cities with their own hands. Heroically they accomplish this dire resolution. Twenty cities of the Biturige were burned by their inhabitants; but when they came to the great Agendicum (Bourges), the inhabitants embraced the knees of the vercingetorix, and besought him not to ruin the most beautiful city in Gaul.† This tenderness for their city was fatal to them; it perished all the same, but by the hand of Cæsar, who took it after prodigious efforts.

Meanwhile, the Ædui had declared against Cæsar, who, finding himself left without cavalry by their defection, was obliged to send for Germans to replace them. Labienus, Cæsar's lieutenant, would have been overwhelmed in the north, if he had not extricated himself by a victory (between Lutetia and Melun). Cæsar himself failed in the siege of Gergovia of the Arverns; and his affairs prospered so ill, that he wished to reach the Roman province. The Gaulish army pursued, and came up with him. They had sworn not to revisit their homes, their families, their wives, and their children, till they had twice, at least, ridden through the enemy's lines.‡ The fight was terrific. Cæsar was obliged to expose his own person; he was almost taken, and his sword remained in the hands of the enemy. A movement, however, performed by the German cavalry in Cæsar's service, cast a panic terror into the ranks of the Gauls, and decided the victory.

\* Cæs., l. vii., c. 4. *Igni...necat; leviores de causâ, auribus desectis, defossis oculis, domum remittit.*

† Ibid., c. 15. *Pulcherrimam propè totius Galliæ urbem, quæ et præsidio et ornamento sit civitati.*

‡ Ibid., c. 66. *Ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem reditum habeat, qui non bis per hostium agmen perequitarit.*

The easily-swayed minds of the Gauls then fell into such deep discouragement, that their leader could only re-assure them by intrenching himself under the walls of Alesia, a fortified town, situated at the summit of a mountain (in l'Auxois). Being soon come up with by Cæsar, he sent away his cavalry, and ordered them to report all through Gaul that he had only provisions for thirty days, and to bring to his aid all those who were capable of bearing arms. Cæsar did not hesitate to besiege that great army; he encompassed the city and the Gaulish camp with prodigious works; three ditches each of them fifteen or twenty feet wide, and of a like depth; a rampart twelve feet wide; eight rows of small ditches, the bottom of which was planted with pointed stakes, and covered with boughs and leaves, and pallisades of five rows of trees with their branches twined together. These works were repeated upon the side towards the open country, and prolonged through a circuit of fifteen miles. The whole was completed in less than five weeks, and by fewer than sixty thousand men.

All Gaul dashed like a flood against that mighty bulwark. The desperate efforts of the besieged, who were reduced to horrible famine, and those of two hundred and fifty thousand Gauls who attacked the Romans from the open country, were equally unsuccessful. The besieged beheld with despair their allies, outflanked by the cavalry of Cæsar, flying and becoming dispersed. The vercingetorix alone preserving his fortitude amid the despair of all around him, marked himself out and delivered himself up as the author of the whole war. He mounted his war horse, put on his richest armour, and after wheeling in a circle round Cæsar's tribunal, he flung his sword, his javelin, and his helmet at the feet of the Roman without uttering a single word.\*

The following year all the tribes of Gaul attempted once more to resist in detail and to harass and exhaust the forces of the enemy, whom they had been unable to vanquish in open fight. Uxellodunum alone, (Cap-de-Nac in le Quercy?) detained Cæsar a long while; the example was dangerous; he had no time to waste in Gaul; civil war might break out at any moment in Italy; he was lost if he were forced to consume whole months before every petty fortress. Thereupon he did an atrocious thing to terrify the Gauls, one, indeed, of which the Romans had but too often set the example. He had the right hand of all the prisoners amputated.

From that moment his conduct changed towards the Gauls; he displayed extreme gentleness towards them, and dealt very leniently with them as to tributes, to a degree which excited the jealousy of the Province. The tribute was even disguised under the honourable name of military pay.† He spared nothing to engage their best warriors

\* Plut. in Cæs.—Dio. l. xl., ap. Scr. R. Fr. i., 513....'ἔπειτα μὲν ὁὕτως, πρὸς δὲ τῆς γένου...

† Sueton. in C. J. Cæs., c. 25. In singulos annos stipendii nomen imposuit.

in his legions; and he formed of them an entire legion, the soldiers of which wore a lark in their helmets, for which reason it was called the *Alauda*.\* Under this truly national emblem of matin vigilance and sprightly gaiety, those intrepid soldiers crossed the Alps, singing cheerily, and pursued the taciturn legions of Pompey with their noisy challenges to the field of Pharsalia. The Gaulish lark, led by the Roman eagle, took Rome a second time, and had its share in the triumphs of the civil war. Gaul comforted itself for the loss of its liberty by keeping the sword which Cæsar had lost in the last war. The Roman soldiers wished to take it away from the temple where the Gauls had hung it up: "Let it be," said Cæsar, smiling, "it is sacred."†

---

## CHAPTER III.

Gaul under the Empire—Decline of the Empire—Christian Gaul.

ALEXANDER and Cæsar had this in common, that they were loved and lamented by the vanquished, and perished by the hand of their own men.‡

Such men have no country, they belong to the world.

Cæsar had not destroyed the liberty of Rome; that had perished long before; but it was rather its nationality he compromised. The Romans had beheld with shame and vexation a Gaulish army marching under the eagles, and Gaulish senators sitting between Cicero and Brutus. In reality, it was the vanquished who reaped the profit of the victory.§ Had Cæsar lived, all the barbarian nations would probably have filled the army and the senate. He had already taken a Spanish guard, and the Spaniard Balbus was one of his chief advisers.||

---

\* Sueton. in C. J. Cæs. c. 14. Unam ex transalpinis conscriptam (legionem) vocabulo quoque gallico (alaud aenim appellabatur)...postea universam civitate donavit.

† Plut. in Cæs.—*Χιφίδιον...δ θεασάμενος αὐτος ὕσερον, ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων κατέλειψεν κελυνόντων, οὐκ ἔλασεν, ἱερὸν ἡγούμενος.*

‡ If any one will have it that Alexander did not die by poison, at least it cannot be denied that he was little regretted by the Macedonians. His family was exterminated in the course of a few years.

§ The Romans, says St. Augustine (*de Civitate Dei*. lib. v., c. 16), injured the vanquished only by the blood they shed, they themselves lived in obedience to the laws they imposed on others; all the subjects of the empire are become citizens; the lower classes, who had no lands, have lived at the public cost. Vain glory apart, what advantage did the Romans derive from so many wars? Do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any peculiar privilege to learn what others could not learn? Are there not in the other countries senators who have not even seen Rome?

|| It was he who advised Cæsar to remain seated when the senate presented itself before him in a body. See Michelet's *Roman History*.



Anthony attempted to imitate Cæsar; he undertook to transport the seat of the empire to Alexandria, and he adopted the costume and the manners of the vanquished. Octavius prevailed against him only by declaring himself the champion of old Rome, the avenger of her violated nationality. He expelled the Gauls from the senate, augmented the tributes of Gaul,\* and founded there a Rome, *Valentia* (this was one of the mysterious names of the eternal city). He led thither several military colonies to Orange, Fréjus, Carpentras, Aix, Apt, Vienne, &c. A multitude of towns became *Augustal* in name and privileges, as many had become *Julian* under Cæsar.† Lastly, in disdain of so many illustrious and ancient cities, he selected as the seat of the administration the quite recent town of Lyon, a colony of Vienne, and ever since its origin an enemy to its mother. This city, so favourably situated at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhone, almost backed against the Alps, adjoining the Loire, adjoining the sea, too, by reason of the impetuosity of its river which sweeps down every thing thither at a rush, overlooked the Narbonnese and the Celtic provinces, and seemed an eye of Italy inspecting all Gaul.

It was at Lyons, at Aisnay, at the point of junction of the Saône and the Rhone, that sixty Gaulish cities erected the altar of Augustus under the eyes of his step-son, Drusus. Augustus took his place among the divinities of the land. Other altars were reared to him at Saintes, Arles, Narbonne, &c. The old Gallic religion willingly allied itself with Roman paganism. Augustus built a temple to the god Kirk,‡ the personification of that violent wind which blows in the Narbonnese; and on one altar were seen in a double inscription, the names of the Gaulish and Roman divinities, Mars-Camul, Diana-Arduinna, Belen-Apollo. Rome admitted Hesus and Nehalania into the number of the *dii indigete*.

Druidism, however, for a long time resisted the Roman influence, and became the refuge of Gaulish nationality. Augustus endeavoured at least to modify that sanguinary religion. He prohibited human sacrifices, and tolerated merely slight libations of blood.§

\* He established on the Straits of Dovor customs upon ivory, amber and glass. Strabo.

† Cæsar settled some veterans of the tenth legion at Narbonne, which then received the surnames *Julia*, *Julia Paterna*, *colonia Decumanorum*. Inscript. ap. Pr. de l'Hist. du Languedoc.—Arles, *Julia Paterna Arclate*.—Biterre, *Julia Biterra*, Scr. fr. v., 135.—Bibracte, *Julia Bibracte*, etc.—Under Augustus, Nemausus added the epithet *Augusta* to its name, and took the title of a Roman colony; this was likewise the case with the *Alba Augusta* of the Helvii, and the *Augusta* of the Tricastini. *Augusto-Nemetum* became the capital of the Arverni. Noviodunum took the name of *Augusta*; Bibracte that of *Augustodunum*, &c.—Am. Thierry, iii., 281.

‡ Senec. Quæst. Nat. l. v., c. 17. Aulus Gellius, l. ii., c. 22. The Monk of St. Gall (Scr. r. fr. v., 143) uses *Circinus* synonymously with *Boreas*.

§ Mela, l. iii., c. 2. *Ut ab ultimis cordibus abstinent, ita nihilominus ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant.*

The struggles of Druidism cannot but have contributed to the insurrection of the Gauls under Tiberius, though history assigns as the cause of that event the oppressive burden of the taxes, augmented by usury. The leader of the revolt was apparently an Eduan, Julius Sacrovir. The Eduans were, as I have said, a Druidic people, and the name Sacrovir is, perhaps, only a translation of Druid. The Belgians were also roused by Julius Florus.\*

"The Gaulish cities harassed by the enormity of their debts, attempted a rebellion, the most zealous promoters of which were Julius Florus among the Treveri, and Julius Sacrovir among the Eduans, both of them men of distinguished birth, and descended from ancestors whose worthy deeds had obtained them the rights of Roman citizens. In secret conferences, in which they assembled the boldest of their countrymen, and those who were impelled to insurrection by indigence or fear of punishment, they agreed that Florus should raise Belgium and Sacrovir the cities nearest his own. \* \*

There were few cantons in which the seeds of this revolt were not sown. The Andecavians and the Turonians (Anjou, Touraine) were the first to break out. The Lieutenant Acilius Aviola marched a cohort which was in garrison at Lyon, and reduced the Andecavians. The Turonians were defeated by a corps of legionaries, whom the same Aviola received from Visellius, governor of Lower Germany, and to which were added some Gaulish nobles, who thus concealed their defection in order to declare themselves at a more favourable moment. Sacrovir was even seen fighting on the side of the Romans, with his head uncovered, in order, as he said, to display his courage; but the prisoners affirmed that his intention had been to prevent his being shot at by making himself known. Tiberius being consulted upon the matter, disregarded this opinion, and his irresolution gave strength to the mischief.

"Meanwhile Florus prosecuting his designs, tampered with the fidelity of the wing of cavalry raised in Treves and disciplined in our manner, and he urged it to begin the war by massacring the Roman settlers in the country. The majority remained true to their allegiance, but the multitude of the debtors and clients of Florus took up arms, and they were endeavouring to reach the forest of Ardenne, when their way was barred by the legions of the two armies of Visellius and C. Silius which arrived upon the ground by opposite routes. Julius Indus, a fellow-countryman of Florus, and who was prompted by his hatred for that chief to do us good service, being detached from the main body with a choice troop, dispersed that multitude which as yet scarcely resembled an army. Florus escaped for some time from the pursuit of his victors, taking advantage of lurking places unknown to them. At last, seeing his asylum besieged by our soldiers, he slew himself with his own hand. Thus ended the revolt of the Treveri.

"That of the Eduans was more difficult to put down because

---

\* Tacit. Annal. l. iii., c. 40.

that nation was more powerful, and our forces were more remote from it. Sacrovir, with some regular cohorts, had seized Augustodunum (Autun) their capital, where the children of the Gaulish nobility studied the liberal arts. These were hostages which might secure their families and their friends to his fortunes. He distributed among the inhabitants arms manufactured in secret. Ere long he was at the head of forty thousand men, every fifth one of whom was armed like our legionaries; the others had boar spears, cutlasses, and other weapons of the chase. He added to them slaves destined to the gladiator's calling, and who in that country are named *crupellaries*. They are completely cased in iron armour, which, if it encumber in striking, on the other hand renders them impenetrable to blows. These forces had been strengthened by the accession of other Gauls, who offered their individual services without waiting for their cities to declare themselves; and, by the misunderstanding between our two generals, who disputed for leadership in this war.

"During this time Silius was advancing with two legions, preceded by a body of auxiliaries, and was ravaging the last villages of the Sequani (Franche-Comté), the neighbours and allies of the Ædui, and who had taken up arms with them. Presently he advanced by forced marches to Augustodunum. \* \* \* Twelve miles from that city the troops of Sacrovir were discovered in a plain. He had placed his iron-mailed men in the front, his cohorts on the flanks, and the half armed bands in the rear. The iron-clad men whose armour was impenetrable to sword and javelin, alone stood their ground for some moments. Thereupon the Roman soldiers, seizing axe and hatchet, as if they would make a breach in a wall, cleft both armour and the body it covered, whilst others, with levers or forks overthrew those inert masses and stretched them on the ground where they lay like corpses, unable to raise themselves. Sacrovir retreated at first to Augustodunum; then, fearing lest he should be delivered up, he repaired, with his most trusty friends, to a neighbouring country-house, where he slew himself with his own hand. The others mutually deprived themselves of life, and the house, to which they had set fire, served them all for a funeral pile."

Augustus and Tiberius, severe administrators and true Romans, had in some sort braced up the unity of the empire, endangered by Caesar, by removing the provincials and the barbarians from the government. Their successors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, adopted a directly opposite course. They were descendants of Anthony, the friend of the barbarians, and they followed the example of their ancestor. Germanicus, the father of Caligula, had already affected to imitate him. Caligula, born, according to Pliny, at Treves, and brought up in the armies of Germany and Syria,\* evinced an incre-

---

\* "Upon his death," says Suetonius, "the barbarians agreed on a truce, as in a case of domestic and general affliction; some chiefs cut off their beards, and

dible contempt for Rome. This accounts for a portion of the follies with which the Romans reproached him. His violent and frantic reign was a derision, a parody of all that had been revered until his day. Wedding his sisters after the manner of the kings of the east, he did not wait for death to be adored, but made himself a god even in his lifetime; Alexander, his hero, had contented himself with being the son of a god. He plucked the diadem from the brows of the Roman Jupiter, and placed it upon his own head.\* He decked his horse with the insignia of the consulship. He sold, at Lyons, piece by piece, all the household goods of his family, thus abdicating his ancestry and prostituting their memory. He was even fond of acting himself in the capacity of broker and auctioneer, setting forth the value of each article, and forcing it up to a price much above its real worth. "This vase," said he, "belonged to my ancestor, Anthony. Augustus won it at the battle of Actium."† Then he instituted burlesque and terrible games at the altar of Augustus;‡ contests of eloquence, in which the defeated candidate was to blot out his writings with his tongue, or to be thrown into the Rhone. Doubtless, these games were restored from some antique rite. We know that it was the custom of the Gauls and of the Germans to fling the vanquished, man and horse, from some high point as victims. The manner in which they spun through the air was observed, and auguries were drawn from it. The victorious Cimbri thus treated all they found in the camps of Cæpio and Manlius. Even to this day tradition points out the bridge over the Rhone whence the bulls used to be precipitated.

Caligula had the most illustrious Gauls about his person (Valerius Asiaticus and Domitius Afer). Claudius was himself a Gaul. Born at Lyons,§ brought up aloof from public affairs by Augustus and Tiberius, who distrusted his strange abstractions of mind, he had grown old in solitude and in the cultivation of letters, when the soldiers proclaimed him emperor in spite of himself. Never did prince more shock the feelings of the Romans, or show himself more at variance with their tastes and their habits. His barbarous broken Latin, his preference for the Greek language; his continual citations from Homer, all he did and said excited laughter. Accordingly, he

---

shaved their wives' heads, in token of intense sorrow.—*Regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu Megistanum (?) abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitii instar est.*—Suet. in Calig., c. 5.

\* A Gaul was gazing at him in silence. "What do you see in me?" said Caligula. "A grand craziness," was the reply. (*μείγα παραλήρημα.*) The emperor did not punish him; he was only a shoemaker.—Dio. Cass., l. xlix., ap. Scr. rer. fr. i., 524.

† Dio. Cass., lix., 656.

‡ His journey into Gaul was distinguished in another way, that did him more honour: he caused a light-house to be built on the straits between Gaul and Britain. Some persons have fancied they could discover traces of it in modern times.

§ Sueton. in Claud., c. 2. Senec. de morte Claudii, ap. Scr. r. fr. i., 667.

left the cares of empire to the freed men around him. These slaves, brought up with so much care in the palaces of the Roman grandees, might very well, whatever Tacitus may say to the contrary, have been more worthy to reign than their masters. The reign of Claudius was a sort of reaction of the slaves; they governed in their turn, and things did not proceed the worse in consequence. Cæsar's plans were followed up; the port of Ostia was excavated;\* the compass of Rome was enlarged; the drying up of the Fucine lake was undertaken; Caligula's aqueduct was continued; the Britons were subdued in sixteen days, and their king pardoned.† A counterpoise was found for the tyrannical authority of the Roman patricians who reigned in the provinces as prætors, or pro-consuls, in the procurators of the emperor, men of straw whose responsibility was the more certain, and whose excesses could be the more easily visited with punishment.

Such was the government of the freed men under Claudius; so much the less national as it was more human. He himself made no secret of his predilection for the provincials; he wrote the history of the vanquished races, of the Etruscans, and of Tyre and Carthage;‡ thus repairing the long injustice of Rome. He founded a chair in the museum of Alexandria for the annual reading of these histories; as he could no longer save those peoples, he endeavoured to save their memory; his own might have merited better treatment. Whatever may have been his haughtiness, his weakness, even his brutal degradation in his latter years, history will largely pardon him who declared himself the protector of slaves, forbade their masters to slay them, and endeavoured to prevent their being exposed when old and sickly to die of hunger in the island of the Tiber.§

Had Claudius lived, he would, says Suetonius, have given the right of citizenship to all the west, to the Greeks, the Spaniards, the Britons, and the Gauls, above all to the Eduans. He re-admitted the latter into the senate as Cæsar had done. The speech he delivered upon that occasion and which is still preserved at Lyons on bronze tables, is the first authentic monument of our national history; our title to admission into that great initiation of the world.||

At the same time he prosecuted the sanguinary worship of the Druids. Proscribed in Gaul, they were forced to take refuge in Britain. He followed them up in person into this, their last asylum. His lieutenants declared the districts which formed the basin of the Thames, a Roman province, and they settled a numerous military

\* Sueton. in Claud., c. 20.

† Tacit. *Annal.* lxii., c. 37. Dio., lib. lx.

‡ Græcas scripsit historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniacon octo, etc.—Sueton. in Claud., c. 42.

§ Suet. in Claud., c. 25. Cum quidam ægra et affecta mancipia in insulam Æsculapii tædio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in ditionem domini, si convaluissent; quod si quis necare mallet quem, quam exponere, cædis crimine teneri.

|| See Tacit. *Annal.* x., 24, and Michelet's *Roman History*.

colony in the west at Camulodunum. The legions advanced continually westward, throwing down the altars, destroying the old forests, until in Nero's time Druidism had been driven step by step into the little isle of Mona.\* Suetonius Paulinus followed it thither. In vain the sacred virgins rushed down to the shore like furies, in mourning garments, with dishevelled hair and brandishing torches;† he forced the passage, slaughtered all that fell into his hands, Druids, priestesses, and soldiers, and cleared his way through those forests where human blood had flowed so often.

Meanwhile the Britons had risen in the rear of the Roman army, at their head their queen, the famous Boadicea, who had to avenge intolerable outrages. They had exterminated the veterans of Camulodunum and the whole infantry of one legion. Suetonius retraced his steps and coolly collected his army, abandoning the defence of the towns and surrendering the allies of Rome to the blind fury of the barbarians. They slaughtered seventy thousand men; but he utterly defeated them in a pitched battle, and slew all that fell in his way, not sparing the very horses. After him Cerialis and Fronteiis prosecuted the conquest of the north. Under the reign of Domitian, Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, completed the reduction and began the civilisation of Britain.

Nero was favourable to Gaul. He conceived the design of uniting the ocean to the Mediterranean by a canal which was to have extended from the Moselle to the Saône.‡ He afforded relief to Lyons which had been burnt under his reign. Accordingly, that city remained faithful to him in the civil war that accompanied his fall. The principal author of this revolution was the Aquitainian Vindex, then prætor in Gaul. This man, "full of daring for all great things,"§ excited Galba in Spain and gained over Virginius the general of the legions in Germany. But before this agreement was known to the two armies they attacked each other with mutual slaughter. Vindex killed himself in despair. Gaul again took part for Vitellius. The legions of Germany with which he vanquished Otho and took Rome, were composed in great measure of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls.|| It is not to be wondered at if Gaul beheld with grief the victory of Vespasian. A Batavian leader named Civilis, blind of an eye like Hannibal and Sertorius, and like them the enemy of Rome, seized upon this opportunity. Having been outraged by the Romans he had sworn not to cut his beard or his hair till he should have been avenged. He cut the soldiers of Vitellius to pieces, and instantly saw all the Batavians, all the Bel-

\* Tacit. Annal., xiv., 29.

† Ibid., c. 30. *Intercursantibus feminis, in modum furiarum, quæ vesti ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, preces diras, sublati ad cælum manibus, fundentes.*

‡ Tacit. Annal., xiii., 53.

§ Dio. Cass., lxxiii., 694.—Πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον μέγα ἐθελμος.

|| Tacit. Histor., i., 57—61.; ii., 69.

gians declare for him. He was encouraged by the famous Velleda, whom the Germans revered as inspired by the gods, or rather as if she had been herself a deity. It was to her that the captives were sent and the Romans besought her to act as umpire between them and Civilis. Furthermore the long persecuted Druids of Gaul came forth from their retreats and showed themselves to the people. They had heard that the Capitol had been burnt in the civil war; and they proclaimed that the Roman empire had perished with that pledge of eternity, and that the empire of the Gauls was about to succeed it.\*

So strong, however, was the bond that united these peoples to Rome, that the enemy of the Romans thought it the safer course in the first instance, to attack the troops of Vitellius in the name of Vespasian. Julius Sabinus, the chief of the Gauls, declared himself the descendant of the conqueror of Gaul and assumed the name of Cæsar. Thus, there needed not even a Roman army to destroy this inconsistent party. The Gauls, who remained true to their allegiance, were sufficient to that end. The old jealousy of the Sequani against the Eduans was revived; they defeated Sabinus. Every one knows the devoted conduct of his wife, the virtuous Eponina. She shut herself up with him in the cavern in which he had taken refuge. There they had children born to them, and there they reared them. After the lapse of ten years they were at last discovered. She appeared before the Emperor Vespasian, surrounded by that unfortunate family, who then beheld the light for the first time.† The cruel policy of the emperor was inexorable.

The war in Belgium was more serious. Belgium, however, once more submitted; Batavia held out in her marshes. The Roman general, Cerialis, twice surprised, twice victor, ended the war by gaining over Velleda and Civilis. The latter pretended that he had not originally taken up arms against Rome, but only against Vitellius and for Vespasian.

This war served but to show how much Gaul had already become Roman. No province, in fact, had more promptly, or more eagerly, received the influence of the victor.‡ The two countries, the two peoples had seemed, at first sight, less to make each others acquaint-

\* Tacit. *Histor.* iv., 54. *Fatali nunc igne signum cœlestis iræ datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vanâ Druidæ canebant.*

† She said to him: "These, Cæsar, I bore and reared in the cave, that there might be the more of us to implore your mercy."—Dio. Cass., lvi.

‡ Strab., l. iv. "Rome subjugated the Gauls much more easily than the Spaniards."—Speech of Claudius, ap. Tacit. *Annal.* ii., 14. *Si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum brevioris spatii quam adversus Gallos confectum: continua inde ac firma pax.*—Hirtius ad Cæs., viii., 49. *Cæsar. .defessam tot adversis præliis Galliam, conditione parendi meliore, facile in pace continuit.*—Dio. Cass., l. iii. "Augustus forbade the senators to quit Italy without his express authority: the same thing prevails to this day; no senator can travel except into Sicily or the Narbonnese."

ance than to meet as old friends; they had rushed one toward the other. The Romans frequented the schools of Marseilles, that little Greece,\* more sober and more modest than the other,† and which was at their own doors. The Gauls crossed the Alps in shoals, not only with Cæsar, beneath the eagles of the legions, but as physicians‡ and rhetoricians. Here we see already the genius of Montpellier, of Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse, &c., a tendency altogether positive and practical, few philosophers. These Gauls of the south (we have not yet to do with those of the north), sprightly, intriguing, such as we see them to this day, were men to make their fortunes as fine speakers and as mimes. They gave Rome her Roscius. But they succeeded also in graver matters. A Gaul, Trogus Pompeius,§ wrote the first universal history. A Gaul, Petronius Arbiter,|| created the romance, others rivalled the greatest poets of Rome. Let us mention only Varro Atacinus of the environs of Carcassonne,¶ and Cornelius Gallus, a native of Fréjus, the friend of Virgil.\*\* The true genius of France, the genius of oratory, blazed forth at the same time. The young power of Gaulish eloquence, from its very birth, swayed Rome herself. The Romans were fond of employing Gauls as masters, even of their own language. The first rhetorician at Rome was the Gaul Gniphon (M. Antonius). Abandoned at his birth, a slave at Alexandria, afterwards enfranchised, then stripped by Sylla, he gave himself up with all the more freedom to the bent of his genius. But the career of political eloquence was closed against the unfortunate freed man; he could only exercise his talents

\* Strab., iv. That town had made the Gauls such philhellènes that they wrote even forms of contracts in Greek (*ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλλήνεσι γράφειν*), and in our day it has induced the most distinguished Romans to make a journey to Massaliæ instead of to Athens." The towns paid sophists and medical men out of the public revenues. Juvenal: *De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule*.—Martial (vii., Epist. 87.) congratulates himself that even the women and children of Vienne read his poems. The most celebrated schools were those of Marseilles, Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, and Bordeaux. It was in the latter that Greek continued longest to be taught.

† Strab., iv. "Among the Massalians there are no dowries exceeding a hundred pieces of gold; no more than five can be expended on a garment, and as much for gold ornaments, *τῆς λιτότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν οὐκ ἄλγιστον τεκμήριον*."—Tacitus (Vit. Agric., c. 14.) calls Marseilles a place in which Greek politeness and provincial frugality were happily blended together. We find in Athenæus, xii., 5, a proverb that seems to contradict these authorities.

‡ Pliny mentions three who were in prodigious vogue in the first century. One of them gave a million to repair the fortifications of his native town.

§ Justin, xliii., 5. Trogus majores suos a Vocontiiis originem ducere. . . dicit.

|| Born near Marseilles. Sidon. Apollin. Carmen xxiii.

¶ There is extant a remarkable quatrain by this Varro.

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo  
Pompeius nullo. Credimus esse deos?

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\* *Pauca meo Gallo; sed quæ legat ipsa Lycoris,  
Carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo?  
Gallos cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas.*"

VIRG. Eclog. 10.



by publicly declaiming on the market days. He established his professor's chair in the very house of Julius Cæsar;\* there he trained to eloquence the two great orators of the day, Cæsar himself, and Cicero.†

Cæsar's victory, by opening Rome to the Gauls, allowed them to speak in their own name, and to launch into the political career. We find, under Tiberius, a Montanus in the first rank of orators, both for freedom and for genius. Caligula, who piqued himself on eloquence, had two eloquent Gauls for friends. One of them, Valerius Asiaticus, a native of Vienne, an honest man, according to Tacitus, in the end conspired against him, and perished under Claudius, through the artifices of Messalina, as guilty of ambitious popularity in Gaul.‡ The other, Domitius Afer, of Nîmes, consul under Caligula, eloquent, corrupt, an impetuous accuser, died of indigestion. The capricious rivalry of Caligula had gone near to prove fatal to him, as that of Nero had been to Lucan. The emperor one day goes down to the senate with a speech. It was a highly-laboured production, in which he hoped to have surpassed himself, and which was nothing less than an impeachment against Domitius, calling for his death. The Gaul, without losing his presence of mind, appeared less struck by his own danger than by the emperor's eloquence. He confessed himself vanquished; declared that, after such a speech as that, he would never dare to open his lips again; and he erected a statue to Caligula.§ The latter no longer insisted on his death, but was content with his silence.

There was in Gaulish art, from its very commencement, something impetuous, exaggerated, tragical, as the ancients said. This tendency was remarkable in its first essays. The Gaul, Zenodorus, who took pleasure in sculpturing little figures and vases with the most minute delicacy, erected a colossal statue of the Gaulish Mercury in the city of the Avernians. Nero, who was fond of every thing that was vast and prodigious, sent for him to Rome, that he might erect at the foot of the capital that statue of his, 120 feet high, which was seen from the Alban mount.|| Thus a Gaulish hand impressed on art that tendency towards the gigantic, that ambition for the indefinite, which was in after-times to rear the lofty arches of our cathedrals.

Gaul, the equal of Italy in art and literature, soon came to exercise a more direct influence over the destinies of the empire. Under Cæsar and Claudius she had given senators to Rome, under Caligula a consul. Vindex, the Aquitainian, hurled Nero from the throne, and raised Galba to it. Bec,¶ the Toulousan (Antonius Primus),

\* Suet. de illustr. grammat., c. 7. In domo divi Julii, adhuc pueri.

† Ibid.

‡ Tacit. Annal., l. xi., c. 1. Quando genitus Viennæ, multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus, turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet.

§ Dio. Cass., lix.

| Suet. in Nerone, ii., 31. Plin., xxxiv., 7.

¶ Suet. in Vitellio, 18. Cui Tolosæ nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat.

the friend of Martial, and himself a poet, gave the empire to Vespasian. Agricola, the Provençal, subjugated Britain to Domitian. Lastly, from a family of Nîmes issued the best emperor Rome ever had, Antoninus Pius, the successor of the two Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, the adopted father of the Spaniard,\* Marcus Aurelius.† The sophistical character of all these philosophical and rhetorical emperors, was owing to their connections with Gaul, at least as much as to their predilection for Greece. Hadrian had for friend, Favorinus, the sophist of Arles, the master of Aulus Gellius, that whimsical man, who wrote a book against Epictetus, an apology for ugliness, and a panegyric on the quartan fever.‡

Caracalla, a Gaul by birth,§ a Syrian by the mother's side, and an African by the father's, was an epitome of that discordant medley of races and ideas which the empire presented at this epoch. In that one man were met the impetuosity of the North, the ferocity of the South, the fantastic strangeness of oriental belief; he was a very monster and chинera. After the philosophic and sophistical epoch of the Antonines, the grand idea of the East, that of Cæsar and of Anthony, had awoke again; that evil dream which frenzied so many emperors, Caligula, Nero, and Commodus, all possessed in the decrepitude of the world with the youthful memory of Alexander and of Hercules. Caligula, Commodus, Caracalla, seem to have believed themselves incarnations of those two heroes; in like manner the Fatimite caliphs and the modern Lamas of Thibet revered themselves as gods. This notion, so ridiculous in a Greek and western point of view, had nothing in it to surprise the eastern subjects of the empire, the Egyptians and Syrians. If the emperors became gods after their deaths, there was nothing to hinder their being so during their lives.

In the first century of the empire Gaul had made emperors; in the second, she had furnished Gaulish emperors; in the third, she endeavoured to separate from the crumbling empire, and to form a Gallo-Roman empire. The generals who assumed the purple in Gaul under Gallienus, and governed it with glory, seem to have been almost all superior men. The first of them, Posthumius, was surnamed the Restorer of Gaul.¶ He formed his army in great part

---

*Id valet gallinacei rostrum. Bek (Armor.) Big (Cymr.) Gob (Gael.) Am. Thierry, t. iii., 417.*

\* Their families, at least, were originally from Spain.

† See Hadrian's correspondence with his master, Fronto.

‡ Philostratus, in Apoll. Thyan., v., 4. Dio Cass., lxi.

§ Lugduni genitus. Aurel. Vict. Epitome, c. 21. Dio. Cass. Excerpt. d. ann. J. C. 69.

¶ Zosimus i., P. Oros., vii. "He assumed the purple to the great advantage of the commonwealth."—Trebell Pollio ad ann. 260. "Posthumius very vigorously protected Gaul from all the surrounding barbarians."—"Posthumius was very much beloved by all the inhabitants of Gaul, because he kept away all the Germans, and restored the Roman empire to its pristine security." A medal, struck in honour of Posthumius, bears the inscription, "RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ," Script. rer. fr., i., 538.

of Gaulish and Frankish troops.\* He was killed by his soldiers for having refused them the pillage of Mayence, which had revolted against him.† I give elsewhere the history of his successors, of Victorinus and Victoria, **THE MOTHER OF THE LEGIONS**, of the armourer Marius and of Tetricus, whom Aurelian had the glory of trailing behind his chariot with the Queen of Palmyra.‡ Though Gaul was the theatre of these events, they belong less to the history of the country, than to that of the armies which occupied it.

The majority of those provincial emperors, of those *tyrants* as they were called, were great men; those who succeeded them, and who re-established the unity of the empire, Aurelian, Probus, &c., were greater still; and yet the empire mouldered away in their hands. It is not the barbarians we must accuse of this. The invasion of the Cimbri under the republic had been more formidable than those which took place in the time of the empire. Neither is it even the vices of the emperors on which we must lay the blame; the most guilty as men were not the most odious. Frequently the provinces gained a breathing time under those cruel princes, who poured out the blood of the great men of Rome like water. The administration of Tiberius was sage and economical,§ that of Claudius was mild and indulgent. Nero himself was regretted by the people, and for a long time his tomb was continually crowned with fresh flowers.|| In the reign of Vespasian, a false Nero was followed with

\* Aurel. Victor., c. 33. Treb. Pollio, ad ann. 260. Quum multis auxiliis Posthumius juvaretur Celtis ac Francis.

† Eutrop., ix. P. Oros., vii. Aurel. Vict., c. 33.

‡ See my article, "Zenobie," in Michaud's Biographie Universelle.

§ In the affair of Serenus, Tiberius declared for the accusers, *contra morem suum*, contrary to his usual practice. Tacit. Annal., iv., 30. Penalties were inflicted on accusers, whenever there were grounds for doing so. l. vi., c. 80. The property of a great number of usurers having been confiscated, the emperor provided for the convenience of the public a capital of a thousand sesteria, to be employed in loans for three years without interest to such as could find security for double the amount they borrowed. In this way public credit was re-established. lb. vi., c. 17. To governors who urged him to impose heavy tributes on the provinces, he wrote back, "that it was the part of a good shepherd to shear the sheep, but not to strip them bare." Suet. in Tiber., c. 32. Principem præstitit, etsi varium, commodiorem tamen sæpius, et ad utilitates publicas promiorem. Ac primò eatenus interveniebat, ne quid perperam fieret . . . . Et si quem reorum elabi gratiâ rumor esset, subitus aderat, judicesque . . . religionis et noxæ de qua cognoscerent, admonebat: atque etiam si qua in publicis moribus desidiâ aut malâ consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit, c. 23. Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit, mercedibus scenicorum rescissis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis . . . ; adhibendum supellectili modum censuit. Annonamque macelli, senatus arbitratu quotannis temperandam, etc. Et parcimoniam publicam exemplo quoque jovit, c. 34. Neque spectaculo omnino edidit, c. 47. In primis tuendæ pacis a grassaturis, ac latrocinii seditio numque licentiâ, curam habuit, etc. Abolavit et jus moremque asylo rum, quæ usquam erant, c. 37.

|| Non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent, ac modo imagines pretextatas in rostris præferrent, modo edicta quasi viventis, et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quin etiam Volo-

enthusiasm in Greece and Asia. What raised Heliogabalus to the empire was the belief that he was the grandson of Septimius Severus and the son of Caracalla.

Under the emperors, the provinces were no longer obliged to change their governors every year, as had been the case under the republic. Dio ascribes this innovation to Augustus; Suetonius attributes it to the negligence of Tiberius; but Josephus expressly says, that he adopted this course for the alleviation of the people of the provinces. In fact, the man who remained in a province came at length to know it, to form there some ties of affection and of humanity which mitigated his tyranny. The provincial governor was no longer as under the republic, a farmer, impatient to enrich himself, that he might go and enjoy the fruits of his extortion at Rome. Every one remembers the fable of the fox whose blood the flies are sucking; he refuses the offer of the hedgehog to free him from his persecutors, "others would come," he says, "with eager appetites, these are gorged and satiated."

Procurators, men of no intrinsic merit, creatures of the prince and responsible to him, had his vigilance to dread; to enrich themselves was but to tempt the cruelty of a master who desired nothing better than to be rigidly just from cupidity.

That master was a judge for great and small; the emperors themselves administered justice. In Tacitus we find an accused man, who fearing the popular prejudices, desirous to be judged by Tiberius as one superior to such rumours; he thought, moreover, that a single judge was more capable of discerning the truth.\* Under Tiberius and Claudius traversers escaped sentence by an appeal to the emperor.† Claudius being urged to decide in an affair in which his own interest was concerned, declared that he would try the case himself, in order to show, in his own cause, how just he could be in that of another.‡ No one, doubtless, would have dared to decide contrary to the emperor's interest.

---

gensus, Parthorum Rex, missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate, hoc etiam magnopere oravit, ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Denique cum post viginti annos extitisset conditionis incertæ, qui se Neronem esse jactaret, tam favorable nomen ejus apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adjutus, et vix redditus sit. Suet. in Nerone, c. 57.

\* Petitionem est a principe cognitionem exciperet: quod ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens: contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum . . . . veraque . . . . judice ab uno facilius discerni: odium et invidiam apud multos valere . . . . Paucis familiarium adhibitis, minas accusantium, et hinc preces audit, integramque causam ad senatum remittit. Tacit. Annal. iii., c. 10.

† Messalinus . . . . a primoribus civitatis revincebatur: lisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. Tacit. Annal., l. vi., c. 15. Vulcatius Tullinus, ac Marcellus, senatores, ac Calpurnius eques romanus, appellato principe instantem damnationem frustrati. Ib., l. xii., c. 28. Two powerful prosecutors, Domitius Afer and P. Dolabella, having combined for the destruction of Quintilius Varus, restitit tamen senatus et opperendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat." Ibid., l. vi., c. 66.

‡ Alium interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite, negantemque cognitionis

Domitian administered justice with assiduity and good sense. He frequently quashed the sentences of the centurions, when they seemed to have been influenced by intrigue.\* Hadrian consulted, in the causes referred to him for judgment, not his friends, but the jurist-consults.† Septimius Severus himself, that fierce soldier, did not excuse himself from that duty, and in the retirement of his villa he judged causes, and entered willingly into all the minutiae of litigated matters. Julian is likewise cited for his assiduity in discharging the functions of the judge.‡ This zeal of the emperors, with regard to civil justice, counterpoised much of the evils of the empire. It must have inspired oppressive magistrates with a salutary fear, and have remedied, in detail, an infinity of general abuses.

Even under the worst emperors, the civil law continually prospered. The jurist-consult Nerva, the grandfather of the emperor of that name, a disciple of the republican Labeo, the friend of Brutus, and the founder of the Stoic school of jurisprudence, was the intimate adviser of Tiberius.§ Papinian and Ulpian flourished in the time of Caracalla and Heliogabalus, as did Dumoulin, l'Hôpital, and Brisson under Henry II., Charles IX., and Henry III. The civil law, approaching more and more to accordance with natural equity, and, consequently, with the common sense of the nations, became the strongest bond of the empire and a compensation for political tyranny.

That tyranny of the governors, and the far more onerous tyranny of the magistrates, were not the principal cause of the ruin of the empire; the real mischief which undermined it, belonged neither to the government nor to the administration. Had it been simply of an administrative nature, so many great and good emperors would have remedied it; but it was a social evil, and nothing was capable of extinguishing it until a new society should supersede the old. That evil was slavery. The other evils of the empire, for the most part, at least, the intolerable fiscal oppressions, the ever-increasing exactions of the military government, were, as we shall see, but a consequence, an effect, direct or indirect, of the one great malady. Slavery was not a result of the imperial government; we find it everywhere among the ancient nations; all authors exhibit it to us in Gaul before the Roman conquest. If it appear to us under a more terrible and more disastrous aspect in the empire, this is in the first

---

rem, sed ordinarii juris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam sequus judex in alieno negotio futurus esset. Suet. in Claudio, c. 5.

\* Jus diligenter et industrie dixit, plerumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem ambitiosas centumvirorum sententias recidit. Suet. in Dom., c. 8.

† Quum judicaret (Adrianus), in consilio habuit non amicos suos . . . . . solum, sed jurisconsultos. Spartian.

‡ Amm. Marcell., lxxii., c. 10. Libanius, orat. parent., c. 90, 91. S. Greg. de Naz., orat. iv.

§ Tacit. Annal., l. vi., c. 26. Cocceius Nerva, continuus principi, omnis divini humanique juris sciens.

place, because the Roman epoch is better known to us than those which precede it; and, secondly, because the antique system having been founded on war, on the conquest of man (industry is the conquest of nature), that system inevitably tended from war to war, from proscription to proscription, from servitude to servitude, to end at last in a terrific depopulation. Many a people of antiquity might, like the savages of America, have boasted of having eaten fifty nations.

I have already pointed out in my Roman History, how, the class of small cultivators having gradually disappeared, the great proprietors who succeeded them supplied their places by means of slaves. These slaves were soon worn out by the severity of the tasks imposed on them, and speedily vanished in their turn. Belonging, in a great measure, to the civilised nations of antiquity, Greeks, Syrians, and Carthaginians, they had cultivated the arts for their masters; the new slaves who were substituted\* for them, Thracians, Germans, and Scythians, could at the very most rudely imitate the models the first class had left behind them.

By thus continually copying after copies, all matters, the execution of which required some skill, grew coarser and coarser. The men who were capable of executing them becoming continually fewer in number, the products of their labour every day augmented in price. The wages of all those who were employed by the state would necessarily augment in the same proportion. Must not the poor soldier, who paid 50 sous† of modern French money for a pound of meat, and 22 frs. for the coarsest pair of shoes, have been prompted continually to demand fresh alleviations for his penury, and to effect revolutions in order to obtain them? Authors have declaimed

\* The following inscription has been found at Antibes :

D. M.  
PVERI SEPTENTRI  
ONIS ANNOR. XII. QUI  
ANTIPOLI IN THEATRO  
BIDVO SALTAVIT ET FLA  
CVIT.

"To the manes of the boy Septentrio, aged twelve years, who appeared two days upon the theatre of Antibes, danced, and pleased." This poor boy was evidently one of those slaves, who were brought up to be hired out at a high price to the theatrical managers, and who fell victims to a barbarous education. I know nothing more tragical than the very brevity of this inscription, nothing that more clearly brings home to us the harshness of the Roman world. "Appeared two days upon the theatre of Antibes, danced, and pleased." Not one word of regret; why, indeed, should there be any? Was not this a destiny amply fulfilled? Not a word about relations; the slave had no family. It is even something unusual that a tomb was erected to him; but the Romans often erected tombs to their broken toys. Nero built a monument "to the manes of a crystal vase."

† See M. Moreau de Jonnès, Table of the mean price of commodities, according to Dioclesian's edict found at Stratonicæ. A pair of caligæ (the coarsest kind of foot clothing) cost 22 frs. 50 c.; a pound of beef or mutton, 2 frs. 50 c.; of pork, 3 frs. 60 c.; wine, of the lowest quality, 1 fr. 80 c.; the *lître*; a fat goose, 45 frs.; a hare, 33 frs.; a fowl, 13 frs.; a hundred of oysters, 22 frs., &c.

largely against the violence and cupidity of the soldiers, who made and unmade emperors to increase their pay. They have inveighed against the cruel exactions of Severus, Caracalla, and all the princes who exhausted the country for the benefit of the soldier; but has any one ever thought of the excessive cost of all the commodities the soldier was obliged to purchase out of a very moderate pay? The revolted legionaries say in Tacitus, "Our blood and our life are estimated at ten asses a day; out of this we must procure clothes, weapons, tents; we must pay the furloughs we obtain, and redeem ourselves from the barbarity of the centurion, &c."\*

Matters were still worse when Diocletian had created another army, that of the civil functionaries. Until his day there had existed a military and a judicial power, too often confounded together: he created, or at least completed, the administrative power. That institution, necessary as it was, was, nevertheless, at its origin an intolerable burden to the already ruined Empire. Society in ancient days, widely differing from ours, did not incessantly renovate its wealth by industry. Constantly consuming and ceasing to produce, since the industrial generations had been destroyed by slavery, it was continually demanding more of the earth; and the hands which cultivated that earth were every day becoming fewer and less skilled.

Nothing can be more terrific than the picture Lactantius has left us of this murderous strife between the greedy fisc and the powerless population, who could suffer and die, but not pay: "So great was become the multitude of those who received, compared with the number of those who were to pay, such the enormity of the imposts, that the strength of the husbandmen failed them, the fields were deserted, the cultivated lands were changed into forests. Placemen, of I know not how many different kinds, swarmed down upon every province, upon every town, *Magistri, Rationales*, prefect's deputies: all these folks had not a thought beyond condemnations, proscriptions, exactions; exactions not frequent merely, but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages. But it was when the curse of the census was entailed upon the provinces and the towns, and when the publicans spread in every direction and turned all things topsy-turvy, that the public calamity was at its height, and the wailing was universal. You would have thought it was a hostile invasion, a town taken by storm. The lands were measured to the last clod of earth; the trees and the vines were counted; every head of cattle was entered down; every human being was registered; nothing was heard but whips and cries of torture. The faithful slave was tortured to force him to declare against his master, the wife against her husband, the son against his father; and for want of other testimony men were tortured to force them to depose

---

\* Tacit. Annal., i., 17. The emperor was obliged at last to take on him the clothing and feeding of the soldier. See Lamprid. on Alex. Sev., liii.

against themselves; and when they gave way, overcome by pain, the inquisitors wrote down what they had not said. No excuse was admitted upon the score of old age or sickness; the sick and the infirm were brought before the publicans, the age of each one was guessed, years were added to the age of children and taken from that of old men; all was mourning and consternation. Nor were the authorities content with the reports of these first agents; others were continually sent to find more, and the impositions went on doubling continually as the new agents found nothing, but set down additions at random that they might not appear useless. Meanwhile the animals were diminishing, and men were dying off, and still the tax was exacted for the dead.”\*

Upon whom devolved in the last result so many insults and vexations endured by the freemen? Upon the slaves, upon the *coloni* or dependent cultivators, whose condition approached every day more and more towards slavery. It was upon them that the proprietors cast all the outrages, all the exactions with which they themselves were loaded by the imperial agents. Their poverty and despair were at the climax at the period which Lactantius has depicted to us. In those days all the serfs of Gaul took up arms, under the name of *Bagaude*.† Instantly they were masters of all the rural districts, burned several towns and inflicted more ravages than the barbarians could have done. They had chosen two leaders, *Ælianus* and *Amandus*, who, according to a tradition, were Christians. It were not to be wondered at if this appeal to the natural rights of man had been partly suggested by the doctrine of Christian equality. The Emperor Maximilian quelled those undisciplined

\* Lactant. de m. Persecut., c. vii., 23. Adeo major esse cœperat numerus accipientium quam dantium.—Filii adversus parentes suspendebantur. A sort of war arose between the fisc and the people, between torture and the obstinacy of silence. Erubescit apud eos, si quis non inficiando tributa in corpore vibices ostendat. Ammian. Marc. in Comment. Cod. Theod., lib. xi., tit. 7, leg. 3a.

† Prosper. Aquit. in Chronic. Omnia pene Galliarum servitia in *Bagaudam* conspiravere. Ducange, V. BAGAÚDE, BACAÚDE. Ex Paul. Orôs., l. vii., c. 15. Eutrop., l. 9. Hieronym. in Chron. Euseb. “Diocletianus consortem regni Herculium Maximianum assumit, qui rusticorum multitudine oppressa, quæ factioni suæ Bacaudarum nomen indiderat, pacem Gallis reddit.” Victor Scotti: “Per Galliam excita manu agrestium ac latronum, quos Bagaudas incolæ vocant,” etc. Pænius Eutropii interpretes Gr. Στασιάζοντες δὲ ἐν Γάλλοις τοῦ ἀγροικικοῦ, καὶ Βακαύδας καλοῦντας τοὺς συγκροτηθέντας, ὄνομα δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τυράννου ἀπλοῦς ἐπιγραφίαν... Βαγένειν est vagari, apud Suidam. At cum Gallicam vocem esse indicet Aurelius Victor, quid si à *Bagat*, vel *Bagad*, quæ vox Armorici et Wallis, proinde veteribus Gallis, turmam sonat, et hominum collectionem?—Catholicum Armoricum: *Bagat*, Gall., assemblée, multitude de gens, troupeau.—Cæterum *Baogandos*, seu *Baogaudas*, habet prima Salviani editio, an. 1530.—*Baugaredos* vocat liber de castro Ambasiæ, num. 8. *Baccharidas*, Idacius in Chronico, in Diocletiano.—Non desunt qui Parisienses vulgo *Badauds* per ludibrium appellant, tanquam a primis Bagaudis ortum duxerint.—Turner, Hist. of A. I. *Bagach* in Irish is warlike; *Bagach* in Erse is fighting.—Bagad in Welsh is multitude.—St. Maur-des-Fosses, near Paris, was called Le Chateau des Bagaudes. See Vit. S. Baboleni.



multitudes. The column of Cussy in Burgundy seems to have been the monument of his victory:\* but even long afterwards Eumenēs tells us of the Bagaudæ in one of his Panygerics.† Idacius several times mentions the Bagaudæ of Spain.‡ Salvian above all deplores their ill fate. “Despoiled by judges of blood, they had lost the rights of Roman liberty, they have lost the name of Romans. We impute their misfortune to them as a crime, and we reproach them with that name which we have ourselves imposed upon them. How did they become Bagaudæ, if not by our tyranny and by the perversity of the judges, by their proscriptions and their rapine?”§

These fugitives, doubtless, contributed to strengthen Carausius in his usurpation of Britain. This Menapian (born near Antwerp) had been appointed to intercept with a fleet the Frank pirates, who were continually passing over into Britain. He did stop them, but only on their return, that he might possess himself of their booty. Being discovered by Maximilian, he declared himself independent in Britain, and remained for seven years master of that province and of the straits.||

The accession of Constantine and of Christianity was an era of joy and of hope. Born in Britain, like his father Constantius Chlorus,¶ he was the child of Britain and of Gaul. After the death of his father he reduced the number of those who paid the capitation tax in Gaul from twenty-five thousand to eighteen thousand. The army with which he vanquished Maxentius belonged in a great measure to the latter province.\*\*

The laws of Constantine are those of a party leader, who presents himself to the empire as a liberator and a saviour. “Far,” he exclaims, “far from the people the rapacious hands of the fiscal agents.†† All those who have suffered from their extortions may

\* Millin, *Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, t. i.

† Eumen., *De Schol. Instaurat.*

‡ Under Kings Rechila and Theodoric.

§ Salvian, *De Vero Jud. et Provid.*, l. v. *Imputamus nomen quod ipsi fecimus. Quibus enim rebus aliis Bagaudæ facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris?*

|| Sext. Aurel. Victor. in *Cæsar. ap. Scr. R. Fr.*, i., 566.—Eutrop. *Hist. Rom.*, l. ix., *ibid.* 572.

¶ Schæpfliu however adopts a different opinion. See his dissertation, *Constantinus magnus non fuit Britannus*. Basle, 1741. 4to.

\*\* Eumen. *Paneg. ap. Scr. R. Fr.*, i., 720. A great part of the territory of Autun was uncultivated.

†† *Cessent jam nunc rapaces officialium manus.*—*Lex Constantini* in *Cod. Theod.*, lib. i., tit. 7, leg. 1a. *Si quis est cujuscumque loci, ordinis, dignitatis, quæ in quemcumque judicium, comitum, amicorum, vel palatinorum meorum, aliquid ... manifeste probare posse confidit, quod non integre, atque juste gessisse videatur, intrepidus et securus accedat; interpellat me, ipse audiam omnia... si probaverit, ut dixi, ipse me vindicabo de eo, qui me usque ad hoc tempus simulata integritate deceperit. Illum autem, qui hoc prodiderit, et comprobaverit, in dignitatibus et rebus angebo.* *Ex lege Constantini* in *Cod. Theod.*, lib. ix., tit. i., leg. 4a.—*Si pupilli, vel viduæ, alique fortunæ injuria miserabiles, judicium nostræ serenitatis oraverint, præsertim cum alicujus potentiam perhorrescant, cogantur eorum adversarii examini nostro sui copiam facere.* *Ex lege Constant.*

lay their complaints before the presidents of the provinces. If the latter act unfairly, we allow all men to address their complaints to all the counts of provinces, or to the prefect of the prætorium if he is in the neighbourhood, in order that, being made acquainted with such acts of robbery, we may visit them with the chastisements they deserve."

These words revived the spirits of the empire. The mere sight of the triumphal cross was a comfort to every heart. That sign of universal equality inspired vague and boundless hopes; all men believed that they had reached the end of their miseries.

Christianity, however, could do nothing to relieve the physical sufferings of society. The Christian emperors provided no more remedy for these than their predecessors. All the efforts that were made ended only in showing the definitive impotence of the law. What, in fact, could it do, but turn and turn in a circle from which there was no issue? Sometimes, seized with dismay at the progress of depopulation, it endeavoured to mitigate the lot of the coloni, and to protect them against the proprietor,\* who then cried out, that he could no longer pay the impost. Sometimes the law deserted the colonus, abandoned him to the proprietor, plunged him in slavery,†

---

lib. i., tit.—leg. 2a. A sexta indictione...ad undecimam nuper transactam, tam curis quam possessori...reliqua indulgemus: ita ut quæ in istis viginti annis...sive in speciebus sive pecunia...debentur, nomine reliquorum omnibus concedantur: nihil de his viginti annis speret publicorum cumulus horreorum, nihil arca amplissimæ præfecturæ, nihil utrumque nostrum ærarium. Constantin. in Cod. Theod., lib. xi., tit. 28, leg. 16. Quinque annorum reliqua nobis remisisti, says Eumenes to Constantine. See Ammian. Marc. in Comm. Cod. Theod., lib. xi., tit. 28, leg. 1.

\* Quisquis colonus plus a domino exigitur, quam antea consueverat et quam in anterioribus temporibus exactum est, adeat judicem . . . et facinus comprobet: ut ille qui convincitur amplius postulare, quam accipere consueverat, hoc facere in posterum prohibeatur, prius reddito quod superexactione perpetrata noscitur extorsisse. Constant. in Cod. Justin., lib. xi., tit. 49.

† Apud quemcumque colonus juris alieni fuerit inventus, is non solum eundem origini suæ restituat . . . ipsos etiam colonos, qui fugam meditantur, in servilem conditionem ferro ligari conveniet, ut officia quæ liberis congruunt, merito servilis condemnationis compellantur implere. Ex lege Constantini, in Cod. Theod., lib. v., leg. 9, l. i. Si quis colonus originalis, vel inquilinus, ante triginta annos de possessione discessit, neque ad solum genitale . . . repetitus est, omnis ab ipso, vel a quo forte possidetur, calumnia penitus excludatur . . . Ex lege Hon. et Theod. in Cod. Theod., lib. v., tit. 10, leg. i. In causis civilibus hujusmodi hominum generi adversus dominos vel patronos aditum intercludimus, et vocem negamus (exceptis superexactionibus in quibus retro principes facultatem eis super hoc interpellandi præbuerunt). Arc. et Hon. in Cod. Justin., lib. xi., tit. 49. Si quis alienum colonum suscipiendum, retinendumve crediderit, duas auri libras ei cogatur exsolvere, cujus agros transfuga cultore vacuaverit: ita ut eundem cum omni peculio suo et agnitione restituat. Theod. et Valent. in Cod. Just., lib. xi., tit. 51, leg. 1.

The law came at last to identify the colonus with the slave: "The colonus changes masters with the land when it is sold." Valent. Theod. et Arc. in Cod. Justin., lib. xi., tit. 49, leg. 2. Cod. Just., tit. 51. "Let the coloni be bound by the rule of their origin, and though by their condition they seem freemen, let them be held for serfs of the land on which they are born." Cod. Just., tit. 57.

and strove to root him to the ground he tilled; but the poor wretch died or fled, and the land became a desert. As early as in the days of Augustus, the magnitude of the evil had called forth laws, which sacrificed every thing, even morality,\* to the principle of increasing the population. Pertinax had secured possession and immunity from taxation for ten years to those who should bring waste lands into cultivation in Italy, in the provinces, and in the territories of the allied kings.† Aurelian imitated him. Probus was obliged to transplant men and oxen from Germany to cultivate Gaul;‡ he caused the vines plucked up there by Domitian to be replanted.§ Maximilian and Constantius Chlorus transported Franks and other Germans into the wilds of Hainault, Picardie, and the Pays de Langres;|| yet still the population went on decreasing in the towns and in the rural districts. Some citizens ceased to pay the taxes, those who remained paid so much the more. The greedy and pitiless exchequer made the curiales, the municipal magistrates, responsible for every deficit.

If any man would behold the lingering agony of a people, let him peruse the frightful code by which the empire endeavoured to retain the citizen in the perishing city that toppled down to crush him. The wretched curiales, the last who still retained a patrimony¶ amidst the general impoverishment, are declared *the slaves, the serfs* of the commonwealth. They have the honour to administer the affairs of the city, to apportion taxation at their own risk; every deficit falls to their own account. They have the honour to pay the emperor the *aurum coronarium*. They are the *most ample senate* of the city; the *very illustrious order* of the curia.\*\* Nevertheless, so little sensible are they of their good fortune, that they are perpetually endeavouring to es-

---

"If a colonus hides himself or strives to remove from the land on which he dwells, let him be considered as having desired to withdraw himself fraudulently from his patron, in like manner as the fugitive slave." See Guizot's "Cours," &c., t. iv. M. de Savigny thinks that their condition was in one respect worse than that of the slaves, for according to him there was no emancipation for the coloni.

\* By the Julian law, the single man could receive nothing of a stranger, nor of the majority of his *affines*, unless he had "*concubinam, liberorum querendorum causa*."

† See Herodian.

‡ Probi Epist. ad Senat. in Vopisc. Arantur Gallicana rura barbaris bobus, et juga Germanica captiva præbent nostris colla cultoribus.

§ Aurel. Vict. in Cæsar. Vopisc ad ann. 281. Eutrop., l. ix. Euseb. Chronic. Sueton. in Domit., c. 7.

|| Eumen. Panegy. Constant: Sicut tuo, Maximiane Auguste, nutu Nerviorum et Treverorum arva jacentia letus postliminio restitutus, et receptus in leges, Francus excoluit, ita nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Cæsar invicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellovaco et Tricassino solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit . . . etc.

¶ At least twenty-seven jugera.

\*\* Accordingly they cannot freely dispose of their property: they cannot sell without express licence (Interpellet judicem . . . omnesque causas sigillatim quibus strangulatur, exponat. Cod. Theod., l. x., tit. 33). The curialis who has no children can bequeath only the fourth of his wealth by will. The other three fourths belong to the curia.

cape it. The legislature is obliged every day to invent new precautions to lock and barricade the curia. Strange magistrates these, whom the law is obliged to keep under watch and ward, as it were, and to bind to their curule chair! It forbids them to absent themselves,\* to reside in the country,† to become soldiers,‡ to become priests; they can not enter any of the orders except on condition of leaving their estate to some one who will consent to be a curialis in their place. The law does not treat them with any respect; "Certain sluggards desert their duties as citizens &c. : we will not free them, except in so far as they shall show disdain for their patrimony. Surely it is not meet that minds occupied with divine contemplation, should retain any attachment for earthly goods."§

The unfortunate curialis had not even the hope of escaping from servitude by death; the law pursued even his sons; his office was hereditary; the law insisted upon his marrying and engendering, and rearing for it other victims. Despondency then fell upon men's souls; a mortal inertia pervaded the whole social body; the people flung itself upon the ground in weariness and despair, like the beast of burden that lies down under the driver's blows and refuses to rise. In vain the emperors endeavoured by offerings of immunities and exemptions, to recall the husbandman to his abandoned field;|| nothing was of any avail, the desert extended day by day. In the beginning of the fifth century there were in the *happy* Campania, the best province of the whole empire, 528,000 acres lying fallow.¶

Such was the dismay of the emperors at the aspect of this desolation, that they made trial of a desperate remedy; they ventured to utter the word liberty. Gratian exhorted the provinces to form

\* Still the law is kind and generous; it does not shut out either Jews or bastards from the curia. "It is not a stain as regards the order, because it behoves it to be always filled." Cod. Theod., l. xii., tit. 1. *Spurios*. . . . etc. L. *Generaliter*, 3, § 2, D., lib. 1., tit. 2.

† Ibid. l. xii., t. 18. *Curiales omnes jubemus interminatione moneri ne civitates fugiant aut deserant, rus habitandi causâ; fundum quem civitati prætulerint scientes fisco esse sociandum, eoque rare esse carituros, cujus causa impios æ, vitando patriam, demonstrarint.*

‡ L. *Si cohortalis*, 30, Cod. Theod., l. viii., t. 4. *Si quis ex his ausus fuerit affectare militiam . . . ad conditionem propriam retrahatur.* This measure disarmed all the proprietors.

§ *Quidam ignavie sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta . . . L. Quidam*, 63, Cod. Theod., l. xii., t. 1. *Nec enim eos aliter, nisi contemptis patrimoniis, liberamus. Quippe animos divina observatione devinctos non decet patrimoniorum desideriis occupari.* L. *Curiales*, 104, Ib.

|| Constantine, in Cod. Justin., l. xi., t. 58, lex. 1. *Prædia deserta decurionibus loci cui subsunt assignari debent, cum immunitate triennii.*

¶ *Honorii indulgentia Campaniæ tributa aliquot jugerum velut desertorum et squalidorum . . . Quingena viginti octo millia quadraginta duo jugera, quæ Campania provincia, juxta inspectorum relationem et veterum monumenta chartarum, in desertis et squalidis locis habere dignoscitur, iisdem provincialibus concessimus, et chartas superflue descriptionis cremari censemus.* Arc. et Honor. in Cod. Theod., lib. xi., tit. 28, l. 11.

assemblies.\* Honorius endeavoured to organize those of Gaul.† He exhorted, entreated, menaced, decreed fines against those who should fail to repair to them; all was to no effect; the people lay torpid beneath the burden of its miseries, and nothing could arouse it. Already it had turned its eyes in another direction. It cared no longer for an emperor alike impotent for good and for evil; it implored nothing now but death, at the very least social death, and the invasion of the barbarians.‡ “They invite the enemy,” say the authors of those times; “they are ambitious of captivity. Our brethren who are among the barbarians have no thought of returning; they would rather leave us for them; and it is a matter of surprise, that all the poor do not do likewise; but the reason is that they cannot carry away with them their little habitations.”

The barbarians are coming then; the old social system is doomed; the long work of conquest, bondage, and depopulation, is near its term. Can it be said, however, that all this was accomplished in vain; that this devouring Rome leaves nothing upon the Gaulish soil, whence she is about to retire? What remains of her there is truly immense.

---

\* It was ordered by a law passed in 382, “Whether all the assembled provinces deliberate in common, or whether each province choose to assemble severally, let not the authority of any magistrate offer obstacle or delay to the discussions which the public interest requires.” *L. Sive integra*, Cod. Theod., l. xii., t. 12. See Raynouard, *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, i., 192.

† The following are the principal enactments of the law of 418: I. The assembly is annual.—II. It is held on the ides of August.—III. It is composed of the men invested with honours, the landed proprietors, and the magistrates of each province.—IV. If the magistrates of Novempopulania and of Aquitaine, which are remote, are detained by their official duties, these provinces shall send deputies, according to custom.—V. The penalty for absence shall be five *libre* of gold for the magistrates, and three for the men invested with honours, and the curiales.—VI. The duty of the assembly is to deliberate sagely concerning the public interests. Raynouard, *Mist. du Droit Munic. en France*, i., 199.

‡ Mamertin in Paneg. Juliani: *Aliae, quas a vastitate barbarica terrarum intervalla distulerant, judicium nomine a nefariis latronibus obtinebantur. Ingenua indignis cruciatibus corpora (lacerabantur); nemo ab injuria liber . . . ut jam barbari desiderarentur, ut præoptaretur a miseris fortuna captorum.—P. Oros. Ut inveniantur quidam Romani, qui malunt inter barbaros pauperem libertatem, quam inter Romanos tributariam servitutem.—Salvian. De Provid., l. v. Malunt enim sub specie captivitatis vivere liberi, quam sub specie libertatis esse captivi . . . nomen civium Romanorum aliquando . . . magno aestimatum . . . nunc ultro repudiatur.—Sic sunt . . . quasi captivi jugo hostium pressi: tolerant supplicium necessitate, non voto: animo desiderant libertatem, sed summam sustinent servitutem. Leviores his hostes quam exactores sunt, et res ipsa hoc indicat; ad hostes fugiunt, ut vim exactionis evadant. Una et consentiens illic Romanæ plebis oratio, ut liceat eis vitam . . . agere cum barbaris . . . Non solum transfugere ab eis ad nos fratres nostri omnino nolunt, sed ut ad eos confugiant, nos relinquunt; et quidem mirari satis non possunt, quod hoc non omnes omnino faciunt tributarii pauperes . . . nisi quod una causa tantum est, quæ non faciunt, quia transferre illuc . . . habitatiunculas familiasque non possunt; nam cum plerique eorum agellos ac tabernacula sua deserant, ut vim exactionis evadant . . . nonnulli eorum . . . qui . . . fugati ab exactoribus deserunt . . . fundos majorem expetunt, et coloni divitum fiunt.—See also in Priscus the history of a Greek refugee who had sought protection under Attila.*

She leaves there organisation, administration. She has founded the city there. Gaul before, had only villages, or, at the very most, towns. Those theatres, those circuses, those aqueducts, those roads, which we still admire, are the durable symbol of the civilisation established by the Romans, the justification of their conquest of Gaul. Such is the force of that organisation, that at the very moment when life shall appear to be ebbing from it, at the very moment when the barbarians shall seem on the point of destroying it, they will undergo its influence despite themselves. They must needs, whether they will or not, dwell under those invincible arches which they cannot shake; they will bow the head and receive once more, victors as they are, the law of vanquished Rome. The great name of Empire, that idea of equality under a monarch, so opposite to the aristocratic principle of Germany, has been deposited in that land by Rome. The barbarian kings will turn it to their own advantage. Cultivated by the church, and assented to by popular usage, it will make its way through Charlemagne and through St. Louis, will lead us step by step to the annihilation of aristocracy, to equality, to the equity of modern times.

So much for civil order. But side by side with that order, another has been established which will shelter the first and save it during the whirlwind of the barbarian invasion. Everywhere by the side of the Roman magistracy, now about to suffer eclipse and to abandon society in its state of peril, religion has placed another which will not fail it. The Roman title of *defensor civitatis* is about to devolve everywhere upon the bishops. The division of the imperial dioceses subsists in that of the ecclesiastical dioceses. The imperial universality is destroyed, but Catholic universality appears. The primacy of Rome and of St. Peter begins dimly and obscurely to dawn.\* The world will maintain and marshal itself through the

---

\* In the beginning of the fifth century Innocent I. puts forth some timid pretensions, appealing in their behalf to custom and the decisions of a synod. Epist. 2. Si majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad sedem apostolicam, sicut synodus statuit et beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium episcopale referantur. Epist. 29. Patres non humana sed divina decrevere sententia, ut quidquid, quamvis de disjunctis remotisque provinciis ageretur, non prius ducerent finiendum, nisi ad hujus sedis notitium pervenirent. The meaning of the celebrated passage of the gospel, *Thou art Peter, &c.*, was much disputed, and St. Augustine and St. Jerome did not interpret it in favour of the bishopric of Rome. August. de divers. Sermon. 108. Id. in Evang. Joan. tract. 124. Hieron. in Amos, vi., 12. Id. adv. Jovin. l. i. But St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom, etc., recognise the rights of St. Peter and his successors. As we advance in the fifth century we find the opposition gradually diminishing; the popes and their partisans speak out more boldly. Concil. Ephes. ann. 431, actio iii.: Οὐδεὶς ἀμφιβολὸν ἐστὶ, ὅτι... Πέτρος, ὁ ἐξάρχος καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ κίων τῆς πίστεως, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας... ὅστις ἐωστού νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις καὶ ᾧ, καὶ δικάζει.— Leonis I. epist. 10. Divinæ cultum religionis ita Dominus instituit, ut veritas per apostolicam tubam in salutem universitatis exiret—ut (id officium) in B. Petri principaliter collocaret. Epist. 12. Curam quam universis ecclesiis prin-

church, whose nascent hierarchy is a frame work in which every thing finds its place, or by which it models itself. To it belong both the outward order and the inward life of the world. The latter subsists especially in the monks. The order of St. Benedict gives the ancient world, worn out by slavery, the first example of toil accomplished by the hands of freemen.\* For the first time the citizen, humbled by the ruin of the city, bends his looks upon that earth which he had despised. He bethinks him of the toil ordained in the beginning of the world by the doom pronounced on Adam. This great innovation of free and voluntary labour is to be the basis of modern existence.

The idea even of personal liberty comes forth in the fifth century, an idea which we have confusedly discerned in the warlike barbarism of the Gaulic clans, and more distinctly in Druidism, in its doctrine of immortality. The Briton, Pelagius,† lays down the law of Celtic philosophy, a law followed by Johannes Erigena (an Irishman), the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. Let us see how this great event was brought about. In order to explain this it will be necessary to sketch the history of Gaulish Christianity.

From the time that Gaul, introduced by Rome into the great community of nations, had taken part in the general life of the world, there seemed reason to fear that she would forget herself, that she would become wholly Greek, or wholly Italian. One might have looked in vain for Gaul in the Gaulish towns. What was become of the originality of the country under those Greek temples, those Roman basilicæ? Without the towns, however, and above all, the further one advanced northward in those vast regions where towns were fewer, the Gaulish nationality still subsisted. Proscribed Druidism had taken refuge in the rural districts among the people. Pescennius

---

cipaliter ex divina institutione debemus, etc., etc. At last Leo the Great assumed the title of *head of the universal church* (Leonis I. epist. 103, 97).

\* Regula S. Benedict., c. 38. Otiositas inimica est animæ. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; the brethren, therefore, ought to be occupied at certain hours in manual work, in others with pious reading." After laying down rules for the hours of labour, he adds, "And if the poverty of the place, necessity, or the business of the harvest, keeps the brethren constantly occupied, let them not be afflicted at this, for they are truly monks if they live by the labour of their hands, as did our fathers and the apostles."

Thus, to the Ascetics of the East, praying in solitude in the heart of the Thebaid, to the Stylites alone upon their column, to the wandering *Euxirai* who rejected the law and gave themselves up to all the extravagances of unbridled mysticism, there succeeded in the West orderly communities attached to the soil by labour. The independence of the Asiatic cenobites was replaced by a regular invariable organisation; the rule was no longer a collection of counsels, but a code. Liberty had died away in the East, in the quietude of mysticism; it became disciplined in the West; it submitted, in order to achieve its ransom, to rule and law, to obedience, to labour.

† Born, according to some, in continental Britain, according to others in the British islands. The difference is not essential as regards the question before us; it is enough that he belonged to the Celtic race.

Niger, it is said, wishing to please the Gauls, revived old mysteries, which doubtless were those of Druidism.\* A Druid woman promised Diocletian the empire;† another met Alexander Severus, when he was preparing a new attack against the Druidic island of Britain, and cried out to him in the Gaulish tongue, "Go, but hope not for victory, and trust not in thy soldiers."‡ The national language and religion had, therefore, not perished; they slumbered mutely under the Roman civilisation, until such time as Christianity should awake them.

When Christianity appeared in the world, when it substituted the Man-God for the Nature-God, and for the deplorable intoxication of the senses with which the old worship had worn out humanity, proposed the grave delights of the soul and the joys of martyrdom, every people welcomed the new creed according to its own peculiar genius. Gaul received it with avidity, seemed to recognise it, and to recover something once its own. The place from which Druidism had departed was still warm; the faith in the immortality of the soul was no new thing in Gaul. The Druids seem likewise to have taught the doctrine of a mediator: accordingly these peoples eagerly adopted Christianity; nowhere did it reckon a greater number of martyrs. The Asiatic Greek, St. Pothin (*ποθίνος*, the man of longing desire?), a disciple of the most mystical of the apostles, founded the mystic church of Lyons, the religious metropolis of Gaul.§ The catacombs are still shown there, and the height to which rose the blood of the

---

\* *Ælianus* *Spartianus*, in *Pescenn. Nigro*: *Pescennius sacra quædam in Gallia quæ castissimis decernuntur, consensu publico celebranda suscepit.*

† *Vopisc.* in *Numeriano*. Cum apud Tungros in Gallia, quadam in caupona moraretur, et cum Druidæ quadam muliere rationem convictus sui quotidiani faceret, at illa diceret: *Diocletiane, nimium avarus, nimium parvus es; joco, non serio, Diocletianum respondisse fertur: Tunc ero largus, cum imperator fuero. Post quod verbum Druidas dixisse fertur. Diocletiane joci noli: nam imperator eris cum Aprum occideris.*—*Id.* in *Diocletiano*. Dicebat (*Diocletianus*) quodam tempore Aurelianum Gallicanas consuluisse Druidas, sciscitantem utrum apud ejus posteros imperium permaneret: tum illas respondisse dixit: *Nullius clarius in republica nomen quam Claudii posteriorum futurum.*

‡ *Æl. Lamprid.*, in *Alex. Sever.* Mulier Druidas eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone: *Vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec militi tuo credas.*

§ To this epoch, about the year 177, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, are ascribed the first conversions and the first martyrdoms in Gaul. *Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacra* ap. *Scr. Fr.* i, 578: *Sub Aurelio...persecutio quinta agitata ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria Visa.*—Forty-six martyrs died with *St. Pothinus*. *Greg. Tur. de Glor. Martyr.*, l. i., c. 49. *St. Irenæus*, at first Bishop of Vienne, and afterwards *St. Pothinus'* successor, suffered martyrdom A. D. 202, under *Severus*, with nine thousand (others say eighteen thousand) persons of all ages and of both sexes. Half a century after his time *St. Saturninus* and his companions founded seven other bishoprics. *Passio S. Saturn.* ap. *Greg. Tur.*, l. i., c. 28: *Decii tempore viri episcopi ad prædicandum in Gallias missi sunt; Turonicis Gratianus, Arelatensibus Trophimus, Narbonæ Paulus, Tolosæ Saturninus, Parisiacis Dionysius, Arvernus Stremonius, Lemovicinis Martialis destinatus episcopus.* Pope *Zozimus* claims the primacy for Arles. *Epist.* l. i., ad *Episc. Gall.*



eighteen thousand martyrs. The most glorious of these martyrs was a woman, a slave, St. Blandine.

Christianity spread more slowly in the north, especially in the rural districts. As late as in the fourth century, St. Martin found whole tribes there to be converted and temples to be overthrown.\* That zealous missionary became, as it were, a god for the people. The Spaniard, Maximus, who had conquered Gaul with an army of Britons, thought it necessary to the establishment of his power, that he should invite St. Martin to him. The empress waited upon him at table. In her idolatrous veneration of the holy man, she went so far as to gather up and eat the crumbs he let fall. Elsewhere, virgins, whose convents he had visited, were seen kissing and licking the place where he had laid his hands. Wherever he went, his road was marked by miracles. But what for ever hallows his memory is, that he made the utmost efforts to save the heretics whom Maximus wished to sacrifice to the sanguinary zeal of the bishops.† Pious frauds cost him nothing; he cheated, lied, and compromised his reputation for sanctity; for our own part, this heroic charity is the token by which we recognise him for a saint.

Let us place by the side of St. Martin, the Bishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, born at Trèves, and who, therefore, may be reckoned as a Gaul. It is well known with what haughty dignity that intrepid priest closed the church against Theodosius after the massacre of Thessalonica.

The Gaulish church acquired no less honour by science, than by zeal and charity. It carried into religious controversies the same ardour with which it poured out its blood for Christianity. The East and Greece, whence Christianity had issued, were labouring to bring it back to themselves, if I may so speak, and to make it return into their bosom. On one side the Gnostic and Manichean sects gave it a leaning to Parsecism; they claimed a share in the government of the world for Ahriman or Satan, and wished to force Christ to make composition with the principle of evil; on the other, the Platonist made the world the work of an inferior deity, and the Arians, their disciples, beheld in the Son only a being dependent upon the Father. The Manicheans

---

\* What temples? I am rather inclined to think that national temples and local religions are meant here. The Romans, who made their way into the north, cannot, in so short a space of time, have inspired the natives with so strong an attachment for their gods. Sulp. Sev. Vita S. Martini. See the Illustrations.

† Sulp. Sev. ap. Scr. Fr. i., 573. See also Gregory of Tours, l. x., c. 31. St. Ambrose, who was then at Trèves, joined him (Ambros. epist. 24, 26). S. Martin had founded a convent in Milan, which see was soon filled by St. Ambrose. Greg. Tur. ut supra. We know how St. Ambrose resisted the invitation of the Milanese to become their bishop. In like manner it was necessary to employ stratagem and almost force to compel St. Martin to accept the bishopric of Tours. (Sulp. Sev. loc. cit.) These are curious coincidences in the lives of two men alike distinguished by their fervent and courageous charity.

would have made of Christianity a religion wholly oriental; the Arians would have made it a pure philosophy. The fathers of the Gaulish church attacked both parties alike. St. Irenæus wrote against the Gnostics in the third century, *On the Unity of the Government of the World*. In the fourth century St. Hilary of Poitiers sustained a heroic conflict for the con-substantiality of the Father and the Son, suffered exile like Athanasius, and languished many years in Phrygia; whilst Athanasius took refuge at Trèves with St. Maximin, bishop of that town, and likewise a native of Poitiers. St. Jerome cannot find eloquence enough to extol St. Hilary. He sees in him the Hellenic grace and "the loftiness of the Gaulish cothurnus;" he calls him "the Rhone of the Latin language." "The Christian church," he says again, "has grown up under the shade of two trees, St. Hilary and St. Cyprian" (Gaul and Africa).

Hitherto, the Gaulish church has taken part with, and accompanied the movement of the universal church. The question of Manicheism is that of God and of the world. Arianism involves the question of Christ of the Man-God. Polemics are now about to descend to the subject of human nature itself, and then it is that Gaul will speak in her own name. At the very period when she has just given to Rome the Auvergnian Emperor, Avitus, when Auvergne seems disposed to form, under the Ferreoli and Appollinares,\* an independent power between the Goths already established in the south, and the Franks, who were about to arrive from the north; at this period, I say, Gaul claims likewise an independent existence in the sphere of thought. She utters, through the lips of Pelagius, that great name of human liberty which the West is never again to forget.

Why is there evil in the world? This is the starting point of this dispute.† Oriental Manicheism replies, *Evil is a god*, that is to say, an unknown principle. This is no reply, but a mere offering of one's own ignorance by way of explanation. Christianity replies, evil has arisen from human liberty, not from that of man in general, but of an individual man, of Adam, whom God punishes in the human race which has sprung from him.

This solution of the problem but imperfectly satisfied the logicians of the Alexandrian school. The great Origen was cruelly distressed by it. It is well known that this voluntary martyr, not knowing how to escape from the innate corruption of human nature, had recourse to the knife and mutilated himself. It is easier to mutilate the flesh than to mutilate the will. Loth to believe that the fault endures in those who have not committed it, unwilling to accuse God, fearing to regard him as the author of evil and thus to fall back into Manicheism, he preferred supposing that the souls of men had

\* See the Illustrations.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl., v., 37, ap. Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte, i., 139, Πολυ-  
βρύλλητον παρὰ τοῖς αἰρεσιώταις ζήτημα τὸ πόθεν ἡ κακία;—Tertullian. de  
Præscr. Hæret. c. 7, ibid. Eædem materiæ apud hæreticos et philosophos volu-  
tantur, iidem retractus implicantur, unde malum et quare? et unde homo et  
quomodo?

sinned in a previous state of existence, and that men were fallen angels.\* If every man is responsible for himself, if he is the author of his own fall, so also must he be the author of his own expiation, of his own redemption, he must re-ascend to God by virtue. "That Christ have become God," said the disciple of Origen, and master of Pelagius, the audacious Theodosius of Mopsueste, "this, I envy him not at all; what he has become, I can become by the powers of my nature."†

This doctrine, so instinct with Greek heroism and stoic energy, easily made its way into the West, where, otherwise, it would doubtless have arisen of itself. The Celtic genius, which is that of individuality, sympathises deeply with the Greek. The church of Lyons, as well as that of Ireland, was founded by the Greeks; the clergy of Ireland and of Scotland had for a long while no other language. Johannes Scotus, or the Irishman, revived the Alexandrian doctrines in the time of Charles the Bald. We will pursue the history of the Celtic Church in another place.

The man who, in the name of that church, proclaimed the independence of human morality, is known to us only by the Greek surname of Pelagios, (the Armorican, that is to say, the man of the shores of the sea).‡ It is not known whether he was a layman or a monk; it is admitted that his life was irreproachable. His enemy, St. Jerome, represents this champion of liberty as a giant, and attributes to him the stature and strength and the brawny shoulders of Milo of Crotona.§ He spoke with difficulty, and yet his speech was potent.|| Forced by the invasion of the barbarians to take refuge in the East, he taught his doctrines there, and was attacked by his old

---

\* S. Hieron. ad Pammach: In libro *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* loquitur—quod in hoc corpore quasi in carcere sunt animæ relegate, et antequam homo fieret in Paradiso inter rationales creaturas in celestibus commorante sunt. St. Jerome then charges him with so allegorising Paradise as to take from it all historical character (quod sic Paradisum allegoriset ut historie auferat veritatem, pro arboribus angelos, pro fluminibus virtutes cœlestes intelligens, totamque Paradisi continentiam tropologica interpretatione subvertat). Thus Origen, by giving a different explanation of the origin of evil, renders the dogma of original sin useless, and at the same time destroys its history. He denies first its necessity, and then its reality. He said, too, that the fiends, who, like men, were fallen angels, would come to reflect and repent, and would be happy with the saints (et cum sanctis ultimo tempore regnaturos). Thus this doctrine, a thoroughly stoic one, strove to establish an exact proportion between the crime and the punishment; it rendered man alone responsible; but the dread question recurred in full force; it still remained to be explained how evil had begun in an anterior life.

† August., t. xii., Diss. de Primis Auct. Hær. Pelagianæ.

‡ He was also called Morgan (*Mor*, sea, in the Celtic languages); he had had for master the Origenist Rufinus, who translated Origen into Latin (Anastasio Epist. ap. Gieseler, i., 372), and he published for his defence a vehement invective against St. Jerome. Thus Pelagius is the heir and successor of Origen.

§ S. Hieron. præf. l. ii., in Jerem. Tu qui Milonis humeris intumescis.—Ipse (Rufinus) mutus latrat per Albinum canem (Pelagium), grandem et corpulentum, qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus.

|| S. August., l. xii. diss. 1, De Primis Auct. Hæres. Pelagianæ.

friends St. Jerome and St. Augustine. In reality, Pelagius, by denying original sin,\* rendered redemption useless, and annulled Christianity.† St. Augustine, who had past his life until then in upholding liberty against Manichean fatalism, employed the remainder of his days in combating liberty and in bending its proud neck under divine grace at the risk of destroying it. The African doctor propounded, in his writings against Pelagius, that mystical fatalism which was so often to be revived in the middle ages, above all in Germany, where it was proclaimed by Gotteschalk, Tauler, and so many others, until it was rendered victorious by Luther.

It was not without reason that the great Bishop of Hippo, the chief of the Christian church, strove so violently against Pelagius. To reduce Christianity to mere philosophy was to deal it a mortal blow and to snatch the future out of its hands. Of what avail would have been the dry rationalism of the Pelagians upon the approach of the Germanic invasion? It was no such haughty theory of liberty that should be preached to the conquerors of the Empire, but the dependence of man and the omnipotence of God. It needed all the religious and poetic might of Christianity to soften and subdue those fiery barbarians. The Roman world instinctively felt that it would soon need the ample bosom of religion for a covert and a refuge. This was its hope and its only asylum, when the Empire, which had called itself eternal, was passing away in its turn with the vanquished nations.

Thus Pelagianism, received at first with favour and that even by the Pope of Rome, was soon vanquished by grace. In vain it made concessions, and assumed, in Provence, the mitigated form of semi-Pelagianism, endeavouring to reconcile and harmonise human liberty and divine grace.‡ In spite of the sanctity of the Breton Faus-

---

\* There can be no hereditary sin, said Pelagius, for it is the will alone that constitutes sin. "Quærendum est, peccatum voluntatis an necessitatis est? Si necessitatis est peccatum, non est; si voluntatis, vitari potest." (August. de Pecc. Orig., 14.) Therefore, he continues, man may be without sin; it is the point put by Theodore de Mopsueste. "Quærendum utrum debeat homo sine peccato esse? Procul dubio debet. Si debet, potest. Si præceptum est, potest. (Id. de Perfectione Justitiæ Homin.) Origen too postulated for perfection only "liberty aided by law and doctrine." (Ibid. xii. 47.)

† Origen, who likewise denies original sin, thought that the incarnation was a mere allegory. At least he was charged with such a belief. Ibid. 49. See Pamphil. in Apol. pro Origen. St. Augustin clearly perceived the necessary force of this inference. See the treatise *De Natura et Gratia*, t. x., p. 128.

‡ The first who attempted this difficult reconciliation was the monk John Cassian, a disciple of St. John Chrysostom, and who pleaded with the pope for his recall from exile. He laid it down that the first impulse to good proceeded from free will, and that grace then came to enlighten and sustain that impulse; he did not believe with St. Augustin that grace was gratuitous and preventing, but only efficacious. Collat. xiii., c. 8: Qui (Deus) cum in nobis ortum quemdam bonæ voluntatis inspexerit, illuminat eam confestim atque confortat, et incitat ad salutem. Apostolus testis est, dicens: Velle adjacet mihi, perficere autem bonum non invenio. He dedicated one of his books to St. Honoratius, who, like himself, had visited Greece (Gallia Christ., i.) and who founded Lérins,

tus,\* Bishop of Riez, despite the renown of the Bishops of Arles, and the glory of that illustrious monastery of Lérins,† which gave twelve archbishops, twelve bishops, and more than one hundred martyrs to the church, mysticism was triumphant. On the approach of the barbarians, the dispute ceased, the schools were closed and mute. Faith, simplicity, and patience were what the world then had need of, but the seed was sown and would fructify in its time.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

Recapitulation—Various Systems—Influence of the Indigenous and of the Foreign Races—Celtic and Latin Sources of the French Language—Destiny of the Celtic Race.

THE Heleno-Celtic genius was revealed by Pelagius, in religious philosophy; it is that of the independent *ego*, of personal freedom. Presently the German element, of quite a different na-

---

whence were to issue the most eminent defenders of semi-Pelagianism. The struggle soon began. St. Prosper of Aquitaine denounced Cassian's writings to St. Augustin, and they both combined to attack him. Lérins set up against them Vincent, and that Faustus who maintained the immortality of the soul against Mamertus Claudian, and who wrote, like Cassian, against Nestorius, &c. Arles and Marseilles inclined to semi-Pelagianism. The people of Arles expelled their bishop, St. Heros, who persecuted Pelagius, and chose in his stead St. Honoratus; the latter was in his turn succeeded by his relation St. Hilary, who, like himself, upheld Cassian's opinions, and was buried too in Lérins, &c. Gennadius wrote the history of semi-Pelagianism in the ninth century. See M. Guizot's excellent lectures on this controversy. Nowhere is the question propounded with more pointed accuracy.

\* Sidon. Apollin. epist. da Basil.: *Sacratissimorum pontificum, Leontii, Fausti, &c.* In 447, St. Hilary of Arles obliged him to be seated, though but a simple priest, between two holy bishops, those of Fréjus and Riez. *Hist. Littéraire de France*, i. 540.

† *Gallia Christ.*, iii, 1189. Lérins was founded by St. Honoratus in the diocese of Antibes, at the end of the fourth century. St. Hilary of Arles, St. Cesarius, Sidonius of Clermont, Ennodius of Tesino, Honoratus of Marseilles, and Faustus of Riez, call Lérins the blessed isle, the land of miracles, the isle of saints (this name was also bestowed on Ireland), the abode of those who live in Christ, &c. See also Eucher. ad Hilar.; Sid. Apoll. in Eucharist.; Cesarius in Hom. xx. Innocent reformed this monastery. It was made subordinate to Cluny, afterwards to St. Victor of Marseilles in 1366; and last to Mont Cassin in 1516. "At present," say the authors of *Gallia Christ.* (in 1725), "there remain in it but six brethren, three of whom are septuagenarians." Lérins had important connexions with St. Victor of Marseilles, founded by Cassian about 410. According to a contemporary they followed in the latter monastery the practices of the monks of Egypt (*Gall. Christ.*, ii.); and Ennodius says of Lérins (*De Laude Eremitæ, ad Hilar.*) "*Hæc (Lerina) nunc habet senes illos qui divisim cellulis Ægyptios patres Galliis nostris intulerunt.*" The two convents formed a nursery of freethinkers.

ture, will come and wrestle with it, and thus oblige it to justify itself, to develop itself, and to bring forth all that is within it. The middle ages are the struggle, the modern age is the victory.

But before introducing the Germans upon the soil of Gaul, and examining this new mixture, I must recur to all that has gone before, and estimate the degree in which the various races, settled upon the Gaulish soil, may have been able to modify the primitive genius of the country. I must inquire how much these races contributed collectively, and what was the share of each in this common accumulation; and I must calculate how much of what was indigenous may have survived, beneath so many alien elements.

Various theories have been applied to the origins of France. Some deny the foreign influence. They will not have it that France owes any thing to the language, literature, or laws of the peoples that conquered it. What do I say? Were we to believe them, we should find in our archæology the origins of the human race. Le Brigant and his disciple, Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic, derive all languages from the Bas-Breton. Intrepid and patriotic critics, it is not enough for them to enfranchise France, but they would also conquer the world for her. The historians and the legists are less audacious; nevertheless, the Abbé Dubois will not admit that the conquest by Clovis was a conquest. Grosley asserts that our common law is anterior to Cæsar.

Other minds, less chimerical perhaps, but equally confined to an exclusive and systematic point of view, seek for every thing in tradition, in the various importations of commerce or of conquest. According to them, our French language is a corruption of the Latin; our law, a degenerate form of the Roman or Germanic law; our traditions, a mere echo of foreign traditions. They give the half of France to Germany, the other half to the Romans, and leave her nothing that she can call her own. Apparently, those great Celtic peoples, of whom antiquity talks so much, were a race so abandoned, so disinherited by nature, as to have disappeared without leaving a trace behind. That Gaul, which armed 500,000 men against Cæsar, which still appears so populous under the Empire, has wholly disappeared. It has dissolved away by its mixture with some Roman legions and some bands led by Clovis. All the French of the north are descended from the Germans, though there be so little German in their tongue. Gaul has perished, body and substance, like the Atlantis; all the Celts have perished; or, if there be any remnant of them left, they shall not escape the flings of modern criticism. Pinkerton does not suffer them to repose in the grave. He sets himself against them with a true Saxon rancour, like England against Ireland. They had, he says, nothing of their own, no original genius; all *gentlemen* are descended from the Goths (or from the Saxons, or from the Scythians, it is all one to him). In the excess of his amusing rage, he would have professorships of the

Celtic language instituted, that people might learn to make game of the Celts.

We no longer live in the days when a man might choose between the two systems, and declare himself the exclusive partisan of the theory of indigenous genius or of outward influences. History and common sense are against both systems. It is evident that the French are no longer Gauls; it would be vain to seek among us those large, soft, white frames; those giant children who amused themselves with burning Rome. On the other hand the French genius is profoundly distinct from the Roman or Germanic: neither of these can at all suffice to explain the former.

We do not pretend to deny incontestable facts; no doubt our country owes much to foreign influence; all the races of the world have contributed to endow this Pandora.

The primary base, that which received and accepted all, is the young, plastic, and mobile race of Gauls, noisy, sensual, and light-headed, quick of apprehension, prompt to disdain, greedy of novelty; this was the primitive, the perfectible element.

Such children need stern tutors. They will receive them from the South and from the North; their mobility will be fixed, their softness hardened and fortified; reason must be added to instinct, and reflection to impulse.

In the South appear the Iberians of Liguria and of the Pyrenees, with the mountaineer hardness and craftiness of mind; then the Phœnician colonies; the Saracens will come long after. The south of France early imbibes the mercantile genius of the Semitic nations; the Jews of the middle ages found themselves at home there.\* The oriental doctrines readily obtained a footing there at the time of the Albigeois.†

From the North come down betimes the obstinate Kymry, the ancestors of our Bretons and of the Welsh of England. These men are loath to pass over the earth to no purpose: they must have monuments; they erect the needles of Locmariaker and the lines of Carnac; rude and mute stones, impotent attempts at tradition which posterity will not understand. Their Druidism speaks of immortality, but it cannot even establish order in the present life; all it can do, is to reveal the moral germ that exists in the barbarian man, as the miseltoe piercing the snow bears testimony in winter of the slumbering life of nature: the warrior genius still predominates. The Bolg descend from the North; the hurricane sweeps over Gaul, Germany, Greece, Asia Minor; the Galls follow; Gaul inundates the world. It is a luxuriant life, a sap exuberant to overflowing. The Gallo-Belges have the martial ardour and the prolific power of

---

\* They were often maltreated there, it is true; but much less than elsewhere. They had schools in Montpellier, and in several other towns of Languedoc and Provence.

† See further on.

the modern Belg of Belgium and Ireland; but the social impotence of Ireland and of Belgium is already visible in the history of the Gallo-Belges of antiquity. Their conquests are without result; Gaul is convicted of impotence both to acquire and to organise. The natural and martial system of clanship prevails over the elective and sacerdotal social system of Druidism. The clan, founded on the principle of real or fictitious kinship, is the rudest of associations. Flesh and blood constitute its bond of union; the unity of the clan centres in a chief, in a man.\*

A form of society must be begun in which man shall no longer pledge himself to man, but to an idea; and first of all to the idea of civil order. The Roman *agrimensores* will follow the legions, surveying, meting out, and arranging according to their antique rites, the colonies of Aix, Narbonne, and Lyons. The city enters into Gaul, Gaul into the city. The great Cæsar, after having disarmed Gaul by fifty fights and the slaughter of some millions of men, admits it into the legions and throws the door wide open for it to enter Rome and the senate. Behold then, the Gaulish Romans becoming orators, rhetoricians, jurists; behold them schooling their masters and teaching Latin in Rome itself. There, they in their turn learn civil equality under a military chief; they learn what had already latently subsisted in their own levelling genius; do not fear that they will ever forget the lesson.

Gaul, however, will not possess full consciousness of herself, until the Greek spirit shall have awakened her. Antoninus Pius is a native of Nîmes. Rome has said, The City; stoic Greece says through the Antonines, The City of the world; Christian Greece says this far better still through St. Pothin and St. Irenæus, who bring the word of Christ to Lyons from Smyrna and Patmos; that mystic word, that word of love which bids the weary rest and slumber in God, as Christ himself, in the last supper, laid his head upon the breast of him he loved. But there is something in the Kymric genius, something in our hard West, that repudiates mysticism, that stiffens itself against its sweet and absorbing words, that refuses to lose itself in the bosom of the moral God Christianity brings it, just as it refused to submit to the Nature-God of the ancient religions. This obstinate assertion of the *ego* has for its organ Pelagius, the heir and successor of the Greek Origen.

If these reasoners prevailed, they would found liberty before society had been fixed upon its base. Religion and the church, now

---

\* Independently of this common bond we shall find some devoting themselves to that man who feeds them, whom they love: hence the *devoted* among the Gauls and the Aquitanians. Cæsar de Bell. Gall., iii. 22: *Devoti quos illi Soldurios appellant—neque adhuc repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto cujus se amicitie devovisset, mori recusaret.*—Athenæus, l. vi., c. 13: *Ἀδιάτομον τὸν τῶν Σαρτιῶν βασιλέα (ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο Κελτικόν) ἑξακοσίους ἔχειν λογάδας περὶ αὐτὸν, οὓς καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Σιλοδούρους, ἑλληνιστὶ ἐνχαλμαίους.*—Zaldi, or Saldi, signifies horse in the Basque tongue.



about to remodel the world, need more docile auxiliaries; the Germans must come. Whatever be the evils of invasion they will soon second the church; from the second generation they are hers; she needs but touch them, and behold them vanquished. A thousand years will they remain under her spell. *Bend thy head, gentle Sicambrian.\** The stubborn Celt would not bend it. These barbarians, who seemed ready to trample down every thing, become, whether they know it or not, the docile instruments of the church. She will employ their young arms in forging the steel band that is about to bind together modern society. The Germanic hammer of Thor and of Charles Martel shall serve the purpose of forging, quelling, and disciplining the rebellious genius of the West.

Such has been the accumulation of races in our Gaul, race upon race, people upon people. Gauls, Kymry, Belg, elsewhere Iberians, elsewhere again, Greeks and Romans; the Germans arrive the last. When we have said this, have we summed up all France? On the contrary, the tale is scarcely begun. France has formed herself out of these elements from which any other mixture might have resulted. The same chemical principles compose oil and sugar. The principle being given, all is not given; there remains the mystery of the individual special existence. How much more ought we to take account of this when we have to deal with a living and active compound such as a nation; a compound capable of being self-wrought, self-modified? Those workings, those successive modifications, by which our country has been continuously transformed, are the subject of the history of France.

We do not, therefore, exaggerate either the primitive element of the Celtic genius, or the foreign additions. The Celts, doubtless, have contributed their part, Rome likewise, Greece likewise, and the Germans furthermore: but who united, blended, and modified these elements, who transmuted and transformed them, who made them into one body, who drew forth from them our France? France herself, by that internal working, by that mysterious engenderment, half necessary, half free, of which it is the business of history to give account. An acorn is a little thing compared to the gigantic oak, which is sprung from it. Well may it be proud, that living oak, which has cultivated, which has made and makes itself.

And, first of all, is it to the Greeks that we are to refer the primitive civilisation of Gaul? The influence of Marseilles has evidently been exaggerated. It may have introduced some Greek words into the Celtic idiom.† The Gauls, for want of a national

---

\* *Mitis Sicamber.* See the following chapter.

† M. Champollion Figeac has traced some, even in Dauphiné. At Marseilles the tradition of the meeting and recognition of Ulysses and Penelope subsists under the chivalric form. Till a very late period the church of Lyons followed the rites of the Greek church. It appears that the Celtic medals anterior to the Roman conquest present a great resemblance to the Macedonian coinage. Caumont, *Cours d'Antiq.* Monument. i. 249. All this does not appear to me

system of writing, may have borrowed the Greek character\* on important occasions, but the Hellenic genius was too contemptuous of the barbarians to obtain a real influence over them. The Greeks, few in number, passing through the country with fear and distrust, and only in obedience to the exigencies of their commerce, differed too much from the Gauls both in race and language, were too superior to them, to unite with them intimately. It was with them, as with the Anglo-Americans with respect to the savages their neighbours. The latter bury themselves in the depths of their forests, and disappear by degrees, without participating in that disproportioned civilisation, which the new comers had sought to force on them at once.

It was somewhat late that Greece did influence Gaul, and then chiefly by philosophy and religion. She aided Pelagius, but only to give form and expression to that which already subsisted in the national genius. Then came the barbarians, and centuries passed away before resuscitated Gaul bethought herself again of Greece.

The influence of Rome was more direct. She has left a stronger trace upon the manners, the laws, and the language of the land. It is still a popular opinion, that our language is wholly Latin. Is there not, however, strange exaggeration in this notion?

If we are to believe the Romans, their language prevailed in Gaul as it did throughout the whole Empire.† The vanquished were held to have lost their native tongue along with their gods. The Romans did not care to know whether or not there existed any other language than their own. Their magistrates replied to the Greeks in Latin.‡ It is in Latin, says the Digest, that the prætors must interpret the laws.§

Thus the Romans, no longer hearing any tongue but their own in the tribunals, the prætoria, and the basilicæ, imagined that they

enough to justify the conclusion that the Greek influence deeply or pervadingly modified the Gaulish genius. I am more inclined to believe in the primitive analogy of the two races, than in the influence of intercommunication between them.

\* See *supra* the passage from Strabo (l. iv., ap. Scr. Fr., i. 9.)

† S. August. de Civit. Dei, l. xix., c. 7. At enim opera data est ut imperiosa civitas non solum jugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus, per pacem societatis, imponeret.

‡ Val. Max., l. ii., c. 2. Magistratus vero prisci, quantopere suam populique Romani majestatem retinentes se gesserint, hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendæ gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Græcis unquam nisi Latine responsa darent. Quin etiam ipsa lingue volubilitate, quâ plurimum valent, excusâ, per interpretem loqui cogebant; non in urbe tantum nostrâ, sed etiam in Græciâ et Asiâ; quo scilicet Latine vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur.

§ L. Decreta, D. l. xlii., t. 1. Decreta a prætoribus Latine interponi debent. Tiberius apologised to the senate for using the Greek word *monopoly*. Adeo ut monopolium nominaturus, prius veniam postulârit quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset; atque etiam in quodam decreto patrum, cum ἐμπλημα recitaretur, commutandam censuit vocem. Suet. in Tiber., c. 71.

had extinguished the language of the vanquished. Many facts, however, indicate what we are to think of this pretended universality of the Latin tongue. The rebellious Syrians having sent one of their number, who was a Roman citizen, to sue for pardon, it turned out that the citizen did not know the language of the city.\* Claudius discovered that he had given the government of Greece, an appointment of such importance, to a man who did not know Latin.† Strabo remarks, that the tribes of Bœtica and the majority of those of southern Gaul, had adopted the Latin language.‡ The thing, then, was not so common, since he takes the trouble especially to remark it. "I learned Latin," says St. Augustin, "without fear of chastisement, amidst caresses and smiles, and whilst playing with my nurses."§ This is precisely the method on which Montaigne congratulates himself. It appears that the acquisition of the Latin language was usually more difficult; otherwise St. Augustin would not have made the remark.

That Martial piques himself upon the fact of his book being in the hands of every one in Vienne;|| that St. Jerome writes in Latin to the ladies of Gaul, St. Hilary and St. Avitus to their sisters, and Sulpicius Severus to his step-mother; that Sidonius recommends the reading of St. Augustin to women;¶ all this merely proves, what nobody ever thought of questioning, that persons of distinction in the south of Gaul, above all in the Roman colonies, such as Lyons, Vienne, and Narbonne, talked Latin by preference.

As for the mass of the people, I allude particularly to the Gauls of the north, it is difficult to suppose, that the Romans established themselves in Gaul in sufficient numbers to make it abandon the national tongue. The judicious rules laid down by M. Abel Remusat, teach us, that, in general, a foreign language becomes mixed with the native tongue in proportion to the number of those who bring it into the country. We may also add, with reference to the special case before us, that the Romans, shut up in the towns or in the quarters of their legions, must have had but little intercourse with the slaves who tilled the lands, with the half-serf *coloni* who were dispersed in the rural districts. Among the men even of the towns, among the better classes, in the language of those spurious Romans who arrived at the dignities of the empire, we find traces of the national idiom. The Provençal, Cornelius Gallus, consul and prætor, employed the Gaulish word *casnar*, for *assectator puellæ*: Quintilian reproaches him with this.\*\* Antoninus Primus, that Toulousan

\* Dio Cass., l. ix., ed. Reyman, p. 955.

† Suet. in Claud., c. 16. Splendidum virum, Græciæque provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum.

‡ Strab., l. iii., ed. Oxon., p. 202; l. iv., p. 258.

§ Confess., l. i., c. 14.

|| Martial, l. vii., epist. 87.

¶ Sidon. Apoll., l. ii., epist. 9. Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romane, 1808. See particularly on this question the learned work of M. Raynouard, t. i.

\*\* Institut. Orat., l. v., c. 3, init.

whose victories secured the empire to Vespasian, was originally named *Bec*,\* a Gaulish word which is found in all the Celtic dialects, as well as in French. In the year 230 Septimius Severus ordained, that the *fidei commissi* should be admitted, not only in Latin and in Greek, but also *linguâ Gallicanâ*.† We have already seen a Druidess speaking in the Gaulish tongue to the Emperor Alexander Severus. In 473 the Bishop of Clermont, Sidonius Apollinaris, thanks his brother-in-law, the powerful Ecdicius, because he made the Arvernian nobility lay aside the rudeness of the Celtic language.‡

What, it will be asked, was this vulgar tongue of the Gauls? Is there reason to believe that it was analogous to the Welsh and Breton, the Irish and Scotch dialects? One would be tempted to think so. The words *Bec*, *Alp*, *bardd*, *derwidd* (Druid), *argel* (a cavity under ground), *trimarkisia* (three horsemen),§ and a multitude of

\* Suet. in Vitell., c. 18, ad calcem.

† Digest., lxxxii., tit. 1. The blending of the two languages, Gaulish and Latin, appears after the eighth century to have given rise to the Romance tongue. In the ninth century, a Spaniard could make himself understood by an Italian (Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., sec. iii., p. 2, p. 258). It is in this *rustic* Romance tongue that the council of Auxerre prohibits the chanting by young girls of canticles composed in a mixed Latin and Romance language; whilst, on the contrary, those of Tours, Rheims, and Mayence (813—847), order the translation of the prayers and homilies. Finally, it is in this language that the famous oath of Louis the German to Charles the Bold is composed, that first monument of our national idiom. Latin and Gaulish must undoubtedly have entered into the composition of the Romance tongue in proportions varying in different localities. An Italian writing about the year 960, could say *vulgaris nostra lingua quæ Latinitati vicina est* (Martini Vet. Scr., i. 298), which explains how it was that the vulgar Provençal was common to a part of Spain and Italy. But we have nothing to show that the same was the case with the vulgar tongue of the south and of the north of Gaul. Gregory of Tours (l. viii.) in relating the entry of Gontran into Orleans, makes a clear distinction between Latin and the vulgar tongue. In 995 a bishop preaches in Gaulish (*Gallice*. Concil. Hardouin, v. 734). The monk of St. Gall gives the word *veltres* (leverets), as a word of the Gaulish tongue (*Gallica lingua*). We find in the life of St. Colomb (Acta SS., sec. ii., p. 17), *Ferusculam, quam vulgo homines squirium vocant* (a squirrel). It is curious thus to see the gradual dawning of our French language in a despised *patois*.

‡ Quod sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas, nunc oratorio stylo, nunc etiam camænalibus modis imbuebatur. Sidon. Apoll., Epist. 3, lib. iii., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., i. p. 790.

§ *Alb*, whence Alps, Albania; *penn*, peak, whence Appenines, pennine Alps. *Bardd*, *ῥαῖδοι*, ap. Strab., l. iv., et Diod., l. v. Bardi, ap. Amm. Marcel., l. xv. etc. *Derwidd* (see a note on a preceding chapter, p. 25), in Ireland *Drui*, still signifies magician to this day; and *Druidheacht*, magic: Tolland's Letters, p. 58. Glass amulets are called in Wales *gleini na Droedh*, Druid's glasses. *Trimarkisia*, from *tri*, three, and *marc*, horse. Owen's Welsh Dict. Armstrong's Gael. Dict. "Each Gaulish horseman," says Pausanias (l. x., ap. Scr. R. Fr., i., 469), "is followed by two attendants, who give him their horses in case of need; this is what they call in their tongue Trimarkisia (*τριμάρκισια*), from the Celtic word *marca*." Many other examples might be added to these. We can trace the *gesum* (Gaulish javelin) of the classic authors in the Gaulish word *gaude*, armed,

names of places recorded in the classical authors, are still found at this day unchanged.

These examples are enough to render probable the perpetuity of the Celtic languages, and the analogy of the ancient Gaulish dialects with those spoken by the modern inhabitants of Wales and Bretagne, Scotland and Ireland. The induction will not appear rash or futile to those who know the prodigious pertinacity of those peoples, their attachment to their ancient traditions, and their hatred of the stranger.

A remarkable characteristic of these languages is their striking analogy with the Latin and Greek tongues. The first verse of the *Æneid*, the *fiat lux* in Latin and in Greek, are found to be purely Welsh and Irish.\* One would be tempted to account for these analogies by the influence of the church, if they applied only to scientific words, or to such as had reference to religious matters; but you find them equally in those which concern the domestic affections or the circumstances of local existence.† They are found likewise among peoples who have very unequally experienced the influence of the victors and of the church; in countries almost without communication, and placed in very different geographical and political circumstances, as for instance among our continental Bretons and among the insular Irish.

A language so analogous to the Latin may have furnished ours with a considerable number of words which, under favour of their Latin physiognomy, have been referred to the learned tongue, the language of the law and of the church, rather than to the obscure and the despised dialects of the vanquished races. The French language has been more desirous to vaunt her connections with the noble Roman language, than her relation with less brilliant sisters. Nevertheless, before we can absolutely aver the Latin origin of a

*gaisg*, valour, etc.; the *catcia* in *gath-teth* (pronounced *gah-teh*); the *rotta* or *chrotta* (Fortunat., vii., 8), in the Gaelic *cruit*, the Cymric *crudd*, and the *voite* of the middle ages; the *sagum* in the Armorican *sac*, etc. etc.

\* There is not an illiterate man in Ireland, Wales, and the highlands of Scotland but understands

	Arma virumque (ac) cano	Trojæ qui primus ab oris.
GAELIC.—	Arm agg fer can	pi pim fra or.
WELSH.—	Arvan ac gwr canwyf	Troian cw prio o or.

Γηθήτω φάος καὶ ἐγένετο φάος.

G'ennet pheor agg genneth pheor.

Ganed fawdd ac y gcnid fawdd.

Fiat lux et(ac)lux facta fuit.

Fcet lur agg lur fctet fet.

Tydded lluch a lluch a feithied.

Cambro-Briton, January, 1822.

† ARDENNAE: the article *ar* and *den* (Cymric), *don* (Low Breton), *domhain* (Gaelic), deep. ARELATE: *ar* upon and *lath* (Gael.), *llaeth* (Cymr.), marsh. AVENIO: *abhainn* (Gael.), *avon* (Cymric), water. BATAVIA: *bat*, deep, and *av*, water. GENABUM (Orleans, and likewise GENEVA): *cen*, point, and *av*, water. MORINI (in the Boulonnais): *môr*, sea. RHODANUS: *rhed-an*, *rhod-an*, rapid water (Adelung, Gaelic and Welsh Dict.), &c.

word, we must first be sure that the same word has not a still closer affinity to the Celtic dialects.\* Perhaps we ought rather to prefer this latter source when there is reason to hesitate between the one and the other; for, manifestly, the Gauls were more numerous in Gaul, than their vanquishers the Romans. It will be quite allowable to hesitate still when the French word is to be found only in Latin and in Breton; in strictness it is possible that the Breton and the French may have received it from the Latin. But when the same word is found likewise in the Welsh dialect, the sister of the Breton, it is extremely probable that it is indigenous, and that the French language has derived it from the old Celtic. The probability becomes almost a certainty when the word exists at the same time in the Gaelic dialects of the Scotch Highlands and of Ireland. A French word which is found in those distant lands, now so isolated from France, must trace its origin to the period in which Gaul, Great Britain, and Ireland were still sisters, in which they had respectively a population, a religion, a language analogous one with the other, and in which the union of the Celtic world was not yet broken.†

From all that has gone before, it follows of necessity that the Roman element is far from being every thing in our language. Now the language of a people is the faithful representation of its genius, the expression of its character, the revelation of its inward existence, its *logos*, so to speak. If the Celtic element has persisted in the

---

\* The following are examples :

<i>French.</i>	<i>Breton.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>	<i>Irish.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>
Baton			batta	baculus.
Bras		braich		brachium.
Carriole, chariot	carr		carr	currus.
Chaine	chadden		caddan	catena.
Chambre	cambr			camera.
Cire			ceir	cera.
Dent		dant		dens.
Glaive	glaif			gladius.
Haleine	halan	alan		halitus.
Lait		laeth	laith	lac, lactis.
Matin	mintin		madin	mane, matutinus.
Prix	pris		pris	pretium.
Sœur	choar		seuar	soror.

† The ideas which I have thrown out, are completely and unanswerably demonstrated in the great work M. Edwards is about to publish on the languages of the west of Europe. Having mentioned the name of my illustrious friend, I cannot forbear expressing my admiration for the truly scientific method he has pursued for twenty years in his investigations respecting the natural history of man. After having treated his subject, in the first place, from the external point of view (*Influence des agents physiques sur l'Homme*), he has considered it in its principle of classification (*Lettre sur les Races humaines*). Lastly, he has sought a new principle of classification in *language*, and he has undertaken to draw forth from a comparison of languages the philosophic laws of human speech. Thus has he seized on that point in which the outward existence of man and his inward life meet and blend together.

language, it must needs have likewise endured elsewhere,\* it must have survived in manners as well as in language, in action as well as in thought.

I have spoken elsewhere of Celtic tenacity; let me be allowed to return to this subject again, and to insist upon the obstinate genius of those races. We shall the better understand France the more sharply we delineate that from which she took her origin. The mixed Celts, who are called French, have their nature explained in part by that of the pure Celts, the Iberians and Welsh, the Scotch and the Irish. I should be loth to lose the opportunity of bidding a solemn farewell to those populations which the Germanic invasion is about to cut off from our France. Let me be allowed to pause, and erect a stone at the cross-ways where the brother tribes are about to separate, to enter upon such various routes, and to follow such opposite destinies. Whilst France, undergoing the long and painful schooling of the Germanic invasion and of feudalism, is about to march from serfdom to liberty, and from shame to glory, the old Celtic populations, seated among their ancestral rocks and in the solitude of their isles, remain true to the poetic independence of the barbarian life, until foreign tyranny interferes to disturb them. Centuries have now passed since England has thus surprised and molested them. She strikes upon them unceasingly, as the billows break upon the point of Bretagne or Cornwall. Sad and patient Judæa, which counted its ages by its captivities, has not been more rudely beaten by Asia: but there is such a virtue in the Celtic genius, such a vitality in these races, that they endure under outrage, and keep their manners and their tongue.

A race of stone,† as immoveable as their rude Druidic monuments which they still revere.‡ It is the sport of the mountaineers of Scotland to raise rock upon rock, and build a little *dolmen*, in imitation of those of antiquity.§ The Gallician who emigrates every year, leaves a stone when he departs, and his life is represented by a pile.|| The Scotch Highlanders say to you in token of friendship,

\* Of course it is to be borne in mind (I have already explained myself on this subject) that the primitive germs are of little account in comparison with all the developments which the spontaneous workings of human liberty have derived from them.

† Like land, like race. The idea of deliverance, says Turner, (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 313), delighted the Kymry in their wild land of Wales, in their paradise of stones; *stony Wales*, according to the expression of Taliesin.

‡ J. Logan, *The Scottish Gaël, or Celtic Manners, as preserved among the Highlanders*, 1831, vol. ii., p. 354. "It has been carefully noted, that none who ever meddled with the Druid's stones prospered in this world."

§ Logan, ii., 308. "CLACH CUID FIA is lifting a large stone, two hundred pounds or more, from the ground, and placing it on the top of another about four feet high. A youth that can do this is forthwith reckoned a man, whence the name of the amusement, and may then wear a bonnet." Does it not seem as though the cromlechs were erected by giants in their play?

|| W. von Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*.

"I will add a stone to your *cairn*."\* In the last century, they restored the grave of Ossian which was displaced by English impiety. "In Glenamon stood Clachan Ossian, a block seven feet high and two broad, which coming in the line of the military road, Marshal Wade overturned it by machinery, when the remains of the bard and hero were found accompanied with twelve arrow heads. So great a respect had the Highlanders for this rude, but impressive monument, that they burned with indignation at the ruthless deed. All they could do they did—the relics of Ossian were carefully collected, and borne off by a large party of Highlanders, to a place where they were thought secure from further disturbance. The stone is said still to remain with four smaller, surrounded by an enclosure, and retains its appellation of *Cairn na Huseoig*, or Cairn of the Lark, apparently from the sweet singing of the bard."†

The Duke of Athol, the descendant of the kings of the Isle of Man, sits this day with his face turned towards the east‡ upon the mound of Tynwald. Not long ago, the churches in Ireland served as tribunals.§ Traces of the worship of fire are everywhere to be found among these peoples, in their language, their belief, and their traditions.|| With regard to our Bretagne, I will mention at the beginning of book the 3rd, numerous facts proving the tenacity of the Breton spirit.

It would almost seem, that a race which did not change whilst all was changing around it, ought to have been victorious by the mere force of its persistence, and ought at last to have imposed its own genius upon the world. The reverse took place. The more this race isolated itself, the more it preserved its primitive originality, the more did it decline and fall. To remain original, to keep clear of foreign influence, to repel the ideas of others, is to remain incomplete and feeble. This it is, likewise, which has constituted the greatness and the weakness of the Jewish people. It had but one idea; it gave that idea to the nations, but hardly received any thing of them. It has always remained itself, strong and contracted, indestructible and humiliated, the enemy of the human race and everlastingly its slave. Woe to the obstinate individuality which persists on belonging to itself alone, and refuses to enter into the community of the world!

The genius of our Celts, I speak particularly of the Gauls, is strong and prolific, and also strongly inclined to matter, nature, pleasure, sensuality; generation, and the pleasure of generation, hold great

\* Logan, ii. 371.

† Ibid., 373.

‡ Ibid., i. 208.

§ Ibid., ii. 325.—Wherever Christianity did not destroy the Druidical circles, they continued to serve as courts of justice. In 1380, Alexander, Lord Stuart, of Badenoch, held a court at the standing stones of the council of Kingusie. A canon of the Scotch church prohibits the holding of courts of justice in the churches.

|| See the Illustrations.



place among these races. I have spoken elsewhere of the manners of the ancient Gauls and of Ireland. France has a great share of them. The *Vert galant* is the national king. It was a common thing in the middle ages in Bretagne to have a dozen wives.\* Those men of war, who hired themselves anywhere and everywhere,† were not afraid of engendering soldiers. Universally among the Celtic nations, bastards succeeded their fathers, even as kings, or as chiefs of clans. The wife, a mere object of voluptuous pleasure, seems not to have possessed the same dignity among these races as among the Germanic nations.‡

\* Gulielm. Pictav. ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 88. "The confidence of Conan II. was kept up by the incredible number of fighting men, with which his country was supplied; for be it known that in that country, which, moreover, is of great extent, one single warrior begets fifty; because, regardless of the love of decency and religion, they have each ten wives and even more." The Count of Nantes says to Louis le Debonnaire, *Coeunt frater et ipsa soror*, etc. Ermold. Nigellus, l. iii., ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 52. Hist. Brit. Armorice, ib., vii. 52: *Sorores suas, neptes, consanguineas, atque alienas mulieres adulterantes, nec non et hominum, quod pejus est, interfectores . . . diabolici viri.* Cæsar said of the insular Britons, *Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maximè fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis.* Sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, à quibus primùm virgines ductæ sunt. Bell. Gall., l. v., c. 14. See also the letter of the Synod of Paris to Nomenoe (849), ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 504, and that of the council of Savonnières to the Bretons (859), *ibid.*, 584.

† Ducange, Glossarium. *Breton* was used synonymously with soldier, *roustier*, freebooter. Guibert, de Laude B. Mariæ, c. 10. Charta ann. 1395. *Per illas partes transierunt gentes armorum, Britones et pillardi, et amoverunt quatuor jumenta.* The man who acted as adviser to one who fought a duel was also called *Breton*. Edict of Philippe le Bel: "Et doit aler cius ki a apelet devant, et ses *Bretons* porte sen escu devant lui." Carpentier, Supplément au Glossaire de Ducange. *Breton*, bretteur? bretailleur? Willelm. Malmsbur., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 13: *Est illud genus hominum egens in patria, aliasque externo aere laboriosæ vitæ mercatur stipendia; si dederis, nec civilia, sine respectu juris et cognationis, detrectans prælia; sed pro quantitate nummorum ad quascumque voles partes obnoxium.*

‡ At first, however, she was a slave, even among the Germans, just as among the Celts. This is the common law in ages in which brute force reigns without limit.

See above, p. 4. Strabo, Dio, Solinus and St. Jerome agree as to the licentiousness of the Celts. O'Connor says, that polygamy was permitted amongst them; Derrick, that they changed their wives once or twice a year; Campion, that they married for a year and a day. The Picts of Scotland chose their kings by preference from the female line. (Fordun, apud Low, Hist. of Scotland). In like manner among the Nairs of Malabar in the most corrupt country of India, the female line is preferred; maternal descent appearing to be the only certain one. It is perhaps as mothers of the kings, that Boadicea and Cartimandua are represented by Tacitus as queens of the Britons. The Welsh laws restrict the right which the husband has to beat his wife to three cases, viz., her having wished evil to his beard, her attempting to kill him, or committing adultery. These very limitations indicate the brutality of the husbands. Yet the idea of equality appears early in the Celtic institution of marriage. "The Gauls," says Cæsar (Bel. Gal., lib. vi., 17), "brought a portion equal to that of the wife, and the whole sum was for the survivor." Under the laws of Wales, the husband and the wife could equally demand a divorce. In case of separation, the property was divided share and share alike. Lastly, in the Ossianic poems, much modified it is true by the modern spirit, the women partake of the cloudy existence of the heroes; on the contrary they are excluded from the Scandinavian Walhalla.

This materialist tendency did not permit the Celts readily to accede to rights founded only upon an idea; the right of primogeniture is hateful to them. That right is originally nothing else than the indivisibility of the sacred hearth, the perpetuity of the paternal god.\*

Among our Celts, the shares were equal among brothers, as their swords were equally long. You would not easily have brought them to understand, that one alone should possess the whole patrimony. This was more easy among the Germanic race,† who thought that the eldest could support his brothers, while the latter were content with keeping their little place at the fraternal table and hearth.‡

This law of equal inheritance, which they called *gabail-cine*,§ and which the Saxons borrowed from them, especially in the county of Kent (*gavelkind*), imposes the necessity of partition on each generation, and incessantly changes the aspect of property. At the moment when the possessor was beginning to build, to cultivate, and improve, death has carried him off, broken up his plans, divided his property, and every thing must be begun again. The system of partition gave occasion, likewise, to an infinite number of jealousies and disputes. Thus, that law of equal inheritance, which, in a mature and firmly established society, constitutes at this day the beauty and the strength of our France, was among the barbarous tribes a continual cause of confusion, an invincible obstacle to progress, an everlasting revolution. The lands which were subject to it, long remained half uncultivated and in pasture.||

Whatever may have been the results, it is a glory for our Celts to have propounded the law of equality in the West. That sentiment of

\* In ancient Italy, *DEIVEI PARENTES*.—See the letter of Cornelia to C. Gracchus.

† The equal division of patrimonies fell early into desuetude in Germany. The north remained faithful to it a longer time.—See Grimm, *Alterthümer*, p. 475, and Mittermaier, *Grundsätze des Deutschen Privatrechts*, third edition. 1827, p. 730. I have seen a very characteristic anecdote in a book of travels, by M. de Staël, if I am not mistaken. The French traveller, conversing with some miners, surprised them very much by informing them that many French labourers had a little land which they cultivated in the intervals between their tasks; “But when they die, to whom does the land go?” “It is divided equally among their children.” Upon this, there was fresh amazement among the English. The ensuing Sunday, they put the following questions to the vote amongst them: “Is it good that the working man should have lands?” Unanimous reply, “Yes.” “Is it good that those lands should be divided, and should not pass exclusively to the eldest son?” Unanimous reply, “No.”

‡ Or else they emigrate. Thence the Germanic *wargus*, the *ver sacrum* of the Italic nations. The right of primogeniture, which is frequently equivalent to the proscription and banishment of the younger sons, thus becomes the fruitful cause of colonisation.

§ See the following books and the works of Sumner, Robinson, Palgrave, Dalrymple, Sullivan, Halsted, Low, Price, Logan, the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, and the *Usances de Rohan*, Brouerec, &c. Blackstone did not at all understand the matter.

|| According to Turner (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 233) what threw Britain into the hands of the Saxons, was the custom of *gavelkind*, which continually subdivided the inheritances of the chiefs into petty tyrannies. Of this he cites two remarkable examples, derived from two lives of saints.

personal right, that vigorous assertion of the *me and mine*, which we have already pointed out as exemplified by Pelagius in religious philosophy, here shows itself again, and still more distinctly. It reveals to us in a great measure, the secret of the destinies of the Celtic races. Whilst the Germanic families rendered themselves immoveable; whilst their estates were perpetuated, and their inheritances produced aggregations of property, the Celtic families went on continually dividing, subdividing, and dwindling away. This continual increase of weakness resulted chiefly from the equality, from the equity of partition. This prematurely equitable law was the ruin of those races: let it be their glory likewise: let it assert for them, at least, the pity and the respect of the nations to which they so early displayed such an ideal.

This tendency to equality, to levelling, which in its legal operation isolated men, would have needed to be counterbalanced by a lively sympathy, such as should draw them together; so that man emancipated from man by the equity of the law, should be reattached to him by a voluntary bond. And this did actually take place at last in our France, and this is in fact the secret of her grandeur. By this we are a nation, whilst the pure Celts have remained in a state of clanship. The little society of the clan, formed by the rude bond of a real or fictive relationship,\* has proved incapable of admitting any thing from without, of attaching itself to any thing foreign. The 10,000 men of the Campbell clan were all cousins of the chief,† were all called Campbell and cared for nothing beyond; hardly did they remember that they were Scotchmen. The little dry nucleus of clanship has always shown itself unfitted for aggregation. One can scarcely build with pebbles, the mortar will not stick to them.‡ On the contrary, the Roman brick has so strongly adhered to the cement, that at this day cement and brick are found forming a single mass, one indestructible block.

It might be expected that the Celtic populations, on becoming Christian, would have been softened, would have been drawn near

\* We know that in Bretagne the title of uncle is given to a cousin who is higher by one degree. This custom evidently tended to tighten the bonds of kindred. In general the spirit of clanship was much stronger in Bretagne than is supposed, though it is less prominent among the Kymry than among the Gaels. See, further on, a note on Laurière's important article, *Glossaire du Droit Français, FORJURE LES FACTEURS*.

† Accordingly the obedience rendered by these cousins was not devoid of independence and high spirit. A Celtic proverb says, Stronger than the laird are his vassals. Logan, i. 187. The young chief of Clan Rannald, coming to take possession of his estates, and seeing the quantity of cattle that had been slaughtered to do honour to his arrival, remarked that a few hens would have been enough. The whole clan rose against him and declared that they would have nothing to do with a hen chief. The Frasers, among whom the young chief had been reared, met the insurgents in battle; but were defeated with great slaughter, and the chief was killed. Ib., i. 192.

‡ There is a Breton proverb,

Kant brot, kant kis,

Kant parrez, kant ilis.

"A hundred countries, a hundred fashions; a hundred parishes, a hundred churches." A Welch proverb says, Two Welchmen will never agree together.

to each other and become bound together. It was not so. The Celtic church partook of the nature of the clan. Fruitful and zealous at first, one would have said it was about to take possession of the whole West. The Pelagian doctrines had been eagerly received in Provence, but received there, only to die. Again at a later period, pending the German invasions from the East, we see the Celtic church put itself in motion from the West, from Ireland. Intrepid and ardent missionaries arrive, inspired with dialectics and poetry. Nothing can be more oddly poetical than the barbarian *Odyssies* of those saintly adventurers, those birds of passage, who settled down upon Gaul before and after St. Colomb. The impulse was vast, the result little; the spark fell in vain upon a world soaked and reeking from the deluge of Germanic barbarism. St. Colomb, says his contemporary biographer, conceived the idea of passing the Rhine to go and convert the Sueves; but was prevented doing so by a dream. What the Celts abstained from doing, the Germans themselves will do. The Anglo-Saxon, St. Boniface, will convert those whom Colomb disregarded. Colomb passes into Italy, but it is to combat the pope. The Celtic church isolates itself from the Universal church; it resists unity; it refuses to join the aggregate body; to merge humbly in European catholicism. The culdees of Ireland and of Scotland, married, independent even under clerical rule, grouped by twelves in little ecclesiastical clans,\* are forced at last to yield to the influence of the Anglo-Saxon monks disciplined by the Roman missions.

The Celtic church will perish, as the Celtic state has already perished. Its members had, indeed, endeavoured, when the Romans left the island, to form a sort of republic.† The Cambrians and the

\* See the following book.

† According to Gildas, p. 8, the Saxons had a prophecy, portending that they were to ravage Britain for 150 years and to possess it for 150. (Cambrian interpolation?)

A serpent with chains  
Towering and plundering  
With armed wings  
From Germania.

Taliesin, p. 94, et apud Turner, i. p. 312.

We will also mention the famous prophecy of Myrdhyn cited by Geoffroy of Monmouth, who has transmitted to us the religious traditions of Britain, formerly contained in the books of exaltation, as the Latins said, (*libri exaltationis*).

"Wortigern was seated upon the brink of a dried-up lake; two dragons issued from it, the one white and the other red." The red dragon drives away the white. The king asks Myrdhyn what that signifies? Myrdhyn bursts into tears; the white is the Briton, the red is the Saxon. "The boar of Cornwall will trample their necks under his feet; the isle of the ocean shall be subject to him and he will possess the ravines of Gaul. He will be celebrated in the mouths of the peoples, and his actions will be the nurture of those who shall relate them. The lion of justice shall come; at his roaring the towers of Gaul and the dragons of the isle shall tremble. The he-goat with golden horns and silver beard shall come; the breath of his nostrils will be so strong that it will cover with vapours the whole space of the island. The women will have the gait of serpents, and all their steps will be full of

Loegrians (Wales and England) united for a brief space, under the Loegrian Wortigern, to resist the Picts and Scots of the North; but Wortigern, being ill-supported by the Cambrians, was obliged to call in the Saxons, who from auxiliaries soon became enemies. Loegria being conquered, Cambria resisted under the famous Arthur. She maintained the struggle two hundred years. The Saxons themselves were destined to be subjugated in a single battle, by William the Bastard; so unfit to resist is the Germanic race. The Franks established in Gaul were in the same manner subjugated and transformed in the second generation by the ecclesiastical influence.

The Cambrians resisted two-hundred years by force of arms and more than a thousand years by force of will; unconquerable will has been the genius of these peoples. The *Saeson* (Saxons, English, in the language of Scotland and Wales) believe that Arthur is dead, they are mistaken; Arthur is alive and bides his time. Pilgrims have found him in Sicily enchanted under *Ætna*.\* The sage of sages, the Druid Myrdhyn, is also somewhere in existence; he sleeps under a stone in the forest; it is the fault of his *Vyvyan*. Wishing to try his potency she demanded of the sage the fatal word that could enchain him. He, who knew every thing, was not ignorant of the use she was destined to make of it: nevertheless, he told it her, and to gratify her he laid down of his own accord in his tomb.†

Whilst awaiting the day of her sage's resurrection, this great race sings and weeps.‡ Her strains are tearful, like those of the Jews by

pride. The flames of the burning pile will be changed into swans, which will swim over the land as in a river. The stag of ten tines will wear four diadems of gold; the other six tines will be changed into neatherd's horns, which shall shake the three isles of Britain with the strange sound of their blast; the forest will tremble at it and will cry out with a human voice, 'Hither, Cambria, gird Cornwall to thy side, and say to Guintonhi, The earth shall swallow thee up.'

The foregoing is taken from the translation given by M. Edgar Quinet in his *Rapport sur les Epopées Françaises du douzième Siècle*. The following is the continuation:

"Then will there be a massacre of the stranger; the fountains of Armorica will leap, Cambria will be filled with joy; the oaks of Cornwall will put on their green, the stones will talk; the strait of Gaul will be contracted. . . Three eggs will be laid in the nest, whence shall issue fox, bear, and wolf. Hereupon shall arrive the giant of iniquity, the sight of whom shall freeze the world with horror."—Galfred. Monemutensis, l. iv.

\* Gervasius Tilburiensis, de Otiis Imperialibus, ap. Scr. Rer. Brunswic., p. 721. Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angleterre*, 2 ed., t. iv., p. 25.

† This is another form of the history of Adam and Eve, of Sampson and Delilah, of Hercules and Omphale, but the Celtic legend is the most touching of them all.

‡ The following is part of one of the many English sets of words adapted to the most popular of the Welsh airs:

Sweet the tale of minstrels merry,  
*Ar hyd y Nôs* (all night long).  
 Sweet the rest of herdsmen weary,  
*Ar hyd y Nôs*.

And to hearts opprest with sorrow,  
 Forced the mask of joy to borrow,  
 Comfort is there till the morrow,

*Ar hyd y Nôs*.—Cambro-Briton, Nov. 1819.

the waters of Babylon. The few fragments of Ossian that are really antique, wear this character of melancholy. The continental Bretons, whose lot has been less unhappy, are in their language full of sad expressions. They sympathise with night, with death. "I never sleep," says their proverb, "but I die the bitter death;" and to one who passes over a grave, they say, "Take your foot from off my dead." "The earth," they say again, "is too old to produce."

They have no great reason to be gay; every thing has turned against them. Bretagne and Scotland have ever shown a readiness to attach themselves to the weak, and to the ruined cause. The Chouans supported the Bourbons, the Highlanders, the Stuarts; but the power to make kings has departed from the Celtic peoples, since the mysterious stone, formerly brought from Ireland into Scotland, was placed in Westminster.\*

Of all the Celtic populations, that of Bretagne has had the least melancholy fate; it has long been under the sway of equality; France is a humane and generous country. The Kymry of Wales, too, were admitted under the Tudors (from the time of Henry VIII.) into a participation of English rights; nevertheless, it was by torrents of blood, by the massacre of the bards, that England began the prelude to this happy fraternity; it is perhaps more apparent than real.† What shall we say of Cornwall, so long the Peru of England, which saw in it nothing but its mines? It has ended by losing its language, "There are now only four or five of us who speak the language of the country," said an old man in 1776, "and they are old folks like myself, of sixty or eighty years of age. Not one of the young people knows a word of it."‡

Strange destiny of the Celtic world; of its two moities, the one, though the less unhappy, perishes, disappears, or at least loses its language, its costume, and its character. I speak of the Highlanders of Scotland and the populations of Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne.§

\* The King of Ireland was crowned upon a black stone called the Stone of Destiny, it gave a clear sound if the election was auspicious. See Tolland, p. 138. It was transported from Iona into Argyleshire and afterwards to Scone, where the kings of Scotland were crowned. Edward I. had it placed in Westminster, in 1300, under the coronation chair. The Scotch preserve the following oracle: "The free people of Scotland will flourish, if this oracle does not lie, wherever the stone of Fate shall be; it will prevail by the right of heaven." Logan, 197. It was upon a stone that the chiefs were inaugurated in Denmark and Sweden, just as in Ireland and Scotland. Ibid., 198. Upon a beautiful green isle in the neighbourhood of Lanark, there is a stone hollowed by the hand of man, on which Wallace sat to confer with his chiefs. See further the Illustrations to Book the First.

† The Tudors placed the Welsh dragon in the armorial bearings of England, which the Stuarts afterwards adorned with the melancholy thistle of Scotland; but the haughty leopards did not admit it upon a footing of equality any more than the harp of Ireland.

‡ Transactions of the R. A. Society of London, ii. 305. Thierry, Conqu. de l'Angleterre, iv. 241.

§ See the Cambro-Briton with this motto, KYMRY FU, KYMRY FUD. Several laws prohibited the Irish from speaking Celtic, and the same was the case with

This is the grave and moral element of the race; it seems dying of sadness and on the point of extinction. The other, full of inextinguishable life, multiplies and increases despite of every thing. It will at once be understood that I speak of Ireland.

Ireland! Poor old first-born sister of the Celtic race, so far from France, her younger sister, who cannot stretch out her arms across the waves to defend her! *The Isle of Saints,\* the emerald gem of the sea*; all-fruitful Ireland, where men sprout up like grass to the dismay of England, on whose ears the cry jars every day, they are a million more! The native land of poets, of bold thinkers, of Johannes Erigena, of Berkeley, of Tolland; the country of Moore, the country of O'Connell.† A people of brilliant speech and rapid sword; which still preserves in this, the old age of the world, the power and the glow of poetry. The English laugh when they hear, in some obscure dwelling of their towns, the Irish widow improvising the *coronach* over the corpse of her husband;‡ the Irish howl is with them a word of scorn. Weep on, poor Ireland! And let France weep too, as she sees in Paris upon the door of the house that receives your children, that harp which implores her aid. Let us weep for that we cannot render back to them the blood they have poured out for us. It is in vain then, that 400,000 Irishmen have fought within the period of less than two centuries in our armies.§

respect to the Welsh towards 1700. Cambro-Briton, December, 1821. In the principal Welsh schools, especially in the north, the Welsh language, far from being encouraged, has been for several years prohibited under severe penalties. Thus the children speak it incorrectly, do not know its grammar, and are incapable of writing it. But it seems that the Celtic languages have taken refuge in the academies. In 1711, Wales had seventy works printed in its own language; at the present day it has more than 10,000. Logan. The Scottish Gael, 1831. The costume has not been less persecuted than the language. In 1585, the parliament forbade appearing in the assemblies in the Irish garb. The Irish, however, abandoned their costume in the middle of the 17th century, more readily than did the Highlanders of Scotland. We find in a Scotch newspaper of 1750, that a murderer was acquitted because his victim wore the tartan.

\* Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hibernie*, iii. 29) reproached Ireland with not counting among the saints a single martyr. "Non fuit qui faceret hoc bonum: non fuit usque ad unum!" Moritz, Archbishop of Cashel, replied that Ireland could at least boast of a great number of persons whose learning had enlightened Europe. But, perhaps, he added, now that your master, the King of England, holds the monarchy in his hands, we shall be able to add martyrs to the list of our saints.—O'Halloran, *Introductio to the History of Ireland*. Dub. 1803, p. 177.

† I do not think that since the days of Mirabeau any assembly has heard any thing surpassing the speech delivered by O'Connell upon the 5th of February, 1835.

‡ Logan, ii. 280. This is an improvisation in verse on the virtues of the deceased. At the end of each stanza a chorus of women utters a mournful cry. In the remote regions of Ireland, they address the deceased, and upbraid him for dying, though he had a good wife, a milch cow, fine children, and plenty of potatoes.—*Ib.*, 283. Among the Scotch Highlanders, the bagpipes have now gradually supplanted the *coronach*.

§ O'Halloran, i. 283, 286. Louis XIV. wrote several times with his own

We must look on, and behold all the sufferings of Ireland without uttering a word. In like manner we have for a long while neglected and forgotten the Scotch, our ancient allies. Meanwhile the mountaineers of Scotland will speedily have disappeared from the earth;\* the Highlands are becoming depopulated every day; the great estates, which ruined Rome, have also devoured Scotland.† Such an estate comprises ninety-six square miles; such another occupies a space twenty miles long and three wide.‡ The Highlanders will soon subsist only in history and in the pages of Sir Walter Scott. People run to the windows of Edinburgh when the tartan and the claymore are seen passing along. They flit away; they emigrate; the pipes now play but one air in the mountains:§

“Cha till, cha till, cha till sin tuile.”

We return, we return, we return no more.

---

hand to Charles II., recommending the Irish to him. See, among other letters, that of the 7th of September, 1660. O'Halloran asserts, that according to the registers of the ministry of war 450,000 Irish enrolled themselves under the colours of France from the years 1691 to 1745 inclusive. Perhaps this must be understood of all the Irish who entered our armies up to 1789.

\* Logan, ii. 56.—“Many Highland proprietors have of late turned their almost exclusive attention to sheep-farming, and have followed their object with so much zeal, that whole districts have been depopulated, that they might be turned into extensive sheep-walks! How far this may be ultimately of advantage to proprietors it is not easy to foresee, but its policy is certainly very objectionable. To force so great a number of the inhabitants to emigrate, and thus deprive the country of the services of a large proportion of the best part of the peasantry, is surely a serious national evil. Regiments can no longer be raised, in case of need, in those places where now are only to be seen the numerous flocks of the solitary shepherd. The piobrach may sound through the deserted glens, but no eager warriors will answer the summons.”

† *Latifundia perdere Italiam*.—Plin., xviii. In Scotland the lairds have appropriated to themselves the lands of their clans; they have converted their suzerainty into property. In Bretagne, on the contrary, many farmers, who held their lands under the tenure of *domaine congéable* (tenants at will), have become proprietors; the old proprietors have been despoiled as feudal seigneurs.

‡ Logan, ii. 75.

§ Logan, ii. 56.



# ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

## BOOK THE FIRST.

---

### ON THE IBERIANS, OR BASQUES (see p. 3).

IN his book entitled, "Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens, vermittelt der Waskischen Sprache," (Berlin, 1821,) W. von Humboldt has endeavoured to establish the identity of the Basques and Iberians by a comparison between the remains of the ancient Iberian language and the Basque language of the present day. Those remains consist merely of the names of places and of men, which have been transmitted to us by the ancient authors, and which, moreover, have come down to us under many disfigurements. Pliny tells us that he only sets down those words which he can express in Latin: *Ex his digna memoratu aut latiali sermone dictu facilia*, etc. Mela and Strabo were also stopped by the difficulty of representing the barbarian pronunciation in their language. Thus, the ancients must have omitted precisely those names which were the most original. Some words literally transmitted to us upon coins are of the greatest importance.

After having laid down the principles of etymology, Humboldt applies them after the following method. He proposes—I. to inquire if there are ancient Iberian names which agree in sound and signification (at least in part) with the Basque words in use at the present day. II. Throughout the whole course of these researches, and before entering into the special investigation, to compare the impression which those ancient names produce upon the ear, with the harmonic character of the Basque tongue. III. To examine whether the ancient names happen to agree with the names of places in the provinces where Basque is now spoken. This agreement may show, even where it may not be possible to discover the meaning of the name, that analogous circumstances have derived from an identical language the same names for different places.

He has been led to the following results :

I. The agreement of the ancient names of places in the Iberian peninsula with the Basque tongue shows, that this tongue was that of the Iberians; and, as the latter people appears to have had but one language, Iberian peoples and peoples speaking the Basque tongue are synonymous expressions.

II. Basque names of places are found throughout the whole peninsula without exception; consequently, the Iberians were spread over all parts of that country.

III. But there are in the geography of ancient Spain other names of places, which, when compared with those of the countries inhabited by the

Celts, appear to be of Celtic origin, and those names indicate to us, in the absence of historical testimony, the establishment of Celts mingled with Iberians.

IV. The Iberians not mingled with Celts, dwelt only towards the Pyrenees, and on the southern coast. The two races were mingled in the interior of the land, in Lusitania and in the greater part of the coasts of the north.

V. The Iberian Celts used the Celtic language, whence came the ancient names of places in Gaul and Britain, as well as the still living languages in France and England; but, probably, they were not peoples of pure Gallic stock, they were not branches detached from the stem which remained behind them. The diversities of character and of institutions sufficiently testify that this was not so. Perhaps they settled in Gaul at the anti-historic period; or, at least, were established there long before (before the Gauls?). At any rate, it was the Iberian character that predominated in their mixture with the Iberians, and not the Gaulish character such as it has been depicted to us by the Romans.

VI. Out of Spain, northwards, we find no trace of Iberians, except in Iberian Aquitaine and part of the coast of the Mediterranean. The Caledonians in particular belonged to the Celtic, not to the Iberian race.

VII. Towards the south the Iberians were established in the three great islands of the Mediterranean. Historic testimonies and the Basque origin of the names of places agree in proving this fact; nevertheless, they did not arrive thither, exclusively at least, from Iberia, or from Gaul. They occupied these establishments from the most remote times or else they came thither from the East.

VIII. Did the Iberians belong likewise to the primitive races of continental Italy? The thing is uncertain. We find there, however, many names of places, the Basque origin of which would tend to substantiate this conjecture.

IX. The Iberians are different from the Celts, as the latter are known to us from the reports of the Greeks and the Romans, and from what remains to us of their languages. Nevertheless, there is no ground for denying all relationship between the two nations; there seems, rather, reason to believe that the Iberians were a dependency of the Celts which was dismembered betimes from the main body.

We shall extract from this essay only what relates directly to Gaul and Italy; and, first, we shall cite the etymologies of the names *Basques*, *Biscay*, *Spain*, *Iberia* (p. 54).

*Basoa*, forest, grove, bushes. *Basi*, *basti*, *bastetani*, *basitani*, *bastitani* (*baseta*, forest country, *bascontum*, like *baso-coa*, belonging to the forests). This etymology, given by Astallos, is not good. The Basques call themselves not *Basacoac* but *Euscaldunac*, their country *Euscalerria*, *Eusquerria*, and their language *euscare*, *eusquera*, *escuara*. [The termination *ara* implies the relation of sequence between one thing and another; thus *ara-uz*, conformably; *ara-ua*, rule, relation. *Eusk-ara* means therefore after the Basque manner.] *Aldunac* comes from *aldea*, side, part, *duna*, an adjective termination, and *c* the sign of the plural.\*

\* Thus the terminations *ac*, *oc*, of the south of France, would indicate a plural in the names of men and places, conformably with the genius of the Pelasgic *gentes*, precisely exhibited in modern Italian, in which the names of men are plural, as *Alighieri*, *Fieschi*, &c.

Erria, ara, era, are only auxiliary syllables. The root is EUSKEN, ESKEN;\* whence the towns Vesci and Vescelia, and Vescitania, in which was situated the town of *Osca*;† two other *Osca* in the country of the Turduli and in Bæturia, and *Ileosca*, *Etosca* (*Etrusca*?) *Menosca* (*Mendia*, mountain,) *Virovesca*; the *Auscii* of Aquitaine with their capital Elimberrum (Illiberis, new town); *Osquidates*? The name of *Osca* must relate to the whole people of the Iberians. The enormous sums of *argentum Oscense* mentioned by Livy can hardly have been coined in one of the little towns called *Osca*. Florez supposes that the resemblance of the ancient Iberian alphabet to that of the Italian Osci may have given occasion to this name.

#### BASQUE NAMES FOUND IN GAUL (p. 91).

AQUITAINE: Calagorris, Casères in Comminges.—Vasates, and Basabocates, from *Basoa*, forest. Likewise the diocese of Basas between the Garonne and the Dordogne.—Iluro, as the town of the Cosetans (Oléron).—Bigorra, from *bi*, two, and *gora*, high.—*Oscara*, Ousche.—Garites, Pays de Gavre, from *gora*, high.—Garoceli . . . (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. i, 10, and not *Graioceli*) Auscii, from *eusken*, *esken*, *vesci* (*osci*?), the name of the Basques (their town is Elimberrum, like Illiberi).—*Osquidates*, same root, valley of Ossau, from the foot of the Pyrenees to Oléron.—Curianum (Cape Buch, a promontory near which the basin of the Arcachon stretches into the land), from *gur*, curved.—(The shore *Corense* in Betica.)—Bercorates, same root; Biscarosse, a town of the district of Born, frontiers of Buch.—The Celtic terminations are *dunum*,‡ *magus*, *vices*, and *briga* (p. 96). Segodunum apud Rutenos belongs rather to the Narbonnese than to Aquitaine. Lugdunum apud Convenas is mixed, as indicated by Convenæ, Comminges. They are not found, any more than *briga*, among the true Aquitainians. The termination *riges* appears to be common to the Celts and the Basques. It is remarkable that the only people pointed out by Strabo as a foreign one in Aquitaine, the *Bituriges*, have a purely Basque name; so likewise the *Caturiges*, Celts of the Hautes Alpes: these are primitive Iberian settlements.

SOUTHERN COAST OF GAUL: Illiberis Bebryciorum, Vacio Vocontiorum (Vaison) in the Narbonnese. Bebryces calls to mind *briges*, and perhaps Allo-Broges (Stephen of Byzantium writes Allobryges; according to him, Allobryges is most frequent among the Greeks. The scholiast on Juvenal, however, calls this word Celtic (Sat., viii. v. 234) and says it signifies land, country.

In the rest of Gaul, we find few names analogous with the Basque

\* Vasco, wasco, in Basque, signifies man, says Laramandi's Dictionary (edition of 1743, under this pompous title, *El imposible vincida, arte della lingua Bascongada*, printed at Salamanca). See also Laboulinière, Voyage dans les Pyrénées Françaises, i. 235.

† *Osca*, from *eusi*, to bark; to speak? from *otsa*, noise? Each barbarous people considered itself as the only one that spoke a real human language. In opposition to *euscaldunac* they say, *er-al-dun-ae*, from *arra*, *erria*, land; hence *eraldunac*, one who speaks the language of the country; the French Basques give this appellation to the French, the Biscayans, and the Castilians.

‡ *Dun*, however (*duna* with the article) is a common termination of the Basque adjective. From *arra*, worm; *ar-duna*, full of worms; from *erstara*, anguish; *erstara-dun-a*, full of anguish; *Eusc-al-dun-ue*, the Basques. *Caladunum* may signify in Basque a country abounding in rushes.

tongue, except Bituriges.\* Nevertheless, we have *Gelduba*, like *Corduba*, *Salduba*, *Arvernii*, *Arvii*, *Gadurci*, *Caracates*, *Carasa*, *Carcaso* (and *Ardyes* on the Valais) *Carnutes*, *Carocotinum* (*Crotay*), *Carpentoracte* (*Carpentras*), *Corsici*, *Carsis* or *Cassis*, *Corbilo* (*Corron* on the Loire), (*Turonos*?) These analogies with Basque are probably fortuitous. May not the word *Britannia* be derived from this fruitful root? *Prydain*, *brigantes*?

*Brigantium* in Spain among the *Gallaici*, *Brigætium* in Asturia. So too in Gaul *Brigantium* and the port *Brivates*. In Britain, the *Brigantes*, and their town *Isuibrigantium*; the same name occurs as that of a people in Ireland. *Brigantium* on the Lake of Constance. *Bregetium* in Hungary, on the Danube. In Gaul, on the southern coast, the *Segobriges*; in Aquitaine proper, the *Nitiobriges* (*Agen*); *Samarobriga* (*Amiens*); *Eburobriga*, between Auxerre and Troyes; *Baudobriga*, above Coblenz, *Bontobriga* and *Magetobriga*, between the Rhine and the Moselle; in Switzerland, the *Latobrigi* and *Latobrogi*; in Bretagne, *Durobriva* and *Ourobriva*; *Artobriga* (*Ratisbonne*) in Celtic Germany.

Traces of Celtic names in Iberian names of places (p. 100): *Ebura*, or *Ebora*, in Betica, and among the *Turduli*, *Edetani*, *Carpetani*, *Lusitani*, and *Ripepora*, in Betica, *Eburobritium* among the *Lusitani*; in Gaul, *Eburobriga*, *Eburodunum*; on the southern coast, the *Eburones*, on the left bank of the Rhine; *Aulerici Ebuovices*, in Normandy; in Bretagne, *Eboracum*, *Eburacum*; in Austria, *Eburodunum*; in Hungary, *Eburum*; in Lucania, the *Eburini*? the Gaul *Eporedorix* in *Cæsar*?

#### CELTIC NAMES IN SPAIN.

*Ebora*, *Ebura*, *Segobrigii* (?) (p. 102). The *Segobriges* on the southern coast of Gaul. *Segobriga*, Spanish towns of the *Celtiberians*; *Segontia*. *Segodunum*, in Bretagne. *Segodunum*, in Gaul. *Segestica*, in Pannonia. —In Spain, *Nemetobriga*, *Nemetates*. —*Augustonemetum*, in Auvergne. *Nemetacum*, *Nemetocenna*, and the *Nemetes*, in Upper Germany, *Ne-mausus* (*Nîmes*); from the Irish *Naomhtha* (*V. Lluyd*), sacred, holy?

(Page 106.) Traces of *Basque* names in those of Celtic places. In Bretagne the river *Ilas*. *Isca*. *Isurum*. *Verurium*. The promontory *Ocelum* or *Ocellum*. On the Danube between *Norica* and *Pannonia*, *Astura* and the river *Carpis*. *Urbate* and the river *Urpanus*. In Spain: *Ula*, *Osca*, *Esurir*. The mount *Solorius*. *Ocelum* of the *Callaici*.

*Basque* names in Italy: *Iria* apud *Taurinos*, as *Iria Flavia Callaiecorum* (*iria*, town). —*Ilienses* in Sardinia, *Trojans*? but of *Lybian* garb and manners, according to *Pausanias*. —*Uria* in Apulia, as *Urium* *Turdulorum*. —*D'ra*, water: *Urba Salovia* *Picenorum*, *Urbium*, *Urcinium*, in Corsica, as *Urce Bastetanorum*. —*Urgo*, an island between Corsica and Etruria, as *Urgao* in Betica. —*Usentini* in Lucania, as *Urso*, *Ursao* in Betica. —*Agurium* in Sicily, *Argiria* in Spain. —*Astura*, river and island near *Antium*. —*D'asta*, rock, *Asta* in Liguria, and *Asta Turdetanorum*, &c. &c., in Spain. —*Osci* is not related to *osca*, it is contracted from *opici*,

\* We may, however, cite also *Mauléon* in Gascony and in Poitou (*Maulin* in Basque). In Bretagne: *Rennes*, *Batz*, *Alet*, *Morlaix*. We find in the Pyrenées: *Rasez*, *Rodas*, *pagus Redensis* or *Radensis*, like *Redon*, *Redonas*, *Morlaas*, &c. We find also in Bretagne an *Auvergnac*, a *Montauban* in the direction of *Rennes*. The words *Auch*, *Occitanie*, *Gard*, *Gers*, *Garonne*, *Gironde*, seem likewise to be of *Basque* origin. *Montesquieu*, *Montesquieu*, from *Eusken*?

opci (but why may not opici be an expanded form of *osci*?)—*Ausones* analogous to the Spanish *Ausa* and *Ausetani*: at the same time it is connected with *Aurunci*.—*Arsia* in Istria, *Arsa* in Bæturia.—*Basta* in Calabria, *Basti* apud Bastebanos.—*Basterbini* Salentinorum, from *basos*, mountain, and from *erbestatu*, to emigrate, to change one's country (*erria*).—*Biturgia* in Etruria, *Bituris* among the Basques.—*Hispellum* in Umbria.—The Lambrus which empties itself into the Po, *Lambriaca* et *Flavia lambria* Callaicorum.—*Murgantia*, a barbarian town in Sicily, *Murgis* in Spain, *Suessa* and *Suessula*, like the *Sucsetani* of the Hergetes.—*Curenses* Sabinorum, *Gurulis* in Sardinia, like littus *Corense* in Betica, and the prom. *Curianum* in Aquitaine.—*Curia*, same root as *urbs*; *urvus*, *curvus*, *urvare*, *urvum* *aratri*; *špos*, ἀρός, κυπρός; in German *aeren* to till; in Basque *ara-tu*, to till (*špa*, id.); *gur*, curve; *uria*, *iria*, town. The German *ort* is likewise of this family. The Basques and the Romans would seem to have been connected with each other through the medium of the Etruscans. "I do not assert for all that the Etruscans were the fathers of the Iberians, nor their sons."\*

(Page 122.) The French and the Spaniards err in confounding together the Cantabrian and the Basques. (Oihenart distinguishes between them); the Cantabrians were separated from the latter by the Autrigons and the unwarlike tribes of the Caristii and Varduli. Among the Cantabrians begins that mixture of names of places which I do not find among the Basques. The Cantabrians are essentially warlike, so too are the Basques, and they even made a boast of not wearing helmets. (Sil. It., iii. 358, v. 197., ix. 232.) This proves, however, that war was with them of less frequent occurrence. Shut up in their mountains they had no wars with the Romans, except the desperate one of Calagurris (Juven., xv. 93—110).

(Page 127.) Basque names are particularly frequent among the Turduli and Turdetani of Betica. Thus there was no region of the Peninsula in which the names of places did not indicate a people speaking and pronouncing like the Basques of the present day. The infinitely varied forms of the Basque tongue would be inexplicable, if that people had not consisted of very numerous tribes, formerly dispersed over a vast territory. *Atzean* signifies behind, and *Atzea* stranger, foreigner; thus this people thought primitively that the stranger was only behind them; a fact which seems to indicate that from time immemorial they have been settled at the extremity of Europe.

(Page 149.) The Celts and the Iberians are two different races (Strabo, iv. 1, p. 156; ii. 1, p. 189). Niebuhr is of the same opinion, contrary to the views of Bullet, Vallancey, &c. The Iberians were more pacific; in fact the *Turduli*, *Turdetani*, instead of making expeditions, were driven back from the Rhone towards the west. They made no leagues with others in consequence of their self-reliance (Strabo, iii. 4, p. 138); hence no great enterprises (Florus, ii. 17, 31), only small marauding expeditions; obstinate against the Romans, but

\* The aruspicine and the flute of the Vascons were celebrated, like that of the Etruscans and the Lydians. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. *Vasca, tibia*, in Solin., c. 5. Servius, xl., *Æn.*, et apud autorem veteris glossarii Latino-græci. At present it is their only instrument (as the bagpipes are that of the Scotch Highlanders), Strabo, l. iii.

especially the *Celtiberians*; pressed and incited by the tyranny of the prætors, by the frequent sterility of the mountain regions, with an increasing population, compelled annually to send away a portion of their men capable of bearing arms; exasperated by the permanent state of warfare in Spain under the Romans.

The Iberian world is anterior to the Celtic: we know nothing of it but its decline. The Vacceans (Diod., v. 34) every year made a partition of their lands, and threw the produce into a common stock, a token of a very antique form of society.

We do not find among the Iberians the institution of Druids and bards. Hence no political union (the Druids had a single chief). Hence less regularity in the Basque language, to return from the derivatives to the roots.

The Gauls and not the Iberians are accused of pederasty (Athen., xiii. 79; Diod., v. 32); on the contrary the Iberians prefer honour and chastity to life (Strabo, iii. 4, p. 164). The Gauls and not the Iberians are boisterous, vain, &c. (Diod., v. 31, p. 157); the Iberians despise death, but with less inconsiderate levity than the Gauls, who gave away their lives for some money or a few cups of wine (Athen., iv. 40).

Diodorus assimilated the Celtiberians to the Lusitanians. Both seem to have displayed in war the cunning and agility characteristic of the Iberians (Strab., iii.). But the Celtiberians were less afraid of pitched battles; they had retained the Gaulish buckler; the Lusitanians used one not so long. (*Scutata ceterioris provincie, et cetrata ulterioris Hispanie cohortes*, Cæs. de Bell. Civ., i. 39. See, however, *ibid.*, i. 48.)

The Celtiberians had (doubtless after the manner of the Iberians), boots of woven horsehair (Diod. *Τριχίνας εἰδούσι κρηπίδας*). The modern Biscayans have their legs wrapped in woollen bands reaching down to the *abarca*, a sort of sandal.

The mountaineers subsisted for two-thirds of the year on acorn bread (the food of the Pelasgi, Dodona, &c.); *glandem ructante marito*. Juv., vi. 10). The Celtiberians ate a great deal of flesh; the Iberians drank a beverage made of fermented barley; the Celtiberians drank hydromel.

The resemblances between the Iberians and Celtiberians are numerous; e. g., all household cares left to the women:—that strength and hardness of the latter which is found in Biscay and the neighbouring provinces (and in several parts of Bretagne, as at Onessant).

Among the Iberians and Celts (Aquitaine?) there were men who devoted their lives to a man (Plut. Sertor., 14; Val. Max., vii. 6, ext. 3; Cæs. de Bell. Gall.). Val. Max., ii., 6, 11, says expressly that these devotedness were peculiar to the Iberians.

(Page 158.) The Gauls were fond of variegated and bright coloured garments; the Iberians, and even the Celtiberians, wore black garments, of coarse wool, and their women wore black veils. In war, for instance at Cannæ (Polyb., iii. 114; Liv., xxii. 46) they had garments of white linen, and over these coats striped with purple (a mean between the pied fashions of the Gauls and Iberian plainness).

What we know of the religion of the Iberians is likewise applicable to the Celts, with one exception: *Some*, says Strabo (iii., 4, p. 164), *deny the Gallicians all belief in gods, and say that on the nights of full moon the Celtiberians and their neighbours of the north dance and make merry before their doors in honour of a god without a name*. Several authors (whose notions Humboldt seems to adopt) fancy they discern a crescent

and stars on the coins of ancient Spain. Florez (*Medallas*, i.) remarks, that on the medals of Betica (and not of the other provinces) the bull is always accompanied by a crescent (the crescent is Phœnician and Druidical; the cow is in the arms of the Basques, the Welsh, &c.). In the other provinces we find the bull, but not the crescent.

There is no mention of temples, unless in the provinces connected with the southern peoples (nevertheless some Celtic names, for instance *Nemetobriga*). Strabo (iii. 1, p. 138), in an obscure passage in which he adduces the conflicting opinions of Artemidorus and Ephorus respecting the alleged temple of Hercules on the promontory of Cuneus, speaks of certain stones, which are found in several places in groups of three or four, and which are connected with religious usages. An English traveller in Spain, says that great heaps of stones are found on the frontiers of Galicia, it being the custom for every Gallician who emigrates in quest of employment, to deposit a stone on his departure and his return.—Arist. Polit., vii. 2, 6. On the tomb of the Iberian warrior were laid as many javelins (*ἀβελίσκους*) as he had slain enemies.

We do not find among the Iberians as among the Gauls the custom of casting gold into the lakes, or of laying it up in the sacred places, without any other safeguard than religion. In the Temple of Hercules at Cadiz, there were offerings which Cæsar ordered to be spared after the defeat of the sons of Pompey (Dio., c. 43, 39); but the worship in that temple was still Phœnician, even in the time of Appian (vi. 2, 35), Justin, xlv. 3: "So rich is the soil in the country of the Gallicians, that the plough often turns up gold; they have a sacred mountain which it is forbidden to violate with iron; but if the lightning strike it, it is allowable to gather up the gold it may have laid bare, as a present from the gods." Here we have gold clearly recognised as the property of the gods.

(Page 163.) As far as names of places are concerned there is no trace of Iberians in non-Aquitania Gaul, nor in Britain [see, however, *supra*], though Tacitus (*Agric.*, ii.), thinks he sees tokens of them in the complexion of the Silures, in their curled hair, and their geographical position. (Mannert thinks he finds them in Caledonia.) We must wait until a comparison shall have been instituted between Basque and the Celtic languages. Let us hope, says M. de Humboldt, that Ahlwardt will make known to us the results of his researches.

(Page 166.) The ancient Celtic languages cannot have differed from the Breton and Welsh of the present day; of this we have proofs in the names of places and persons, in many other words, and in the impossibility of supposing a third language which shall have entirely perished.

(Page 173.) We may say of the Iberians, what Mannert says with much sagacity of the Ligures, that they were not sprung from the Celts with whom we are acquainted in Gaul, but that they may nevertheless have been a twin branch of a more ancient oriental stock.

(Page 175.) Relationship between Basque and the Armorican tongues very doubtful.

## ON THE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF IRELAND AND OF WALES (see p. 6).

We have rigidly abstained in the text from every detail respecting the Celtic religions which was not drawn from ancient sources, from the Greek

said Roman writers. Nevertheless the Irish and Welsh traditions which have reached us under a less pure form, may cast an indirect light on the ancient religions of Gaul. Several traits, moreover, are profoundly indigenous, and bear token of a remote antiquity; for instance, the worship of fire, the myth of the beaver and the great lake, &c. &c.

## SECTION I.

The little we know of the old religions of Ireland, has come down to us adulterated, doubtless, by the most impure mixture of rabbinical fables, and Alexandrine interpolations; and further, perhaps, distorted by the chimerical explanations of modern critics. At the same time, however distrustful we are bound to be, it is impossible to disregard the astonishing analogy which the names of the gods of Ireland (*Axire*, *Axcearas*, *Coismaol*, *Cabur*,) bear to those of the *Cabiri* of Phœnicia and Samothrace (*Axieros*, *Axiokersos*, *Casmilos*, *Cabeiros*). *Baal* occurs as the supreme god alike in Phœnicia and in Ireland. The analogy with several of the Egyptian and Etruscan gods is not less striking. *Æsar*, god, in Etruscan (whence *Cæsar*), is in Ireland the god who kindles fire.\* Lighted fire is *Moloch*. The Irish *axire*, water, earth, night, moon, is likewise called *Ith* (pronounce *Iz* like *Isis*) *Anu Mathar*, *Ops* and *Sibhol* (like *Magna Mater*, *Ops*, and *Cybele*). So far she is potential nature, nature not fecundated; after a series of transformations she becomes, as in Egypt, *Neith-Nath*, god-goddess of war, wisdom, intelligence, &c.

M. Adolphe Pictet lays down as the basis of the primitive religion of Ireland, the worship of the *Cabiri*, primitive powers, the beginning of an ascending series or progression, which rises up to the supreme god, *Beal*. It is, therefore, the direct opposite of a system of emanations.

"From a primitive duality constituting the fundamental force of the universe rises a double progression of cosmic powers, which after having crossed each other by a mutual transition, unite all together in a supreme unity, as in their essential principle. Such, in a few words, is the distinctive character of the mythological character of the ancient Irish, such is a summary of all our researches." This conclusion is almost identical with that to which Schelling was led by his researches as to the *Cabiri* of Samothrace. "The doctrine of the *Cabiri*," he says, "was a system which ascended from the inferior divinities, that represented the powers of nature, to a supra-mundane god who rules them all." And in another place: "The doctrine of the *Cabiri*, in its profoundest sense, was the exposition of the ascending march by which life is developed in successive progression, the exposition of universal magic, of the permanent theurgy which incessantly manifests what, by its nature, is superior to the real world, and gives evidence of what is invisible.

"This almost identity is the more striking, inasmuch as the results have been arrived at by different ways. In every instance I have built my reasonings on the Irish language and traditions, and I have brought forward the etymologies and the facts adduced by Schelling only as curious analogies, not as proofs. The names *AXIRE*, *AXCEARAS*, *COISMAOL*, and *CABUR*, have been explained through Irish, as have been, through Hebrew,

---

\* According to *Bullet*, *lar* in Celtic signifies fire. In old Irish it signifies the floor of a house, the ground, or else a family(?)—*Lere*, all powerful—*Iona*, *tanua*, in Basque, god (*Janus*, *Diana*). In Irish, *Ana*, *Ana* (whence *Jona*?) mother of the gods, &c.



the names AXIEROS, AXIOKERSOS, CASMILOS, and KABEIROΣ. Who can fail to see in this an evident connection?

"Furthermore, Strabo speaks expressly of the analogy of the religion of Samothrace with that of Ireland. He says, on the authority of Artemidorus, who wrote a hundred years before our era: *ἐν φασὶν εἰς νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βερτανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὁμοία τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμηθραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην ὑπονοεῖται* (ed. Casaubon, iv., p. 137). A passage is likewise cited from Dionysius Periegetes, but it is vaguer and less conclusive. (V. 365.)

"He in whom this system finds its unity, is SAMHAN, *the evil spirit* (Satan), the image of the sun (literally Sam-han), the judge of souls, who punishes them by sending them back on the earth, or to hell. He is *master of death* (Bal-Sab). It was on the eve of the 1st of November he used to judge the souls of those who had died in the course of the preceding year; that day still goes by the name of Samhan's night. (Beaufort and Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, t. iv., p. 83). He is the same as the Cadmilos, or Kasmilos, of Samothrace, or the Camillus of the Etruscans, the *servant* (coismaol, cadmaol signifies servant in Irish). Samhan is, then, the centre of the association of the Cabiri (sam, sum, cum, imply union in a multitude of languages). We find in an ancient Irish glossary, '*Samhandraoic, eadhon Cabur*, the magic of Samhan, that is to say, CABUR;' and by way of explanation is subjoined, '*Mutual Association*.' Cabur, associated; as in Hebrew, *Chaberim*; the Etruscan Consentes (in like manner again *Kibir, Kbir*, signifies devil in the Maltese dialect, a wreck of the Punic tongue. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, ii. 286-8). The Cabiric system of Ireland found, again, another symbol in the harmony of the heavenly revolutions. The stars were called *Cabara*. According to Bullet, the Basques called the seven planets *Capirioa* (?). The name of the constellations signified also, intelligence and music, melody. *Rimmin, rinmin* meant sun, moon, stars; *rimham* means to reckon; *rimh*, number (in Greek, *ῥυθμος*, in French and English, rhythm, rhyme, &c.).

"It seems that the hierarchy of the Druids themselves composed a real Cabiric association, an image of their religious system.

"The chief of the Druids was called *Coibhi*.\* This name, which has been preserved in some proverbial expressions of the Gaels of Scotland, is also related to that of *Cabiri*. Among the Welsh the Druids were named *Cowydd*, associated.† The man who was initiated took the title of *Caw*, associated, cabir, and *Bardd caw* signified a graduated bard. (Davies, *Myth.*, 165; Owen, *Welsh Dict.*) Trescaw, one of the Scilly isles, was formerly called *Innis Caw*, isle of association, and remains of Druidical monuments are found in it, (Davies). In Samothrace the initiated was also received as a *Cabir* into the association of the superior gods, and he became himself a link in the magic chain (Schelling, *Samoth. Gottesd.*, p. 40).

\* Bed. Hist. Eccl., ii., c. 13. Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit (chief priest of Edwin, King of Northumberland, converted by Paulinus at the beginning of the seventh century. Macpherson, *Dissert. on the Celtic Antiq.*) *Coibhi-draoi*, coibhi Druid, is a current expression in Scotland to signify a person of great merit. (See Mac Intosh's Gaelic proverbs, p. 34. Haddleton, *Notes on Tolland*, p. 279.) A Gaelic Proverb says, The stone does not lie closer to the earth than the assistance of Coibhi (beneficence, an attribute of the chief of the Druids?)

† Davies, *Mythol.*, pp. 271, 277. Ammian. Marcell. xv. Druidæ ingenio celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, sodalibus astricti consortiis, questionibus occultarum rerum altorumque erecti sunt, &c.

"The mystic dance of the Druids has certainly some connection with the Cabiric doctrine and the system of numbers. A curious passage from Cynddelw, a Welsh poet, cited by Davies, p. 16, from the Welsh Archaeology, exhibits to us Druids and bards moving rapidly in a circle and in odd numbers, like the stars in their courses, celebrating *the leader*. The expression, odd numbers, shows us that the Druidic dances were, like the circular temple, a symbol of the fundamental doctrine, and that the same system of numbers was observed in it. Indeed the Welsh poet in another place gives a Druidic monument the name of sanctuary of the odd number.

"Perhaps each divinity of the Cabiric chain had among the Druids its priest and its representative. We have already seen among the Irish the priest adopting the name of the god he served; and among the Welsh the chief of the Druids seems to have been considered as the representative of the supreme god (Jamieson, Hist of the Culdees, p. 29). The Druidic hierarchy would in this way appear to have been a microcosmic image of the hierarchy of the universe, as in the mysteries of Samothrace and Eleusis.

"We know that the Caburs were adored in caverns and in darkness, whilst the fires in honour of Beal were lighted on the mountain tops. This usage is accounted for by the abstract doctrine.

"The Cabiric world, in fact, in its isolation from the great principle of light, is but the tenebrous force, the obscure matter of all reality. It constitutes the basis or root, as it were, of the universe, in contrast to the supreme intelligence which is its summit. It was, doubtless, in pursuance of an analogous way of thinking that the ceremonies of the Cabiric worship were celebrated in Samothrace only by night."

To these inductions, made by M. Pictet, we may add that, according to a tradition of the Scotch Highlanders, the Druids worked by night and rested by day (Logan, ii. 351).

The worship of Beal on the contrary was celebrated by fires, kindled on the mountains. This worship has left deep traces in the popular traditions (Tolland, Letter xi., p. 101). The Druids kindled fires on the *cairn* on the eve of the first of May, in honour of *Beal*, *Bealan* (the sun). That day still retains, in Ireland, the name of *Bealteine*, that is to say, the day of Beal's fire. Near Londonderry a cairn placed opposite another one is called *Bealteine* (Logan, ii. 326). It was not till 1220 that the Archbishop of Dublin extinguished the perpetual fire that had been kept up in a little chapel near the church of Kildare, but it was soon rekindled, and continued to burn until the suppression of the monasteries (Archdall's Mon. Hib. ap. Anth. Hib., iii. 240). That fire was fed by virgins, often of rank, called *daughters of the fire*, (*inghean an dagha*) or *guardians of the fire* (*breo-chuidh*), which has caused them to be confounded with the nuns of St. Bridget.

A contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine, 1795, says that, being in Ireland on St. John's eve, he was told that at midnight he would see fires lighted in honour of the sun. Riches, too, describes the preparations for the festival: "What watching, what rattling, what tinkling on pannes and candlesticks, what strewing of herbs, what clamours and other ceremonies are used."

Spenser says that an Irishman always says a prayer when he lights a fire. At Newcastle the cooks light bonfires on St. John's day. In London and elsewhere the sweeps go about and dance grotesquely dressed. The Scotch Highlanders used to pass through the fire in honour of Beal,

and thought it a religious duty to walk round their flocks and their fields, carrying fire.—Logan, ii. 364. Even at this day it is a practice with them to pass a child over the fire, sometimes in a sort of pocket in which they have put bread and cheese. (It is said that they used sometimes, in the mountains, to baptise a child on a broad sword. In like manner the Irish mother used to make her new-born babe kiss the point of a sword. Logan, i. 122; Id., i. 213.) The Caledonians used to burn criminals between two fires, whence the proverb "He is between the two flames of Bheil."—Ib. 140. The practice of sending round the *fiery cross* was still in existence in 1745; it ran through one district thirty-six miles in three hours. The chief killed a goat with his own sword, dipped the ends of a blazing wooden cross in the blood, and naming the rallying place, passed it to a clansman, who ran and transmitted it to another. This symbol menaced with fire and sword all who should fail to be present at the rendezvous.—Caumont, i. 154. According to a tradition two fires used formerly to be lighted under certain circumstances on the *tumuli* near Jobourg, department of La Manche.—Logan, ii. 64. To destroy spells cast on cattle, those who have the power to do so are employed to light the *Needfire*; on an island or on the banks of a river or lake they erect a circular cabin of stone or turf, on which is placed a birch log; in the centre is a post, the upper end of which enters the piece of birch, and is made to turn in another horizontal piece by means of four arms. Men who are careful to have no metal about them turn the post, whilst others with wedges keep it close against the horizontal piece, so as to set it on fire by friction; all other fire is then extinguished. That which is thus procured is considered sacred, and the cattle are brought to it one after the other.

#### SECTION II.

In the Welsh religion (see Davies, *Myth. and Rites of the British Druids*, and the same, *Celtic Researches*) the supreme god is the unknown god DIANA (*dianaff*, unknown, in Breton; *diana* in Léonais; *dianan* in the dialect of Vannes). His representative on earth is Hu, the great, or *Ar-bras*, otherwise CADWALLADER, the first of the Druids.

The black beaver pierces the dyke that supports the great lake, the world is inundated; all perish except DOUYMAN and DOUYMEC'H (*man, mec'h*, man, maid), who are saved in a vessel without sails, with a couple of each species of animals. Hu yokes two oxen to the earth to drag it up from the bottom. Both perish in the effort; the eyes of one of them burst from the sockets, the other refuses to eat, and dies.

Hu promulgates laws and teaches agriculture. His car is composed of the rays of the sun, and is driven by five genii; the rainbow is his girdle. He is the god of war, the vanquisher of the giants and of darkness, the support of the husbandman, the king of the bards, the regulator of the waters. He is followed everywhere by a holy cow.

Hu has to wife an enchantress, Ked or Ceridguen, in his domain of Penllyn or Penleen, at the extremity of the lake where he dwells.

Ked has three children: Mor-vran (the sea crow, the guide of seamen); the fair Creiz-viou (the middle of the egg, the symbol of life); and the hideous Avagdu or Avank-du (the black beaver). Ked wished to prepare for Avagdu, according to the mysterious rites of the book of Pheryit, the water of the vase Azeuladour (sacrifice), the water of inspiration and science. She repaired, therefore, to the land of rest, in which was the city of

the just, and accosting little Gouyon, the son of the herald of Lanvair, the guardian of the temple, she ordered him to watch the preparation of the liquor : and the blind Morda was directed to boil it without interruption for a year and a day.

During the operation Ked or Ceridguen studied the astronomic books, and observed the stars. The year was near its close when there issued from the boiling liquor three drops, which fell on little Gouyon's finger ; smarting with the scald, he put his finger in his mouth. Immediately the future disclosed itself to him ; he saw that he had reason to dread the wiles of Ceridguen, and he fled. With the exception of these three drops the whole liquor was poisoned ; the vessel turned over of its own accord and was broken. . . . Meanwhile the enraged Ceridguen was pursuing little Gouyon, who for the greater speed changed himself into a hare. Ceridguen became a greyhound and hunted him to the edge of a river. Little Gouyon took the form of a fish ; Ceridguen turned otter, and pressed him so hard that he was forced to metamorphose himself into a bird and fly away. But Ceridguen was already hovering over his head in the form of a hawk. Gouyon trembling all over, dropped down on a heap of corn, and became a grain of wheat ; Ceridguen changed herself into a hen and swallowed poor Gouyon.

She immediately became pregnant, and Hu-Ar-Bras swore he would put to death the child to which she should give birth ; but at the end of nine months she was delivered of so beautiful a child that she could not make up her mind to have it destroyed.

Hu-Ar-Bras advised her to put the infant in a cradle covered with skin, and launch him upon the sea. Ceridguen accordingly committed him to the waves on the 29th of April.

At that time Gouydno had a reservoir near the shore, which yielded a hundred pounds of fish every year on the evening of the 1st of May. Gouydno had but one son, named Elfin, the most unhappy of men, with whom nothing had ever prospered : his father believed him to have been born in an inauspicious hour. Gouydno's counsellors recommended him to entrust his son with the task of emptying the reservoir.

Elfin found nothing in it ; and as he was returning in low spirits he perceived a cradle covered with skin stopped by the sluice. One of the keepers raised the skin, and cried out to Elfin : " Look, Thaliessin ! what a radiant front ! " " Radiant front shall be his name," replied Elfin. He took the child and set it on his horse, whereupon it suddenly declaimed a poem of comfort and eulogy for Elfin, and prophesied his renown. The child was taken to Gouydno, who asked was it a material being or a spirit. The child responded by a song, in which he declared that he had lived in all ages, and in which he identified himself with the sun. Gouydno, amazed, asked for another song, and the child resumed : " Water gives luck ; one must think of its god ; one must pray to its god, because the benefits that flow from him are not to be counted. I have been thrice born. I know how one must study to arrive at knowledge. It is sad that men will not take the trouble to search out all the sciences, the source of which is in my bosom ; for I know all that has been and that is to be."

This allegory related to the sun, the name of which Thaliessin (radiant front) became that of his chief priest. The first initiation and the preliminary studies lasted a year. The bard then drank the water of inspiration, and received the sacred lessons. He was then subjected to tests ; and a

careful examination was instituted as to his morals, his constancy, his activity, and his knowledge. After this he entered into the bosom of the goddess, into the mystic cell, where he was subjected to a fresh discipline. At last he came forth from it and seemed to be born anew, being now adorned with all those parts of knowledge which were to exalt him and render him an object of veneration to the nations.

The lakes of Adoration, and of Consecration, and the grove of Ior (surname of Diana) are still known. They offered, near the lake, garments of white wool, linen, and victuals. The feast of the lake lasted three days.

Near Landelorn (Landerneau), on the first of May, the door of a rock opened on a lake over which no bird flew. Fairies sang on an island with the warbler of the seas: whoever entered was well received, but he was not permitted to carry any thing away with him. A visiter carried off a flower which was to prevent the approach of old age; the flower disappeared. Thenceforth there was no more admission: a hero made the attempt, but a phantom threatened to destroy the country. According to Davies (*Myth. and Rites*), a nearly similar tradition is found in Brecknockshire. There is also a lake in that county, which covers a town. The king sends a servant—he is refused hospitality. He enters a deserted house, finds a child crying in its cradle, and loses his glove; next day he finds his glove and the child floating. The town had disappeared.

#### ON THE CELTIC STONES (see p. 74).

The stone was doubtless at once the altar and the symbol of the divinity. The very name *Cromleach* signifies *stone of Crom*, the supreme god (Pictet, p. 129). The cromleach was often adorned with plates of gold, silver, or copper; for instance, the *Crumcruach* in the county Cavan, Ireland. (Tolland's *Letters*, p. 133.) The number of stones forming the Druidic enclosures is always a mysterious and sacred number; never less than twelve, sometimes nineteen, thirty, sixty. These numbers coincide with those of the gods. In the midst of the circle, sometimes without it, stands a large stone, which may have represented the supreme god (Pictet, p. 134). Magic virtues were attributed to these stones, as appears from the famous passage in Geoffroy of Monmouth (l. v.), Aurelius consults Merlin as to the monument to be raised to those who had perished through Hengist's treason. "*Chorem gigantum\* ex Hiberniâ adduci jubeas. Ne moveas, domine rex, vanum risum. Mystici sunt lapides, et ad diversa medicamina salubres, gigantesque olim asportaverunt eos ex ultimis finibus Africæ. . . . Erat autem causa ut balnea intra illos conficerent, cum infirmitate gravarentur. Lavabant namque lapides et intra balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur; miscebant etiam cum herbarum infectionibus, unde vulnerati sanabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat.*" The stones were carried away after a fight by Merlin. When Merlin was searched for in every quarter, he was found only "*ad fontem Gulabas, quem solitus fuerat frequentare.*" He seems himself one of these giant physicians.

It has been thought that some traces of letters or magic signs were to be

\* On the banks of the Seine near Duclair there is a very high rock known by the name of *Chaise de Gargantua* (Gargantua's chair). Near Orches, two leagues from Blois, is *Cæsar's chair*, and near Tancarville the *Pierre Gante*, or stone of the giant.

found on the Celtic monuments. Three small crescents engraved in intaglio and arranged triangularly are discoverable on the stones that support the table of a *dolmen* at St. Sulpice-sur-Rille, near l'Aigle. Near Lok-Maria-Ker there is a *dolmen*, the table of which is marked on its inner surface with round cavities, arranged symmetrically in circles. On another stone there are three signs, somewhat like spirals. In the cave at New Grange near Drogheda (see Collect. de Reb. Hiber., ii., p. 161, &c.) there are symbolic characters and their explanation in Ogham. The symbol is a spiral line, repeated three times. The inscription in Ogham is translated A E, that is *the Him*, the god without name, the ineffable being (?) There are three altars in the cavern (Pictet, p. 132). A considerable number of stones are also found in Scotland, covered in like manner with various incisions. There must be some traditions connected with their rude and almost unintelligible hieroglyphics: the Triads say that on the stones of Gwiddon-Ganhebon, "one could read the arts and sciences of the world;" the astronomer Gwydion ap Don was buried at Caernarvon "under a stone of enigmas." On stones in Wales are found certain signs, intended apparently to represent sometimes a small figure of an animal, sometimes trees interlaced together. This latter circumstance would seem to show a connexion between the worship of stones and that of trees. Besides, the *Ogham* or *Ogum* characters, the secret alphabet of the Druids, consisted of branches of various trees imitated in a manner similar to that of the Runic characters. Such are the inscriptions on a monument mentioned in the chronicles of Scotland as situated in the forest of Angus, on a stone in the *Vicar's cairn* in Armagh, on a monument in the island of Arran, and on many others in Scotland. We have seen above that stones were sometimes used for divination. On this subject we will quote an important passage from Talliesin. "I know the intent of the trees; I know which was decreed praise or disgrace, by the intention of the memorial trees of the sages;" and he celebrates "the engagement of the sprigs of the trees, or of devices, and their battle with the learned." He could "delineate the elementary trees and reeds," and tells us when the sprigs "were marked in the small tablet of devices they uttered their voice." (Logan, ii. 388.)

Trees are still used symbolically by the Welsh and the Gaels; the hazel, for instance, signifies love betrayed. The Caledonian Merlin (Talliesin is Cambrian) laments that "the authority of the sprigs was beginning to be disregarded." The Irish word *aos*, the primitive meaning of which was "tree," was applied to a man of letters; *feadha*, wood or tree, became the designation of the prophets or wise men. In like manner, in Sanscrit, *bôdhi* signifies the Indian fig, and buddhist means the sage.

The Celtic monuments seem not to have been sacred to religious purposes exclusively. It was on a stone that the chief of the clan was elected (see *supra*, p. 81, note). The stone inclosures served as courts of justice. Traces of them have been found in Ireland, in the islands of the north (King, i. 147; Martin's Description of the Western Isles); and above all, in Sweden and Norway. (See the following books.) The ancient Erse poems, in fact, acquaint us that the Druidic rites existed among the Scandinavians, and that the British Druids obtained aid from them in danger. (Ossian's Cathulín, ii., p. 216, note, ed. 1765; Warton, vol. i.)

The largest Druidic circle was that of Avebury, or Abury in Wiltshire. It included twenty-eight acres of land, surrounded by a deep ditch, and a

rampart seventy feet high. An outer circle, formed of a hundred stones, enclosed two other double circles, exterior one to the other. The outer ranges in these latter contained each thirty stones, the inner twelve. In the centre of one of the circles were three stones, in that of the other a single one; the whole monument was approached by two avenues of stones. (See O'Higgins's Celtic Druids.)

Stonehenge was less extensive, but showed more art. According to Waltire, who encamped there for several months to study it (the papers of this enthusiastic, but sagacious and profound antiquary, have been lost), the outer range consisted of thirty upright stones; the whole, including the altar and the imposts, amounted to a hundred and thirty-nine stones. The imposts were secured by tenons. There is no other example in the Celtic countries of the trilith style (except two at Holmstadt, and at Dronthiem).

The monument of Classerness, in the isle of Lewis, forms, with its four avenues of stones, a sort of cross, the head of which is to the south; the junction of the four branches is in the shape of a small circle. Some look upon this as the hyperborean temple spoken of by the ancients. Eratosthenes says that Apollo hid his arrow where there was a winged temple.

I will speak further on of the lines of Carnac and of Lok-Maria-Ker (see also the Cours de M. de Caumont, i., p. 105).

There are extant in France numerous traces of the worship of stones, both in the names of places and in popular traditions:

1. We know that the name of *pierre fiche* or *fichée* (in Celtic *menhir*, longstone, *peulvan*, pillar of stone) was given to those unwrought stones that are found simply planted in the ground like posts. Several towns in France bear this name. *Pierre Fiche*, five leagues north-east of Mendes in Gévaudan.—*Pierre Fiques* in Normandy, one league from the ocean and three from Montivilliers.—*Pierrefitte*, near Pont l'Evêque.—*Pierrefitte*, two leagues north-west of Argentan.—*Pierrefitte*, three leagues from Talaise.—*Pierrefitte* in Le Perche, diocese of Chartres, six leagues south of Mortagne.—*Idem* in Beauvoisis, two leagues north-west of Beauvais.—*Idem* near Paris, half a league north of St. Denis.—*Idem* in Lorraine, four leagues from Bar.—*Idem* in Lorraine, three leagues from Mirecourt.—*Idem* in Sologne, nine leagues south-east of Orleans.—*Idem* in Berri, three leagues from Gien, five from Sully.—*Idem* in Languedoc, diocese of Narbonne, two leagues and a half from Limoux.—*Idem* in La Marche, near Bourgneuf.—*Idem* in Limousin, six leagues from Brives.—*Idem* in Forest, diocese of Lyon, four leagues from Roanne, &c.

2. At Colombiers young girls desirous of being married must climb up the raised stone, lay a piece of money on it, and then jump down. At Guérande they deposit flocks of rose-coloured wool, tied with tinsel, in the clefts of the stone. At Croisic the women have long held dances round a Druidic stone. In Anjou it was the fairies who brought down these stones in their aprons from the mountains, from which they came down spinning as they moved along. In Ireland many *dolmens* are still called lovers' beds: a king's daughter had fled with her lover; pursued by her father she wandered from village to village, and every night her hosts spread a bed for her on the rock, &c. &c.

## TRIADS OF THE ISLAND OF BRITAIN.

That is to say, triads of memorial and record, and the information of remarkable men or things which have been in the island of Great Britain, and of the events which befel the race of the Cymry from the age of ages.

1. There were three names imposed on the Isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited its denomination was the Sea-girt Green Space; after being inhabited it was called the Honey Island, and after it was formed into a commonwealth by Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, it was called the Isle of Prydain. And none have any title therein but the nation of the Cymry. For they first settled upon it; and before that time no men lived therein, but it was full of bears, wolves, beavers (or crocodiles), and bisons.

The three primary divisions of the Isle of Britain: Cymry, Lloegr, and Alban, or, Wales, England, and Scotland; and to each of the three appertained the privilege of royalty. They are governed under a monarchy and voice of country, according to the regulation of Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr; and to the nation of the Cymry belongs the establishing of the monarchy, by the voice of country and people, according to privilege and original right. And under the protection of such regulation ought royalty to be in every nation in the Isle of Britain, and every royalty under the protection of the voice of country. Therefore, it is said, as a proverb, "A country is mightier than a prince."

The Three National Pillars of the Isle of Britain. First—Hu Gadarn (Hu the Mighty), who originally conducted the nation of the Cymry into the Isle of Britain. They came from the Summer-Country, which is called Deffrobani (that is, the place where Constantinople now stands), and it was over the Hazy Sea (the German Ocean) that they came to the Isle of Britain and to Llydaw (Armorica), where they continued. The second—Prydain, son of Aedd the Great, who first established government and royalty over the Isle of Britain. And before that time there was no justice but what was done through favour; nor any law save that of might. Third—Dyfnwal Moelmud, who reduced to a system the laws, customs, maxims, and privileges appertaining to a country and nation. And for these reasons were they called the three pillars of the nation of the Cymry.

The three Social Tribes of the Isle of Britain. The first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hu the Mighty into the Isle of Britain, because he would not possess lands and dominions by fighting and *pursuit*, but through justice and in peace. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys (Loegrians), that came from the land of Gwasgwyn (Gascony), being descended from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, having their descent from the same stock with the Cymry. These were called the three tribes of peace, on account of their coming, with mutual consent, in peace and tranquillity; and these three tribes were descended from the original nation of the Cymry, and were of the same language and speech.

The three refuge-seeking tribes, Caledonians, Irish, and the men of Galedin, who came in naked vessels to the Isle of Wight, when their country



was drowned ; it was stipulated that they were not to possess the privilege of native Cymry until the end of the third generation.

The three invading tribes that came into the Isle of Britain and never departed from it. The Coranians, the Irish Picts, the Saxons.

The three invading tribes that came into the Isle of Britain and departed from it. The men of Llychlyn (Scandinavia?), the hosts of Ganvel, the Irishman, who were there twenty-nine years, and the Cæsarians.

The three treacherous invasions of the Isle of Britain. The red Irishmen who came into Alban, the men of Denmark, and the Saxons.

The three losses, by disappearance, of the Isle of Britain. Gavran, son of Aeddan, with his men, who went to sea in search of the Green Islands of the Floods, and nothing more was heard of them. Second—Merddin, the bard of Ambrosius, with his nine scientific bards, who went to sea in the house of glass, and there have been no tidings whither they went. Third—Madawg, son of Owain Gwynedd, who, accompanied by three hundred men, went to sea in ten ships, and it is not known to what place they went.

The three awful events of the Isle of Britain. First—the rupture of the Lake of Floods, and the going of an inundation over the face of all the lands, so that all the people were drowned, except Dwyvan and Dwyvach, who escaped in a bare ship, and from them the Isle of Britain was re-peopled. The second was the trembling of the Torrent Fire, when the earth was rent unto the abyss, and the greatest part of all life was destroyed. The third was the Summer, when the trees and plants took fire with the vehemency of the heat of the sun, so that many men, and animals, and species of birds, and vermin, and plants, were irretrievably lost.

The three combined expeditions, that went from the Isle of Britain. The first was that, which went with Ur, son of Erin, the Armipotent, of Scandinavia. He came into this island in the time of Cadial, the son of Erin, to solicit assistance, under the stipulation that he should obtain from every principal town no more than the number he should be able to bring into it. And there came only to the first town, besides himself, Mathatta Vawr, his servant. Thus he procured two from that, four from the next town, and from the third town the number became eight, and from the next sixteen, and thus in like proportion from every other town ; so that from the last town the number could not be procured throughout the island. And with him departed three score and one thousand ; and with more than that number of able men he could not be supplied in the whole island, as there remained behind only children and old people. Thus Ur, the son of Erin, the Armipotent, was the most complete levier of a host that ever lived, and it was through inadvertence that the nation of the Cymry granted him his demand under an irrevocable stipulation. For in consequence thereof the Coranians found an opportunity to make an invasion of the island. Of these men there returned none, nor of their line or progeny. They went on an invading expedition as far as the sea of Green, and, there remaining, in the land of Galas and Afena (Galitia?) to this day, they have become Greeks.

The second combined expedition was conducted by Caswallon, son of Beli, the son of Manogan, and Gwenwynwyn and Gwauar, the son of Lliaws, son of Nwyfre, with Ariansd, the daughter of Beli, their mother. Their origin was from the border declivity of Galedin and Eroyllwg (Siluria), and of the combined tribes of the Bylweunwys (Boulognese) ; and their number was three score and one thousand. They went with Caswallon, their uncle, after the

Cæsarians (Romans), over the sea to the land of the Geli Llydaw (Gauls of Armorica), that were descended from the original stock of the Cymri. And none of them or of their progeny returned to this island, but remained among the Romans in the country of Gwasgwyn (Gascony), where they are at this time. And it was in revenge for this expedition that the Romans first came into this island.

The third combined expedition was conducted out of this island by Elen, the Armipotent, and Cynan, his brother, lord of Meiriadog, into Armorica, where they obtained land, and dominion, and royalty, from Macsen Wledig (the Emperor Maximus), for supporting him against the Romans. These people were originally from the land of Meiriadog, and from the land of Seisyllwg, and from the land of Gwyr and Gorwennnydd; and none of them returned, but settled in Armorica and in Ystre Gyvaelwg, by forming a commonwealth there. By reason of this combined expedition the nation of the Cymry was so weakened and deficient in armed men that they fell under the oppression of the Irish Picts; and, therefore, Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenan (Vortigern) was compelled to procure the Saxons to expel that oppression. And the Saxons, observing the weakness of the Cymry, formed an oppression of treachery by combining with the Irish Picts, and with traitors, and thus took from the Cymry their land, and also their privileges and their crown.

The three combined expeditions are called the three mighty arrogances of the nation of the Cymry; also the three Silver Hosts, because of their taking away out of this island the gold and the silver, as far as they could obtain it by deceit, and artifice, and injustice, as well as by right and consent. And they are called the three Unwise Armaments, for weakening thereby this island so much, as to give place in consequence to the three Mighty Oppressions, that is, those of the Coranians, the Romans, the Saxons.

The three treacherous meetings of the Isle of Britain: The meeting of Avarwy (Mandubratius of Caesar), the son of Lludd, with the disloyal men who gave space for landing to the men of Rome, in the narrow green point, and not more, and in consequence of which was the gaining of the Isle of Britain by the men of Rome. Second, the meeting of the principal men of the Cymry and the Saxon claimants on the mountain of Caer Caradawg, where the plot of the Long Knives took place, through the treachery of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenan; that is, through his counsels in league with the Saxons, the nobility of the Cymry were nearly all slain there. Then the meeting of Medrawd and Iddawg, Corn Prydain, with their men in Nanhwynain, where they plotted treachery against Arthur, and consequently strength to the Saxons in the Isle of Britain.

The three arrant traitors of the Isle of Britain: Avarwy, the son of Lludd, the son of Beli the Great, who invited Jwl Caesar and the men of Rome into this island, and caused the oppressions of the Romans; that is, he and his men gave themselves as conductors to the men of Rome, receiving treasure of gold and silver from them every year. And in consequence it became a compulsion on the men of this island to pay three thousand of silver yearly as a tribute to the men of Rome, until the time of Owain, the son of Macsen Wledig, when he refused that tribute, and under pretence of being contented therewith, the men of Rome drew the best men of the Isle of Britain, capable of being made men of war, to the country of Aravia (Arabia) and other far countries, and they returned not back. And the men of Rome, that were in the Isle of Britain, went into Italy, so that there were of

them only women and little children left behind ; and in that way the Britons were weakened, so that they were unable to resist oppression and conquest, for want of men and strength. The second was Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenan, who after killing Constantine the Blessed, and seizing the crown of the island, through treason and lawlessness, first invited the Saxons into this island as his defenders, and married Alis Ronween, the daughter of Hengist, and gave the crown of the island to the son he had by her, whose name was Gotta, and on that account it is that the kings of London are called children of Alis. Thus by the conduct of Gwrtheyrn the Cymry lost their lands, and their privilege, and their crown in Lloegr. The third was Medrawd, the son of Llew, the son of Gynwarch ; for when Arthur left the crown of the Isle of Britain in his custody, whilst he went against the Emperor in Rome, then Medrawd took the crown from Arthur through treason and seduction ; and so that he might preserve it, he confederated with the Saxons, and by reason thereof the Cymry lost the crown of Lloegr, and the sovereignty of the Isle of Britain.

The three arrant traitors, who were the cause, by means whereof the Saxons took the crown of the Isle of Britain from the Cymry. The first was Gwigi Garwlwyd, who, after getting a taste for the flesh of man in the court of Edelfled, King of the Saxons, liked it so much, that he would eat nothing but human flesh ever after ; and, therefore, he and his men united themselves with Edelfled, King of the Saxons, so that he used to make secret incursions upon the nation of the Cymry, and took male and female of the young so many as he ate daily. And all the lawless men of the nation of the Cymry gathered to him and the Saxons, where they might obtain their full of prey and spoil, taken from the natives of this isle. The second was Medrawd, who gave himself and his men to be one with the Saxons, for securing to himself the kingdom against Arthur ; and by reason of his treachery, great multitudes of the Loegrians became as Saxons. The third was Aeddan, the traitor of the north, who gave himself and his men within the limits of his dominion to the Saxons, so as to be enabled to maintain themselves by confusion and anarchy, under the protection of the Saxons. And because of these three arrant traitors, the Cymry lost their land and their crown in Loegria ; and had it not been for such treason, the Saxons could not have gained the island from the Cymry.

The three men, who were bards, that achieved the three good assassinations of the Isle of Britain. The first was Gall, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed the two brown birds (sons) of Gwenddolan, the son of Ceidw, that had a yoke of gold about them, and they devoured daily two bodies of the Cymry at their dinner, and two at their supper. The second was Ysgavnalh, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed Edelfled, King of Loegria, who required every night two noble maidens of the nation of the Cymry, and violated them, and the following morning slew and devoured them. The third was Difedel, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who slew Gwrgi Garwlwyd, that was married to the sister of Edelfled, and committed treason and murder, conjointly with Edelfled, upon the nation of the Cymry. And that Gwrgi killed a male and female of the Cymry daily, and devoured them ; and on the Saturday he killed two, that he might not kill on the Sunday. And these good men, who achieved the three good assassinations, were bards.

The three frivolous battles of the Isle of Britain ; the first was the

battle of Godden, and which was on account of a bitch, a hound, and a lapwing, and in that battle 71,000 men were slain; the second was the action of Arderydd, and a lark's nest was the cause of it, when 80,000 men were slain of the nation of the Cymry; the third was the battle of Cambria, between Arthur and Medrawd, where Arthur was slain, and with him 100,000 of the choice men of the nation of the Cymry. And by reason of the three frivolous battles it was that the Saxons gained the country of Lloegria from the nation of the Cymry, because there was not of men of war a force that could withstand the Saxons, with the treason of Gwrgi Garwlwyd, and the illusion of Eiddiligr the Dwarf.

The three closures and disclosures of the Isle of Britain: first, the head of Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr, which was hidden by Owain, the son of Maxen Wledig, in the White Hall, in London; and whilst it remained in that state, no molestation would come to this island. The second was the bones of Gwrthwyr the Blessed, which were buried in the principal parts of the island; and whilst they remained in their concealment, no molestation would come to this island. The third was the dragon, which was concealed by Lludd, the son of Beli, in the fortress of Pharon, in the rocks of Eryri. And these three concealments were placed under the protection of God and his attributes, so that disgrace should befall the home and the person that should disclose them. Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenan revealed the dragon, in revenge for the displeasure of the Cymry towards him, and he invited the Saxons, under the semblance of auxiliaries, to fight against the Gwyddelian Fichli; and, after that, he revealed the bones of Gwrthwyr the Blessed, out of love for Rhawen, the daughter of Hengist the Saxon; and Arthur revealed the head of Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr, as he scorned to keep the island except by his own might. And, after the three disclosures, molestation got the better of the nation of the Cymry.

The three overruling counter-energies of the Isle of Britain: Hu the Mighty, leading the nation of the Cymry from the Summer Country, which is called Defrobani, into the Isle of Britain; and Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, establishing society and law over the Isle of Britain; and Rhitta Gawr, who made for himself a robe of the beards of kings, of whom he made slaves, because of their oppression and lawlessness.

The three vigorous ones of the Isle of Britain: Gwrnerth Ergydlyn (sharp-shot), who killed the greatest bear that was ever seen with a straw arrow; and Gwgawn Lawgwdarr (mighty hand), who rolled the stone of Macnarch from the valley to the top of the mountain, and which no fewer than sixty oxen could have drawn; and Eidiol Gwdarn (the mighty), who, in the plot of Caer Sallawg, slew of the Saxons 660 men, with a billet of the service tree, between sun-set and dark.

Three things that were the cause of the subduing of Lloegr (England), and wresting it from the Cymry: the harbouring of strangers; the liberation of prisoners; and the presence of the bald man. (Cæsar or St. Augustin? The latter instigated the Saxons to massacre the monks, and to carry war into the country of the Welsh.)

The three primary great achievements of the Isle of Britain: the ship of Nwydd Nav Neivion, which carried in it the male and female of all living, when the Lake of Floods was broken. The prominent oxen of Hu the Mighty drawing the crocodile of the lake to land, and the lake broke out no more; and the stones of Gwyddon Carhebon, whereon might be read all the arts and sciences of the world.

The three amorous gallants of the Isle of Britain: first, Caswallawn ab

Beli, for Flur, the daughter of Mygnach the Dwarf, who, to obtain her, went as far as the land of Gascony, against the men of Rome, brought her away, and slew 6000 men of the Cæsarians, and to avenge which insult it was that the men of Rome came to the Isle of Britain; the second was Trystan, the son of Tallwch, for Essylt, the daughter of Marchab Meirchion, his uncle; third, Cynon, for Morvydd, the daughter of Urien Reged.

The three chief mistresses of Arthur: Garwen, the daughter of Henyn, Prince of Gwyr, and of Ystrad Tywy; and Gwyl, the daughter of Enddawd, of Caerworgon; and Indeg, the daughter of Avarwy Flir, of Mëshanydd.

The three chief courts of Arthur: Caerlleon on the Usk, in Wales; Celliwig in Cornwall; and Penryn Rhionydd, in the north; and in these three were kept the three principal festivals—Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

The three knights of the court of Arthur that guarded the Greal: Cadawg, the son of Gwynllw; and Holy Illtud, the Knight; and Peredwr, the son of Evrawg.

The three gold shoemakers of the Isle of Britain: first, Caswallawn ab Beli, when he went as far as Gascony to obtain Flur, the daughter of Mygnach Gor, who had been seduced and carried thither to Caisar the Emperor, by one called Mwrcan the Thief, king of that country, and friend of Jwl Caisar; and Caswallawn brought her back to the Isle of Britain; second, Manawydan ab Llyr Llediath, when he went as far as Dyfed, laying restrictions; third, Llew Llaw Gyfe, when he went along with Gwydion, the son of Don, obtaining name and arms from Arianrod, his mother.

Three royal domains that were established by Rodri Mawr, in Wales: first, Dinevwr; second, Aberfraw; third Matthraval. There was a prince wearing a diadem in each of the three dominions; and the oldest of the three princes, whichever of them it might be, was to be the sovereign—that is to say, King of all Wales; and the other two obedient to his word, and his word imperative upon each one of them; and he was chief of law and chief elder in every conventional session, and in every movement of country and nation. (Continual maledictions against Vortigern, Rowena, and the Saxons, the traitors to the nation.)\*

## ON THE BARDS.

The bards studied for sixteen or twenty years. "I have seene them," says Campion, "where they kept schoole, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat, prostrate." Brompton says that the lessons of the bards in Ireland were given secretly, and were committed to memory only. (Logan, the Scottish Gael, ii. p. 215.) There were three sorts of poets; panegyrists of the great; comic poets for the people; farcical satirists for the peasants. (Tolland's Letters.) Buchanan alleges that the harpers in Scotland were all Irishmen. Giraldus Cambrensis says, however, that Scotland surpassed

\* A king of Ireland, named Cormac, wrote in 360 *de Triadibus*, and some triads have been preserved in Irish tradition under the name of Fingal. The Irish marched to battle by threes; the Scotch Highlanders marched three deep. We have already spoken of the *trimarkisia*. At supper, says Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh set a panier of vegetables before each triad of guests; they never sit down to table two and two. (Logan, the Scottish Gael.)

Ireland in musical science, and that people went thither to complete themselves therein. When Pepin founded the abbey of Neville, he sent for Scotch musicians and choristers. (Logan, ii. 251.) Giraldus compares the slow modulation of the British with the rapid tones of the Irish. According to him, among the Welsh each man takes his part; those of Cumberland sing in parts, in octaves, and in unison. About the year 1000, the Welshman, Gryffith ap Cynan, having been reared in Ireland, brought over his instruments to his own country, where he convoked the musicians of both countries, and established twenty-four rules for the reform of music. (Powel, Hist. of Cambria.)

When Christianity spread through Scotland and Ireland, the Christian priests adopted their taste for music. They passed the harp from hand to hand at table. (Bede, iv. 24.) In the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, the bishops always had a harp carried with them. Gunn says, in his "Enquiry:" "I have been favoured with a copy of an ancient Gaelic poem, together with the music to which it is still sung in the Highlands, in which the poet personifies and addresses a very old harp, asking what had become of its former lustre. The harp replies that it had belonged to a king of Ireland, and had been present at many a royal banquet; that it had afterwards been successively in the possession of Dargo, son of the the Druid of Beal, of Gaul, of Fillon, of Oscar, of O'Dhuine, of Diarmid, of a physician, of a bard, and lastly of a priest, who in a secluded corner was meditating on a white book." (Logan, ii. 268.)

The bards, though attached to the person of the chiefs, were themselves much respected. Sir Richard Cristeed, who was commissioned by Richard II. to initiate the four kings of Ireland into English manners, relates that they refused to eat, because he had placed their bards and principal servants at a lower table than their own. (Ibid., 138.) The office of piper and of harper were hereditary in the household of the chief; their possessor had lands, and a servant to carry his instrument.

Mac Donnel, the famous Irish piper of modern times, had servants, horses, &c. A man of fortune sent for him one day to play during dinner, and a table was laid for him in the lobby, with a bottle of wine, and a servant behind his chair. The door of the dining-room was open; stepping up to it, with his glass in his hand, he said, "Mr. Grant, your health and company!" drank it off, threw half a crown on his little table, saying to the servant, "There, my lad, is two shillings for my bottle of wine, and sixpence for yourself." He then ran out of the house, mounted his hunter, galloped off, followed by his groom. (Ibid. 277-279.) The last bardic school of Ireland, *Filean School*, was kept in Tipperary, in the time of Charles I. (Ibid., 247.) One of the last bards accompanied Montrose, during whose victory at Inverlochy, he looked from the top of the castle of that name. Being reproached by Montrose for not taking the field, he asked the hero, who would have commemorated his valour if the bard had been in the fight? (Ibid., 215.) The bagpipes of the Clan Chattan, which Sir Walter Scott speaks of as having fallen from the clouds during a battle, in 1396, were borrowed by a vanquished clan, which hoped to be by it inspired with courage, and did not return it until 1822. (Ibid., 298.) A piper composed a pibroch during the battle of Falkirk, in 1745. The piece has retained its celebrity. A piper at the battle of Waterloo received a shot in the bag before he could make a fair beginning, which so roused his Highland blood, that, dashing his pipes on the ground, he drew his broad-sword, and wreaked his vengeance on his foes with the

fury of a lion, until his career was stopped by death from numerous wounds. (Ibid., 273-276.)

### ON THE LEGEND OF ST. MARTIN. (See p. 60.)

This legend of the most popular saint of France seems to us to deserve being related almost at full length, as being one of the most ancient, and, furthermore, as having been written by a contemporary. Add to this, that it has served as a model for a multitude of others.

#### *Ex Sulpicii Severi Vita B. Martini :*

"St. Martin was born at Sabaria, in Pannonia ; but he was brought up in Italy, near Tesino. His relations were not of the lowest class in a worldly point of view, but were, nevertheless, pagans. His father was at first a soldier, afterwards a tribune. He himself in his youth followed the career of arms, against his will it is true ; for at the age of ten years he took refuge in the church, and obtained admission among the catechumens. He was but twelve years old when he already wished to lead the life of the desert ; and he would have accomplished his longing desire had the weakness of childhood allowed him. . . . An imperial edict ordered the enrolment of the sons of the veterans ; his father gave him up ; he was carried away, loaded with chains, and had the military oath imposed on him. He contented himself with a single slave for his suite, and frequently it was the master who served. He unbound his slave's sandals, and washed him with his own hands. Their table was in common. . . . Such was his temperance, that he was already regarded not as a soldier, but as a monk.

"During a winter of more than ordinary severity, which caused the death of many persons, he met a poor creature quite naked at the gate of Amiens. The unfortunate man supplicated all the passers by, and all turned away from him. Martin had nothing but his cloak ; he had given away all the rest. He took his sword, cut the cloak in two, and gave half of it to the poor man. Some of the lookers on began to laugh, seeing him thus half-dressed and docked, as it were ; but the following night Jesus Christ appeared to him, dressed in that half of the cloak with which he had covered the nakedness of the poor man.

"When the barbarians invaded Gaul, the Emperor Julian assembled his army and caused the *donativum* to be distributed. When it came to Martin's turn, he said to Cæsar, 'Hitherto I have served thee ; suffer me to serve God. I am the soldier of Christ ; I can no longer fight. If it be supposed that this is not from faith, but from cowardice, I will take my place to-morrow without arms in the first rank, and in the name of Jesus, my Lord, protected by the sign of the cross, I will fearlessly make my way into the battalions of the enemy.' The next day the enemy sent to sue for peace, surrendering themselves up body and substance. Who could doubt that this was a victory of the saint, who was thus dispensed from the necessity of going to the fight without arms ?

"On leaving the standard, he went in search of St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, who wished to make him a deacon, but Martin refused, declared himself unworthy ; and the bishop seeing it was necessary to confer on him functions that should appear humiliating, made him an exorcist. Shortly afterwards, he was warned in a dream to visit, in religious charity, his

country and his kindred, who were still sunk in idolatry; and St. Hilary approved of his departure, entreating him at the same time, with tears, to return. He set out, therefore, but in sadness, it is said, and after predicting to his brethren that he should encounter many crosses. In traversing lonely paths through the Alps, he fell in with robbers. One of them carried him off with his hands tied behind his back; but he preached the word of God to him, and the robber had faith. The man afterwards led a religious life, and it was from him that I received this history. Martin continued his journey, and as he was passing through Milan, the devil presented himself before him in human form, and asked him whither he was going? Martin replied, he was going whithersoever the Lord called him. To which the devil returned, wherever thou goest, and whatever thou undertakest, the devil will cross thee. Martin answered in these prophetic words, 'God is my stay, I will not fear what man can do unto me.' Immediately the enemy vanished from his presence. He caused his mother to abjure the error of paganism; his father persisted in the evil way. Subsequently, the Arian heresy having spread throughout the world, and above all, in Illyria, he bravely resisted alone the perfidy of the priests and suffered a thousand torments (he was beaten with rods and driven from the town). At last he retired to Milan, and there built a monastery. Being driven out by Auxentius, the leader of the Arians, he took refuge in the island of Gallinaria, where he lived for a long while on roots.

"When St. Hilary returned from exile, he followed him, and built a monastery near the town. A cataphumen joined him. During the absence of St. Martin, he died, and that so suddenly, that he quitted the world without baptism. St. Martin arrives weeping and groaning. He makes every body go out, and lays himself down upon the lifeless body of his brother. When he had prayed awhile, before two hours were well elapsed, he saw the dead man gradually move all his limbs, and his eyelids wink and open to the light. The man afterwards lived many years.

"He was then sought for the episcopal see of Tours, but as nothing could force him from his monastery, one of the inhabitants, pretending that his wife was sick, threw himself at the saint's feet and prevailed on him to quit his cell. He was led with an escort to the city, through groups of inhabitants ranged along the road. A countless multitude had arrived from the towns around, to give their suffrages. A small number, however, and some of the bishops, refused, with impious obstinacy, to accept Martin. 'He was a low fellow, unworthy of episcopacy, and of a sorry figure with his paltry garments and his hair in disorder.' But one of the bystanders taking up the psalter in the absence of the reader, stopped at the first verse he met with. It was the psalm, *Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem*. Martin's principal adversary was named precisely *Defensor*. Immediately a cry arose among the people, and the enemies of the saint were confounded.

"Not far from the town was a place consecrated by a false opinion as the sepulchre of a martyr; the preceding bishops had even erected an altar there. Martin standing by the tomb prayed to God, that he would reveal to him who was that martyr, and what were his merits. Thereupon, he saw, upon his left hand, a hideous and terrible shade. He commanded it to speak; whereupon, it confessed itself to be the shade of a robber put to death for his crimes, and which had nothing in common with a martyr. Martin had the altar destroyed.



"One day he met the corpse of a heathen which they were conveying to the grave with all the circumstances of superstitious obsequies. He was about five hundred paces off from it, and could hardly distinguish what it was he saw. However, as he saw a crowd of peasants, and as the clothes that covered the body fluttered in the wind, he thought that profane ceremonies and sacrifices were about to be accomplished; for, it was the custom of the Gaulish peasants to go in procession through the country parts carrying, with deplorable infatuation, the images of the demons covered with white veils.\* He, therefore, lifted up the emblem of the cross and commanded the crowd to stop and lay down its burden. Oh, prodigy! you would have seen the poor men, at first remaining as stiff as stone; then, when they tried to advance, unable to put one foot before the other, then turning round and round in a ridiculous manner. At last, tired out with the weight of the corpse, they lay down their burden and gazed in each other's faces in consternation, asking of themselves what could be the matter. But the holy man having perceived that the crowd had assembled only for a funeral, and not for a sacrifice, again raised his hand and permitted them to go on their way, and to carry off the corpse.

"When he had destroyed a very ancient temple in a village, and proposed to cut down a pine tree which grew near it, the priests of the place and the rest of the heathen opposed him. 'But,' they said, 'if thou hast any confidence in thy God, we ourselves will cut down this tree. Do thou receive it in its fall, and if thy Lord is with thee, as thou sayest, thou wilt take no hurt.' Accordingly when the pine was leaning towards one side in such a manner that there could be no doubt where it would fall, the saint was brought to the place with his limbs bound. The pine was already beginning to totter to its fall; the monks looked on with pale faces from a distance, but the intrepid Martin, after the tree had already cracked, and at the very moment when it was falling right upon him, made the sign of salvation against it. The tree reared itself up again, as if a strong wind had blown it back, and fell down on the other side, so that it was near crushing the crowd who had thought themselves safe from all danger.

"When he was desirous to overthrow a temple, filled with all the pagan superstitions, in the village of Leprosum (Le Loroux), a multitude of heathen opposed his design and drove him back with insult. He retired, therefore, to the vicinity, and there for three days, continually fasting and praying in haircloth and ashes, he besought the Lord, since the hand of one man could not overthrow that temple, the divine virtue should destroy it. Thereupon, two angels stood before him with lance and buckler, like soldiers of the heavenly militia. They declared themselves sent by God to scatter the turbulent peasants, to defend Martin, and hinder any one from opposing the destruction of the temple. He returned to the spot, and in presence of the unresisting heathen, he reduced the altars and the idols to dust. Almost all believed in Jesus.

"Several bishops had repaired from various places to the Emperor Maximus, a man of vile character. Martin, though frequently invited to his table, abstained from going thither, saying, 'that he could not be the guest of him who had despoiled two emperors, the one of his throne, the

\* In Gregory of Tours (ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 467), St. Simplicius sees from a distance the statue of Cybele carried in procession through the country upon a car drawn by oxen. The Germanic Cybele, Ertha, was drawn in the same manner.—Tacit. German.

other of his life.' Yielding, at last, to the arguments put forth by Maximus, or to his reiterated requests, he accepted his invitation. In the midst of the banquet, a slave presented the cup to the emperor according to custom; the latter ordered it to be offered to the holy bishop, in order that he might procure himself the happiness of receiving it from his hand. But Martin, when he had drank, passed the cup to his priest, persuaded, doubtless, that no person better deserved to drink after himself. This preference excited the wonder of the emperor and of the guests to such a degree, that they beheld with pleasure that very act by which the saint appeared to disdain them. Martin predicted to Maximus a long time beforehand, that if he went into Italy, according to his wish, to make war on Valentinian, he would be victorious in the first encounter, but would soon after perish. This was, in fact, what took place, as we have seen.

"It is known also that he very frequently received the visits of angels, who came to converse in his presence. He had the devil so frequently before his eyes that he saw him under every form. As the latter was convinced that he could not escape from him, he frequently loaded him with abuse, when he could not succeed in entangling him in his snares. One day he rushed to his cell with a great noise, holding in his hand a bloody ox horn, showing him his arm dropping blood, and boasting of the crime he had just committed. 'Martin,' he said, 'where now is thy virtue? I have just killed one of thy people.' The holy man assembled his brethren, related to them what the devil had told him, and ordered them to look in all the cells in order to discover the victim. They did so, and came and told him that not one of the monks was missing, but that an unfortunate mercenary, who had been employed in carting wood, was lodging near the forest. He sent to look for the peasant, who was found not far from the monastery, half dead. He soon ceased to live. An ox had goaded him with his horn in the groin.

"The devil frequently appeared to him under the most various forms. Sometimes he assumed the features of Jupiter, sometimes those of Mercury; at other times, too, those of Venus and Minerva. Martin, always firm, armed himself with the sign of the cross and with the aid of prayer. One day the demon appeared, preceded and encompassed with a shining light, in order that he might the more easily deceive the saint by this borrowed splendour. He was clothed in a royal mantle; his forehead girt with a diadem of gold and precious stones; his shoes embroidered with gold; his visage serene and cheerful. In this guise, which indicated any thing rather than the devil, he planted himself in the saint's cell whilst the latter was at prayer. At first sight Martin was struck with consternation, and they both maintained a long silence. The devil was the first to break it: 'Martin,' said he, 'recognise him who is before thee. I am the Christ. Before descending upon the earth I wished first to manifest myself to thee.' Martin held his peace, and made no reply. The devil audaciously resumed: 'Martin, why dost thou hesitate to believe when thou seest? I am the Christ.' 'Never,' replied Martin, 'our Lord Jesus Christ did not predict that he would return with purple and the diadem. As for me, I will not believe in the coming of Christ, if I do not see him such as he was in his Passion, bearing on his body the marks of the Cross.' At these words the devil suddenly vanished like smoke, leaving the cell filled with a horrible stench. I have this anecdote from the lips of Martin himself; let no one, therefore, take it for a fable.

"For, upon the rumour of his religion, burning with desire to see him,

and also to write his history, we undertook a journey in search of him, which proved agreeable to us. He talked to us of nothing but of his intended abandonment of the seductions of this world, and of secular burdens, to follow our Lord Jesus Christ with free and unencumbered steps. Oh! what gravity and dignity there was in his words and in his conversation! What force, what marvellous facility in resolving the questions that relate to the divine writings! Never can language depict that perseverance and that rigour in fasting and in abstinence, that power of watching and of prayer; those nights passed like days, that constancy in yielding nothing to rest or to business, in leaving not a moment of his life unemployed in the work of God. Hardly, even, did he grant to his meals and to sleep the time required by nature. Oh! man truly blessed! So simple of heart, judging none, condemning none, yielding to none evil for evil. And, indeed, he had armed himself against all injuries with so great patience, that, although he filled the highest rank in the hierarchy, he suffered himself to be insulted with impunity by the lowest clerks, without, on that account, depriving them of their places, or excluding them from his charity. No one ever saw him irritated, no one ever saw him troubled, no one ever saw him laugh. Always the same, and wearing on his visage an expression of heavenly joy, he seemed in some sort superior to human nature. He had nothing on his tongue but the name of Christ, nothing in his heart but piety, peace, compassion. Most frequently, even, he was accustomed to weep for the sins of those who calumniated him, and who wounded him in the solitude of his retreat with their venomous vipers' tongues.

"As for me, my conscience tells me that I have been guided in this narrative by my conviction and by the love of Jesus Christ. I can render this testimony, that I have narrated notorious facts, and that I have told the truth."

*Ex Sulpicii Severi Historia Sacra, lib. II.*

"A certain Marcus, of Memphis, brought from Egypt into Spain the pernicious heresy of the gnostics. He had for disciples Agappe, a woman of high rank, and the rhetorician Helpidus. Priscillian received their lessons. Gradually the venom of this error insinuated itself into the greater part of Spain. Several bishops, even, were infected by it; among others, Instantius and Salvianus....The Bishop of Cordova denounced them to Idacius, bishop of the city of Merida. A synod was assembled at Saragossa, and condemnation was pronounced upon the Bishops Instantius and Salvianus, and the laymen Helpidus and Priscillian, although they were absent. Ithacius was charged with the promulgation of the sentence.... After long and painful disputes Ithacius obtained, from the Emperor Gratian, a rescript, banishing the heretics from every land....When Maximus had assumed the purple, and had entered as victor into Treves, he was beset with prayers and denunciations against Priscillian and his accomplices. The emperor ordered all those who were infected with heresy to be brought before the synod of Bordeaux. Instantius and Priscillian were brought thither accordingly; Salvianus was dead. The accusers, Idacius and Ithacius, followed them. I own that the accusers are more odious to me by reason of their violence than the criminals themselves. This Ithacius was full of audacity and idle words, barefaced, sumptuous, devoted to the pleasures of the table. The wretch dared to accuse of the crime of heresy the Bishop Martin, a new apostle! For, Martin being then at Treves, never ceased to urge Ithacius to abandon the accusation, and to

supplicate Maximus not to shed the blood of those unfortunate men. It was enough that the episcopal sentence drove the heretics from their sees, and it would be a strange and unheard of crime to have a secular judge give sentence in the cause of the church. Lastly, so long as Martin was in Treves, the trial was postponed, and when he was on the point of departing he wrung a promise from Maximus that no bloody measure should be adopted against the accused."

*Ex Sulpicii Severi Dialogo III.*

"Upon the advice of the bishops assembled at Treves, the Emperor Maximus had decreed that tribunes should be sent in arms into Spain, with full powers to seek out the heretics and to deprive them of life and property. No doubt this tempest would have enveloped a multitude of pious men likewise. The distinction was one not easy to make, for people relied upon the evidence of their eyes in the matter, and judged of a heretic by his paleness, or by his dress, rather than by his faith. The bishops felt that this measure would not please Martin. Having learned that he was coming, they obtained from the emperor an order forbidding him to approach the city unless he promised to remain there *in peace with the bishops*. He dexterously evaded this demand, and promised to come in peace with Jesus Christ. He entered by night, and went to a church to pray. The next day he repaired to the palace. The bishops threw themselves upon their knees before the emperor, beseeching him with tears not to suffer himself to be led away under the influence of a single man. The emperor drove Martin from his presence, and ere long he sent assassins to slay those for whom the holy man had interceded. As soon as Martin heard this (it was night) he hurried to the palace. He promised that if mercy were shown he would communicate with the bishops, provided the tribunes already sent for the destruction of the churches of Spain were recalled. Maximus immediately granted every thing. The next day Martin appeared at the communion, thinking it better to yield under the circumstances than to expose those, over whose heads the sword was already suspended. The bishops, however, exhausted all their efforts in vain to make him sign that communion. The next day he left the city and departed along the road afflicted in spirit, for that he had mingled for an instant in a guilty communion. Not far from the borough called Andethanna, where the vast forest solitude offers unknown retreats, he let his companions go on some distance in advance, and sat himself down, revolving in his mind, and alternately justifying and blaming the cause of his grief and of his conduct. Suddenly an angel appeared to him, 'Thou art right, Martin,' it said, 'to grieve and to smite thy breast, but thou couldst not have got out of the matter otherwise. Cheer up, strengthen thy heart. Henceforth, do not risk, not merely thy glory, but thy salvation.' From that day forth he took good care not to mingle in the communion of the partisans of Ithacius. But as he cured those possessed less frequently than in former times and with less power, he bewailed to us with tears, that by the pollution of that communion, in which he had mingled for one moment by necessity and not of his own accord, he felt his virtue grow feeble. He lived sixteen years after this, never went again to any synod, and forbade himself to be present at any assembly of bishops."

*Ex Sulpicii Severi Dialogo II.*

"As we were addressing some questions to him upon the end of the world, he said to us: 'Nero and Anti-Christ will come afterwards. Nero

will reign in the West over ten vanquished kings, and will exercise persecution even to making the idols of the Gentiles be adored ; but Anti-Christ will take possession of the empire of the East. He will have Jerusalem for the seat of his kingdom and for his capital. The city and the temple will be repaired by him. The persecution he will exercise will be, to cause Jesus Christ our Lord to be denied, by giving himself out for the Christ, and to force all men to be circumcised according to the law. I, myself, shall be put to death in the end by Anti-Christ, and he will reduce the whole universe and all nations under his power, until the coming of Christ shall crush the impious one. There can be no doubt,' he added, 'that Anti-Christ, begotten by the evil spirit, is now a child, and that when once past adolescence he will seize the empire.'"

### ABSTRACT OF MR. PRICE'S WORK ON THE RACES OF ENGLAND.

MM. Thierry and Edwards have adopted the theory of the persistence of races : Mr. Price adopts that of their mutability. But he ought not to halt in his conclusions as a spiritualist, and should account for the modifications which races undergo by the operation of liberty in fashioning matter. He has not been able to bring any other than materialist hypotheses to the support of his biblical views.

Nevertheless we will extract some interesting conclusions from his work, "An Essay on the Physiognomy and Physiology of the Present Inhabitants of Britain, with reference to their Origin, as Goths and Celts ; by the Rev. T. Price. London, 1829."

All that the ancients say of the blue eyes and fair hair of the Germans is not more peculiarly characteristic of the Goths than of the Celts, for there were Celts in Germany. The CIMBRI were Celts ; Pliny, speaking of the Baltic, and quoting Philemon, says, "*Morimarusam a Cambris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare*" (in Welsh *Mormarw*.)

The author thinks there has been a change in the colour of the hair from red to yellow, and from yellow to brown. Tacitus : "*Rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant.*" A Gaelic colony of Scoto-Irish race, is called in the Breton triads, *The Red Gaels of Ireland*. From the old Gaelic duan, which was recited by the bard of Malcolm III., in 1057, we find that the Highlanders in those days had yellow hair :

A Eolcha Alban nile,  
A Shluagh fela foltbhuidle.  
O, ye learned Albanians all, ye yellow-haired-hosts !

At present *brown* is the prevailing colour among the Highlanders. The opinion that the men of rank are of Gothic origin, and the others Celts, is untenable. The diversity of their food accounts for the physical differences, as happens in the case of animals transferred to richer pastures (from Bretagne, for instance, to Normandy).

Climate and habit change races. Camper remarks that already the Anglo-Americans have the face long and narrow, the eye contracted. West adds that their complexion is less florid that of the English. The eye becomes dark in the neighbourhood of coal mines, and wherever coal is burned (?)

Cæsar ascribes a Germanic origin to the BELGÆ: "Plerosque a Germanis ortos." But Strabo says they spoke the language of the Gauls, *μικρὸν ἑλλατωύντας τῇ γλώσσῃ*. The Saxon Chronicle speaks of Hengist's engaging "the Welsh of Kent and Sussex." These Welsh were Belgæ, according to Pinkerton. The names of Belgic towns in England are Breton.

No traces of Danish blood are found in England. — The NORMAN conquerors were a mixed people of Gauls, Franks, Bretons, Flemmings, Scandinavians, &c. The men of the North cannot have exterminated the inhabitants of Normandy, nor even greatly diminished their number, since in the course of one hundred and sixty years they lost their own Scandinavian tongue, and adopted that of the vanquished. It would be absurd to search in England for the traces of a population so motley as the army of William. It appears that red hair was unusual at that period, since it was made the subject of a nickname, William Rufus.\*

About York and Lancaster, where the influence of manufacturing habits is not experienced, the English are larger, but clumsier than in the south; blue eyes prevail in Lancashire. The people of Cumberland (they are Cymry who lost their language sooner than those of Cornwall) are in no respect to be distinguished from the English of the south.

Between the SCOTCH and the English there is an indefinable difference: hard features and prominent cheek bones are not peculiar to Scotland. The Highlanders are seldom tall, but are well made; hair generally brown, less vivacity than in Ireland, stature less, the population more varied. Whatever be said of the establishment of the Norwegians in the west, we find there the same language and the same physiognomy as in the Highlands of Scotland.

WALES—Infinite variety; the Roman nose very frequent; men of moderate stature, but strongly built. It is said that the Caermarthenshire militia requires more space to form its lines than that of any other county. In the north we find taller figures, classical beauty, but small features.

IRELAND—More mingled than Great Britain; at present astonishing uniformity of moral and physical type; two classes only, the well fed and the ill fed. Among the peasants, hair brown or black, black especially in a portion of the south, but always the eyes gray or blue; † eyebrows low, thick, and black; face long, nose small, with a tendency upwards; stature generally tall; all well made; this has not been so much the case within the last forty years, in consequence of the wretchedness in many places, particularly in the south. Mouth open, which gives an air of stupidity to the countenance; extraordinary facility of speech, in striking contrast with their rags. Every beggar is a wit, an orator, a philosopher. Spaniards

\* In the Monk of St. Gall we have a poor man who is ashamed of being red-haired: "Paupereulo valde rufo, gallicula suâ quia pileum non habet, et de colore suo minium erubuit, caput induto.—Lib. i., ap. Scr. Fr., v.

† *Moi je veuil l'œil bleu et brun le teint,  
Bien que l'œil verd toute la France adore.*

RONSARD.

Ode à Jacques Lepelletier.—Legrand d'Aussy, i., 369: My wife's hair which now seems to me black and limp, then seemed to me *blond*, shining, and curly. Her eyes, which appear small to me, I thought *blue*, charming, and well cleft. (Le Mariage, alias Le Jeu d'Adam, Le Bossu d'Arras.)

in the south of Ireland since the days of Elizabeth. German Palatines from the banks of the Rhine.

In FRANCE round visages, in ENGLAND oval, in GERMANY square. The eyes more prominent on the continent than in England. Neither in Normandy nor in Burgundy is there any trace of the Northmen (except towards Bayeux and Vire).

SAVOYARDS—Small, active; jaw very square; eyes gray; hair black; eyebrows low and thick.

SWISS—Same form of jaw; taller men; eyes azure blue, with a lustre not always pleasing; brown hair.

GERMANS—Gray eyes; hair brown, or flaxen; jaw angular; nose rarely aquiline, but low at the root; wide space between the eyes, wider still than in France.

BELGIANS—The eye of a perfect Prussian blue tint, deeper round the iris; face longer than in Germany.

I am inclined to think (the author does not say so) that, through the effect of time and civilisation, the hair may have become brown, and the eyes black; that is to say, may have assumed the character of a more intense life.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### THE GERMANS.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

##### GERMANIC WORLD.—INVASION.—MEROVINGIANS.

BEHIND the old Celtic, Iberian, and Roman Europe, so sharply marked out in its peninsulas and islands, extended another world, far more vast and vague. That Germanic and Slavic world of the North, ill defined by nature, has had its outlines fixed by political revolutions. Nevertheless, this character of indecision still strikingly exists in Russia, Poland, and even in Germany. The frontiers of the German tongue and population lie loose, on our side, in Lorraine and Belgium. Upon the east, the Slave frontier of Germany has been on the Elbe, then on the Oder, and undefined as that capricious river which so loves to change its banks. Through Russia and Silesia, which are at once German and Slave, Germany runs into Poland and Russia, that is to say, into the barbarian infinite. On the north, the sea hardly constitutes a more precise barrier. The sands of Pomerania are a continuation of the bottom of the Baltic, whereon, beneath the waters, lie towns and villages, like those which the sea swallows up in Holland. This latter country is but the battle-field of the two elements.

A land undefined, races fluctuating—such, at least, is the picture presented to us by Tacitus in his *Germania*. Marshes and forests, of more or less extent, according as they yield before the hand of man, or resume the spots which he abandons, habitations dispersed, patches of cultivation of small extent, and shifting every year to new ground. Between the forests are *marches*, vast clearings, common lands of uncertain limit, the route of migrations, the scene of the first attempts at cultivation, with a few cabins capriciously grouped upon them. “Their dwellings,” says Tacitus, “do not stand close together. Here, they set themselves down by a spring; there, beside a grove of trees.” To limit and determine the *march*, is the grand business of the forest syndics. The bounds are not very precisely marked; “How far,” say they, “may the husbandman extend his cultivation in the march? As far as he can throw his hammer.” Thor’s hammer is the symbol of property; the instrument of that pacific conquest over nature.



We must not, however, infer from this fluctuating cultivation, from these changes of abode, that these populations were nomadic. We do not remark in them that spirit of adventure which led the ancient Celts and the modern Tartars across Europe and Asia.

The first Germanic migrations generally had reference to precise causes. The influx of the ocean determined the Cimbri to fly towards the south, hurrying so many peoples along with them. War and famine, and the want of a more fruitful land, frequently drove tribes one on the other, as we see in Tacitus; but when they found a fertile soil, defended by nature, they took up their abode upon it. Witness the Frieses, who, for so many centuries, remained true to the land as well as to the usages of their forefathers.

The manners of the first inhabitants of Germany were not different, it seems, from those of many other barbarous nations, however vivid be the colours in which Tacitus has been pleased to dress them:—hospitality, implacable vengeance, unbounded love of play and of fermented liquors, field culture abandoned to the women, besides many other traits attributed to the Germans as peculiar to them, by writers who were hardly acquainted with any other barbarians. We must not, however, confound them with the pastoral Tartars, or with the hunters of America. The tribes of Germany, with habits more akin to agricultural life, less dispersed, and occupying less vast spaces, present to us less offensive traits. They seem not so much savage as barbarous, not so much ferocious as rude and coarse.

At the period when Tacitus takes up the consideration of Germany, the Cimbrians and Teutons (Ingævones, Istævones) are fading away in the west; the Goths and the Lombards are beginning to show themselves towards the east. The Angles, the Saxon advanced guard, are scarcely named; the Frank confederation is not yet formed; it is the reign of the Suevi (Hermiones).<sup>\*</sup> Though various local religions may have existed among several tribes, every thing leads to the belief, that the predominant worship was that of the elements, that of trees and fountains.<sup>†</sup> Every year, the goddess Hertha (*Erde*, the earth) went forth in a veiled car from the mysterious grove where she had her sanctuary, in an island of the Northern Ocean.<sup>‡</sup>

Over those races, and those religions, over that first Germany, a

<sup>\*</sup> *Majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent.* Tacit. German., c. 38.

<sup>†</sup> When St. Boniface went to convert the Hessians, "*alii lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii aperte sacrificabant,*" etc. Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sæc. iii., in S. Bonif.

<sup>‡</sup> Tacit. De Mor. Ger., c. 40.—"They worship Ertha, that is to say, mother earth. They believe that she interferes in the affairs of men, and that she sometimes makes a tour through the nations. In an island of the ocean there is a consecrated wood, and in that wood a covered car dedicated to the goddess. The priest alone has the right to touch it; he knows the moment when the goddess is present in the sanctuary. She sets out drawn by cows, and he follows her with all the honours of religion. There is great rejoicing upon these occasions; it is a time of festival for all the places which she deigns to visit and honour with

pale, vague, undefined, infant world, not yet advanced beyond the worship of nature, a new Germany superimposed itself, as we have seen Druidic Gaul established in Gallic Gaul by the invasion of the Kymry. The Suevic tribes received a loftier civilisation, a bolder, more heroic movement through the invasion of the worship of Odin, of the Goths (Jutes, Gepids, Lombards, Burgundians) and of the Saxons.\* Although the Odinic system was doubtless far from having yet arrived at the developments it afterwards assumed, particularly in Iceland, it even then brought with it the elements of a nobler life, of a more profound morality. It promised immortality to the brave; it told them of a paradise, a Walhalla, where they might cut each other to pieces all day long, and afterwards sit down at the evening banquet. On earth it told them of a holy city,† a city of the Ases, Asgard, a place of bliss and sanctity, a sacred natal spot, whence the Germanic races had of old been expelled, and which they were to seek in their wanderings through the world.‡ This creed may have had some influence over the barbarian migrations; these, perhaps, were not unconnected with the search after the holy city, just as, in after days, another holy city was the object of the crusades.

We observe an essential difference between the Odinic tribes. Among the Goths, Lombards, and Burgundians, the military chiefs who led them to battle, the Amali, the Balti,§ had paramount au-

her presence. Wars are suspended; no one takes up arms; the sword is hidden. This period is the only one in which these barbarians know or love peace and rest. It continues until the goddess having had intercourse enough with mortals, the same priest brings her back to her temple. Thereupon the car and the drapery that covers it, if they are to be believed, the deity herself, are bathed in a lonely lake. Slaves perform this office, and the lake immediately afterwards swallows them up. Hence a religious terror, and a holy ignorance with respect to that mysterious object, which none can ever see without perishing."

\* These races took note of the astronomical position of places; hence the names of Wisigoths, Ostrogoths, Wessex, Sussex, Essex, &c. Not so the Celts. See Book i., ch. 1.

† Does it not seem probable that the *Castum Nemo* of Tacitus was *Heiligland*, the Holy Isle of the Saxons, at the mouth of the Elbe, called also *Fosetland*, from the name of the idol worshipped there (a nomine dei sui falsi *Fosete*, *Fosetelandt* est appellata. Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. iv., p. 25). According to Adam of Bremen it was still revered by the seamen of the seventeenth century. Pontanus described it in 1530. The English have since 1814 been in possession of this Danish isle, the cradle of their ancestors (its arms are a ship in full sail): but the sea which annihilated North Strandt in 1634, almost destroyed Heiligland in 1649. It is formed by two rocks, like Mont St. Michel and the rock of Delphi. See Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 125.

‡ See an interesting paper by Leo, on the worship of Odin in Germany. In the Saga of Ragnar Lodbrog, the Northmen set out in search of Rome, of the wealth and glory of which they have heard splendid accounts. They arrive at Luna, suppose it to be Rome, and pillage it. Having found out their mistake, they meet with an old man walking along in iron shoes. He tells them that he is going to Rome, but that that city is so far off, he has already worn out one such pair of shoes. This discourages them. See the work of M. Ampère upon the literature of the North.

§ Jornandes (c. 13, 14) has given the genealogy of Theodoric of the race of

thority. The spirit of the martial band of the *comitatus*, already perceived by Tacitus among the first Germans, was all powerful with these tribes. "There is nothing to blush for in being numbered among the companions. That body has its ranks and degrees, determined by the chief. Great is the emulation among the companions, who shall be first in the eyes of his chief, and among the chiefs, who shall have the most numerous and most valiant companions. It is their dignity, and their might, to be always surrounded by a band of chosen young men, an ornament in peace, a rampart in war. He who is distinguished for the number and valour of his companions becomes glorious and renowned, not only in his own nation, but likewise in the neighbouring states: he is courted by embassies, presents are bestowed on him, and often his name alone determines the success of wars. On the field of battle it is a disgrace to the chief to be surpassed in valour; it is a disgrace to the companions not to equal the valour of their chief: he who survives him, and quits the field, is for ever infamous. To defend him, to cover him with one's body, to impute to his glory one's own gallant deeds, this is their first oath. The chiefs fight for victory, the companions for the chief. If the state in which they were born lies under the torpor of long peace and quiet, most of the young nobles volunteer among those nations that may then be at war; because quiet is distasteful to this people; besides one can more easily win distinction in the midst of chances; and a great body of companions is not to be maintained except by force and war. To the chief's liberality they look for their chargers, their bloody and victorious lances. The coarse plenty of his table stands them in lieu of pay, and it is supplied by war and plunder."\*

This principle of attachment to a chief, this personal devotedness, this religion of man towards man, which afterwards became the principle of the feudal organisation, does not show itself early in the other branch of the Odinic tribes. The Saxons seem to be ignorant, at first, of that hierarchy of the martial band of which Tacitus speaks. All equal beneath the gods, beneath the Ases, the children of the gods, they obey their chiefs only in as far as the latter speak in the name of heaven. The name Saxon itself is, perhaps, identical with that of Ases.† Divided into three great national branches and twelve tribes, they for a long while rejected all other

---

the AMALI, the fourteenth in descent from Gapt, one of the Ases, or demigods. BALTHA or BOLD (intrepid, brave). "Origo mirifica," says the same author. It was to this illustrious race that Alaric belonged. The family of the Baux, of Provence and Naples, claimed to be descended from the Balti. See Gibbon, v. 430.

\* Tacit. German., c. 13, 14.

† Saxones, Saxen, Sacæ, Asi, Arii? Turner, i. 115. Saxones, i. e. Sakai-Sana, sons of the Sacæ, conquerors of Bactria. Pliny says that the Sakai settled in Armenia were called *Saccassani* (l. vi., c. 11); that province of Armenia was called *Saccassena* (Strab., l. xi., p. 776-8). *Saxoi* are found on the Euxine (Stephan. De Urb. et Pop., p. 657). Ptolemy gives the name of *Sarous* to a Scythian people sprung from the Sakai.

principle of division. When the Lombards invaded Italy, most of the Saxons refused to follow them, not choosing to submit to the military division by tens and by hundreds, which their allies adopted.\* It was not till a very late period, when the Saxons, compressed between the Franks and the Slaves, began to roam the ocean, and made a descent on England, that military chiefs prevailed, and the division by hundreds was introduced amongst them. Some are of opinion that it did not begin until Alfred.

It seems that the Saxon populations, once established in the north of Germany, for a long time preferred a sedentary life; the Goths, or Jutes, on the contrary, gave themselves up to distant migrations. We see them in Scandinavia, in Denmark, and, almost simultaneously, on the Danube and on the Baltic. Wanderings on so vast a scale could never have taken place, had not the whole population become a band, and had not the *comitatus*, the warrior companionship, been organised under hereditary chiefs. The pressure of these peoples on all the Germanic tribes, forced the latter to put themselves in motion, either to make room for the new comers, or to follow them in their excursions. The youngest and the boldest took service under leaders, and began a life of war and adventure. This is a trait common to all barbarous peoples. In Lusitania and in old Italy, the young were sent into the mountains. The exile of a part of the population was an established ordinance among the Sabellian tribes, and known by the name *ver sacrum*.† These banished men or bandits (*banditi*), turned out of their country into the world, and cast out of the pale of the law into war (*outlaws*), these wolves (*wargr*), as they were called in the North,‡ formed the adventurous and poetic part of all the ancient nations.

The youthful and heroic form under which the Germanic race accidentally appeared to the old world, has been taken for the invincible genius of that race. Grave historians, whose opinion is of great weight with me, have said that the Germans brought into that world the spirit of independence, the genius of personal freedom. Were this so, we should yet have to inquire whether all races have not presented the same characteristics under similar circumstances. May not the Germans, the last arrived of the barbarians, have given their name to the barbarian genius of all ages? May it not even be said, that their successes over the empire depended upon the facility with which they gathered into great military bodies, and on their hereditary attachment to the families of the chiefs who led them; in a word, upon the personal devotedness, upon the capacity for discipline, which in all ages have characterised Germany? So that what has been put forward as proving the indomitable genius and stubborn individuality of the German warriors, would, on the

\* I regret that I cannot recollect in what author I found this important fact.

† See Michelet's *Hist. Romaine*, i. 69.

‡ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, 1828, p. 396.

contrary, pointedly indicate the eminently sociable, docile, flexible spirit of the Germanic race.\*

That manly, juvenile alacrity of a being who feels his own strength and freedom in a world which he appropriates to himself in hope, in the forests whose limits he knows not, upon the surface of the sea which wafts him to unknown shores; that fiery impetuosity as of the unbroken steed of the Steppes and the Pampas; all this is, doubtless, evident in Alaric, when he swears that an unknown force impels him to the gates of Rome. We see it in the Danish pirate, proudly careering over the ocean. It shows itself under the green-wood tree, where Robin Hood bends his good bow against the sheriff. But do you not find it quite as much in the guerilla of Gallicia, in the Don Luis of Calderon, *the enemy of the law*? Is it less apparent in those merry Gauls who followed Cæsar under the emblem of the lark, and marched along, singing, to capture Rome, Delphi, or Jerusalem? Is not this genius of personal freedom of the unbounded pride of self, eminently displayed in the Celtic philosophy, in Pelagius, Abelard, and Descartes, whilst mysticism and idealism have constituted the almost invariable characteristic of the German philosophy and theology.†

From the day when, in pursuance of an expressive Germanic rite, the *wargus* has cast the dust on all his kindred, and thrown the grass over his shoulder; from the day when, leaning on his staff, he has leaped across the little enclosure of his field, thenceforth let him fling the feather to the wind,‡ let him deliberate, like Attila,

---

\* We must carefully distinguish from primitive Germany two forms under which it showed itself abroad; first, those adventurous bands of barbarians that descended into the south, and entered the empire as conquerors or as mercenary soldiers; secondly, the ferocious pirates, who at a later period being stopped on the west by the Franks, issued at first from the Elbe and then from the Baltic, to plunder England and France. Both committed frightful ravages. (See the end of this book.) At the first contact of the races, when there existed no common language or habits, the mischiefs that befel were, doubtless, great; but the vanquished forgot no exaggeration by which they might enhance their own terror.

† I have spoken in another work of the profound impersonality of the Germanic genius, and I will return to the subject elsewhere. This characteristic is often disguised by a sanguine force, which is very remarkable in the German youth. As long as this intoxication of the blood endures they display much impetuosity. Impersonality is nevertheless the fundamental characteristic. (See my Introduction to Universal History.) This trait was admirably seized and embodied by ancient sculptors. Witness the colossal busts of the Dacian captives in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, and the polychrome statues, much inferior, it is true, to be seen in the vestibule of our museum. The Dacians of the Vatican, with their enormous proportions and their uncombed forest of hair, by no means suggest the idea of barbarian ferocity, but rather that of vast brute strength, like that of the bull or the elephant, with something in it singularly undetermined and vague. They see, but without appearing to look, very much like the statue of the Nile in the same hall of the Vatican, and the charming Seine of Viotti in the museum of Lyons. This indcision of look has frequently struck me in the most eminent men of Germany.

‡ See the forms of initiation into the secret societies of Germany which I have translated in the notes of my Introduction to Universal History.

whether he shall attack the empire of the East, or that of the West;\* hope and the world are all his own.

It was from this field of boundless poetry, that issued the Germanic ideal, the Scandinavian Sigurd, the *Siegfried*, or the Dietrich von Bern, of Germany. In that colossal figure are united what Greece divided, heroic strength and the wandering instinct, Achilles and Ulysses: *Siegfried traversed many a land by the force of his arm.*† But here the crafty man so lauded by the Greeks, is held accursed in the person of the perfidious Hagen, the murderer of Siegfried—Hagen *with the pale face*, who has but one eye; in the monstrous dwarf, who has ransacked the bowels of the earth, who knows every thing, and likes only evil.‡ The conquest of the North is typified in Sigurd, that of the South in Dietrich von Bern (Theodoric of Verona?); the silent city of Ravenna preserves by the tomb of Dante that of Theodoric, a huge rotunda, the dome of which, consisting of a single stone, seems to have been set there by the hands of giants. This is, perhaps, the only Gothic monument now remaining in the world. There is nothing in its mass to remind us of that bold and light architecture which is commonly called Gothic, and which is, in reality, but the expression of the mystic aspirations of mediæval Christianity. We might with more reason compare it with the cumbrous Pelægic constructions of the tombs of Etruria, and of Argolis.§

The adventurous forays of the Germans across the empire, and their mercenary life in the pay of the Romans, many a time brought them in conflict with one another. Stilico, the Vandal, challenged at Florence his countrymen in the great barbarian army of Rodogast. The Scythian, Aëtius, defied the Scythians in the campaigns of Chalons. The Franks fought there for and against Attila. What impelled the Germanic tribes to these parricidal wars? It was that terrible fatality of which the Edda and the Nibelungen speak: it was the gold which Sigurd snatched from the dragon Fafuir, and which was to prove his own destruction; that fatal gold which passed into the hands of his murderers to make them perish at the banquet of the greedy Attila.

Gold and woman,—these were the objects of their wars; the aim and end of their heroic expeditions. The end was here as heroic as the means. Love, as felt by these men, had nothing in it tending to effeminacy. Brought up by a man, by a warrior (astonishing coldness of the Germanic blood!||) the virgin wields the warrior's

\* Priscus in Corp. Histor. Byzantinæ, p. 40.

† Durch sines Libes Sterche er reit in menegin Lant.—Der Nibelungen Not, 87. Cornelius seems to have had the German Nibelungen in view in his admirable compositions rather than the Scandinavian Edda and Sagas. There is reason to regret this.

‡ See an excellent article by M. Ampère in the Revue des Deux Mondes, Aug. 1, 1833.

§ See the Journey, or let us rather call it the Epopœa, of Edgar Quinet, 1830.

|| See the beginning of the Nialsaga.—Salvian. de Provident., l. vii. Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est. Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate mirandi.

arms. Before Brunhild yields to Siegfried, he must first have flung his javelin at her, and she, in the amorous contest, must with her strong hands have made the blood start from the hero's fingers. Woman in primitive Germany was still bowed down to the earth which she cultivated.\* She grew up in a life of warfare; she became the companion of man's dangers, united to his destiny in life and in death (*sic vivendum, sic pereundum*.—Tacit.) She does not shun the field of battle; she scans it, she presides over it, she becomes the fairy of the fight; the charming and terrible Valkyrie, who culls, like a flower, the soul of the expiring warrior. She seeks him on the battle plain, as Edith of the swan's neck sought Harold after the battle of Hastings; or that brave Englishwoman who turned over all the dead bodies on the field of Waterloo in search of her young husband.

We know the occasion of the first migration of the barbarians into the empire.† Up to 375 there had been only incursions and partial invasions. At this period the Goths, worn out by the inroads of the Hunnish cavalry, which rendered all cultivation impossible, obtained permission to cross the Danube as soldiers of the empire, which they would defend and cultivate. Having been converted to Christianity, they were already somewhat softened by their intercourse with the Romans. But reduced to famine and despair‡ by the rapacity of the imperial agents, they ravaged the provinces between the Black Sea and the Adriatic. Yet even in these forays they became further humanised, both by the enjoyments of luxury and by their intermixture with the families of the vanquished. Bought over at any price by Theodosius, they twice won for him the empire of the West. The Franks had at first prevailed in that empire as the Goths in the other. Their chief Mellobaud under Gratian, and Arbogast under Valentinian the Second, and afterwards under the rhetorician Eugenius, whom he decked with the purple, were virtually emperors.§

In this prostrate condition of the empire of the West, which yielded itself up to the barbarians, the old Celtic populations, the indigenous inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, rose and gave themselves leaders. Maximus, a Spaniard like Theodosius,|| was raised to the empire

\* Tacit. Germ., c. 15. *Fortissimus quisque... nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familia.*

† We wait impatiently for Augustin Thierry's great work on the barbarian invasions. I also give a picture of these invasions in my *Histoire de l'Empire Romain*.

‡ Hieron. Chron. *Ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt.*

§ Zozim., l. iv., ap. Scr. Fr., i. 584. *Αρβογαστης... τοσούτος ην, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ καλῶς αὐτῷ, μηδὲ προσηκόντως ἔχειν ἰδόκει, καλύειν.* Paul. Oros., l. vii., c. 35. *Eugenium tyrannum creare ausus est, legitque hominem cui titulum imperatoris imponeret, ipse acturus imperium.* Prosper. Aquit. ann. 394. Marcellin. Chron. ap. Scr. Fr., i. 640. Claudian (IV. Consul. Honor. v. 74) says contemptuously:

"Hunc sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul."

|| Zozimus, iv. 47. Socrat., iv.—Sulp. Sever. dialog., ii., c. 7. *Vir omni vite*

by the legions of Britain (A. D. 383). He crossed over to St. Malo with a multitude of islanders and defied Gratian's troops. The latter and his Frank Mellobaud were put to death. The British auxiliaries were established in continental Armorica, under their *conan*, or chief, Meriadec, or rather Murdoc, who is stated to have been the first Count of Britain.\* Spain submitted voluntarily to the Spaniard Maximus, and that able prince soon wrested Italy from the young Valentinian II., the brother-in-law of Theodosius. Thus an army partly British, commanded by a Spanish emperor, had reunited the whole West.

It was by means of the Germans that Theodosius prevailed over Maximus.† His army, composed principally of Goths, invaded Italy,‡ whilst the Frank Arbogast effected a diversion by the valley of the Danube. This Arbogast remained all powerful under Valentinian II., set him aside, and reigned three years in the name of the rhetorician Eugenius. It was again in a great measure to the Goths that Theodosius owed his victory over that usurper.§

Under Honorius the rivalry between Alaric the Goth and the Vandal Stilico, filled Italy with blood for ten years. The Vandal, named guardian of Honorius by Theodosius, had the emperor of the West in his hands. The Goth, appointed master of the province of Illyria by Arcadius, the emperor of the West, in vain solicited permission of Honorius to establish himself in his government. During this time Britain, Gaul, and Spain, became again independent under the Briton Constantine. The revolt of one of that emperor's generals,|| and perhaps the rivalry of Spain and Gaul, led to the fall of the new Gaulish empire. It was consummated by the reconciliation between Honorius and the Goths. Ataulph, the brother of Alaric, married Placidia, the sister of Honorius, and his successor, Wallia, established his bands at Toulouse, as a militia pledged to the service

---

*merito etiam prædicandus, si ei, vel diadema . . . repudiare, vel armis civilibus abstinere licuisset.* According to some authors he was elected against his will. Paul. Oros., vii. 34, etc.

\* Triads of the Isle of Britain.—“The third combined expedition was led out of this island by Eler, mighty in battle, and Cynan his brother, lord of Meiriadog, into Armorica, where they obtained lands, power, and sovereignty of the Emperor Maximus, for supporting him against the Romans . . . and none of them returned, but they remained there, and in Ystre Gyvaelwg, where they formed a community.” In 462 we find a bishop of the Bretons at the Council of Tours.—In 468 Anthemius invites twelve thousand Bretons from Bretagne, and settles them in Bourges.—Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 45. According to Turner (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*) the Britons did not settle in Armorica until 532, as stated by the Chronicle of Mont St. Michel. There must have been from all antiquity, between Great Britain and Armorica, a constant flux and reflux of emigration, occasioned by commerce, and above all by religion. (See Cæsar.) The only matter open to dispute is the epoch of a conquering colonisation.

† Maximus also hired German soldiers.—Gibb., vol. v., p. 289.

‡ Ib., 294.

§ They had the post of honour in the battle.—Ib., 325.

|| Gerontius, who had commanded in Spain during the absence of Constantine's son.—Zozim., vi., ap. Scr. Fr., i. 586. Sozomen., l. ix., ib. 605.



of the Empire (A.D. 411). But that empire had no longer any need of a military force in Gaul. Of its own accord it abandoned that province as before it had done by Britain, and concentrated itself in Italy, to die there. In proportion as it retired the Goths gradually extended their domain and in the space of half a century they occupied the whole of Aquitaine, and all Spain.

The disposition of these Goths was any thing rather than hostile to Gaul. In their long journey through the empire they had been unable to behold, without astonishment and respect, the amazing fabric of Roman civilisation, weak and ready to crumble as it doubtless was, but still erect, and in its full splendour. After the first brutalities of the invasion they had submitted themselves simply and docilely to the discipline of the vanquished; their leaders had coveted no nobler title than that of restorers of the Empire. We may judge of this from the memorable words of Ataulph, which have been handed down to us: "I remember," says an author of the fifth century, "to have heard the blessed Jerome, at Bethlehem, narrate, that he had seen a certain inhabitant of Narbonne, raised to high functions under the Emperor Theodosius, and moreover a religious, sage, and grave man, who had been upon familiar terms, in his native town, with Ataulph. He often repeated that the king of the Goths, a man of great heart and great intellect, was accustomed to say, that his most ardent ambition had been, at first, to annihilate the Roman name, and to make of the whole extent of the Roman territories a new empire, called Gothic: so that, to speak in the common manner, all that was ROMANIA should become GOTHIA, and that Ataulph should play the same part as, formerly, had Cæsar Augustus; but that after having satisfied himself, by experience, that the Goths were incapable of obedience to the laws by reason of their undisciplinable barbarism, deeming that it was not right to meddle with the laws, without which the republic ceased to be a republic, he had made up his mind to seek glory by devoting the strength of the Goths to re-establishing in its integrity, and even augmenting, the power of the Roman name; so that, at least, posterity might regard him as the restorer of that Empire, the site of which he could not change. In this view he abstained from war and sedulously sought peace."\*

The cantonment of the Goths in the Roman provinces was not a new and strange fact. For a long time the emperors had had in their pay barbarians who, under the title of guests, lodged with the Roman and ate at his table. The establishment of the new comers, even brought with it, at first, one immense advantage, viz.: that it completed the disorganisation of the imperial tyranny. The fiscal agents withdrawing by degrees, the greatest of all the evils of the Empire ceased spontaneously. The curiales confined, thenceforth, to the local administration of the municipalities, found themselves relieved from all the burdens with which the central government

---

\* P. Oros., l. vii., c. 43, quoted by Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire*, vi.

overwhelmed them. The barbarians, it is true, seized upon two-thirds of the lands\* in the cantons where they established themselves. But there was so much waste land, that, in general, this concession could not have been very oppressive to the Romans. It seems that the barbarians conceived some scruples as to these violent acquisitions, and that they sometimes indemnified the Roman proprietors. The poet Paulinus, who had been reduced to poverty by the settlement of Ataulph, and who had retired to Marseilles, was there one day surprised by the receipt of the price of one of his estates, which was sent to him by the new possessor.†

(A. D. 413).—The Burgundians, who established themselves to the west of the Jura, about the same epoch as the Goths settled in Aquitaine, were men, perhaps, of still milder character. It seems that that good-nature which is one of the actual characteristics of the Germanic race, early displayed itself in this people. Before their entry into the empire, they were almost all handicraftsmen, carpenters, or joiners. They earned their bread by this sort of labour in the intervals of peace, and thus were strangers to that two-fold pride of the warrior and the idle proprietor, which fostered the insolence of the other barbarian conquerors.‡ Having become masters over the domains of the Gaulish proprietors, having received, or taken, under the pretext of hospitality, two-thirds of the lands and one-third of the slaves, probably equivalent to one-half of the whole property, they scrupled to usurp any thing further. They did not regard the Roman as their *colonus*, as their *lite*, according to the Germanic expression, but as their equal in right with regard to all the property that remained to him. They felt even a sort of awkwardness, as *parvenus*, in presence of the rich senators, their co-proprietors. Billeted in a great house, enabled to act the master there, they did what they saw the Roman clients of their noble host do, and they assembled to go and salute him at early morning.§ The poet Sidonius has bequeathed us a curious picture of a Roman house occupied by the barbarians. He represents the latter as rude and troublesome, but by no means mischievous. “On whom dost thou call for a hymn to the joyous Venus? On him who is beset by the long-haired bands, on him who endures the Germanic jargon, who grins a woful smile at the songs of the gorged Burgundian, with his locks greased with rancid butter. . . Happy man, thou dost not see before daybreak that army of giants coming to salute thee, as their grandfather or their foster-father. The kitchen of Alcinous would not suffice to feed them. But

\* The Heruli and the Lombards contented themselves with one-third.

† Paulin. in *Eucharist.*, v. 564-581, ed. 1681, 8vo. See also *L'Hist. Litt. de France*, ii. 363-369.

‡ Socrates, l. vii., c. 30, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, i. 604. *Quippè omnes fere sunt fabri lignarii, et ex hac arte mercedem capientes semetipsos alunt.*

§ Aug. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*, vi.

enough of verses, let us say no more. What if it were fancied that we meant a satire?"\*

(A. D. 451.)—The Germans established in the Empire by the consent of the emperor, did not remain quiet in the possession of the lands they had occupied. Those same Huns who had formerly driven the Goths across the Danube, forced with them the other Germans who had remained in Germany, and the whole united body crossed the Rhine. Here, then, we see the barbarian world rent under both its forms. The warlike band already established on the Gaulish soil, and more and more won over to Roman civilisation,† adopts, imitates, and defends it. The tribe, that primitive and antique form, retaining more affinity for the genius of Asia, flocks in with the Asiatic cavalry, and demands a part of the Empire from its children, who have forgotten it.

It is a remarkable fact in our history, that the two great Asiatic invasions of Europe, that of the Huns in the fifth century, and that of the Saracens in the eighth, were quelled in France. The Goths had the chief share in the first victory, the Franks in the second.

Unfortunately, a great obscurity has remained over both these events. The chief of the Hunic invasion, the famous Attila, appears in tradition, less as a historical personage, than as a vague and terrible myth, as a symbol and recollection of a huge destruction. His true Oriental name, Etzel,‡ signifies a vast and mighty thing, a mountain, a river, particularly the Volga, that immense river which separates Asia from Europe. Such, too, Attila appears in the Nibelungen, mighty, formidable, but undecided and vague, having nothing in him of humanity, indifferent, immoral as nature, greedy as the elements,§ absorbing as water, or fire.

\* Sidon. Apollin. Carm. xii., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., i. 811.

Laudantem tetrico subinde vultri  
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus;  
Infundens acido comam butyro.

• • • • •  
Quem non ut vetulum patris parentem,  
Nutricisque virum, die nec orto,  
Tot tantique petunt simul gigantes.

† Procopius contrasts the Goths with the Germanic nations. De Bello Gothico, l. ii., c. 33, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 41. Paul. Oros., ib. i. Blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivunt, non quasi cum subjectis, sed cum fratribus.

‡ "Etzel, Atzel, Athila, Athela, Ethela.—Atta, Atti, Aetti, Vater, signify in almost all languages, and especially in Asia, father, judge, chief, king. It is the root of the names of the Marcoman king Attalus, of the Moor Attila, of the Scythian Atheas, of Attalus of Pergamus, of Atalrich, Eticho, and Ediko. But there is a deeper and ampler meaning. ATTILA is the name of the Volga, of the Don, of a mountain in the province of Einsiedeln, and in general of any mountain or river. Thus it would be closely related to the ATLAS of the Greek mythology." Jac. Grimm, Altdutsche Wälder, i. 6.

§ We find in Priscus and Jornandes frequent examples of the Greeks and Romans appeasing him by presents. Priscus in Corp. Histor. Byzant., i. 72. Υπήχθη τῷ πλῆθει τῶν δώρων. Genseric prevails on him by presents to invade

We should doubt that he ever existed as a man, were not all the authors of the fifth century agreed upon this point, and were it not that Priscus tells us with terror, that he saw him face to face, and describes to us the table of Attila. And terrible too, in history, is that table, though we do not find there, as in the Nibelungen, the funerals of a whole race: but it is a grand spectacle to behold there, seated in the lowest place, below after the chiefs of the lowest barbarian tribes, the sad ambassadors of the emperors of the East and of the West.\* Whilst the buffoons and jesters excite the barbarian warriors to laughter and merriment, he, stern and grave, short, thick-set, and strongly built, flat nosed, his broad face pierced with two fiery holes,† ponders in gloomy thought, passing his hand through the locks of his young son. There they are, those Greeks, who seek the lion in his very den to set their snares against him. He knows it, but he deems it enough to send back to the emperor the purse with which it was thought to purchase his death, and to address him in these withering words, "Attila and Theodosius are sons of most noble fathers; but Theodosius, by paying tribute, has lapsed from his nobility. He is become the slave of Attila. It is not just that he should lay snares for his master, like a wicked slave."

He did not deign to take any further vengeance, save some thousand ounces of gold which he exacted over and above. If there were any delay in the payment of the tribute, he merely sent word to the emperor by one of his slaves, "Attila, thy master and mine, is coming to see thee. He commands thee to prepare a palace for him in Rome."‡

After all, what would this Tartar have gained by conquering the Empire? He would have felt himself stifled in those walled cities, and those palaces of marble. Far better he loved his wooden village, all painted and tapestried, with its thousand kiosks of many colours, and all around it the green meadow of the Danube. From thence it was, that he every year set out with his immense cavalry, and with the German bands that followed him freely or by compulsion. Though an enemy to Germany, he made use of it. His ally was the enemy of the Germans, Genseric, the Wend, who was

---

Genl. He exacts an augmentation of tribute, in atonement for an attempt on his life, &c. In the *Wilkins Saga*, c. 87, he is called the most greedy of men; it was by the hope of a treasure that Chriemhild prevailed on him to summon his brothers into his palace.

\* Priscus in *Corp. Hist. Byzant.*, i., 66. *Δευτέρῳ δὲ τάξῳ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνυγχάζοντες ὄντες, προκαθεσθέρους ἡμῶν Βερίχου παρὰ Ζεύδατος εὐρυγενέστερος ἀνδρός.*

† Jornandes de *Rebus Getic.* ap. Duchesne, i. 226. *Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barbâ, canis aspersus, simo naso, teter colore, originæ suæ signa referens.*—Amm. Marcel., xxxi. 1: *Hunni.... pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigati stipites dolantur incompti.*—Jornandes, c. 24. *Species pavendâ nigridine, sed veluti quædam (si dici fas est) offa, non facies; habensque magis puncta quam lumina.*

‡ *Chronic. Alexandrin.*, p. 734.

settled in Africa.\* The Wends having turned from Germany through Spain, had exchanged the Baltic for the Mediterranean. They infested the south of the Empire, whilst Attila desolated the north. The hatred of the Wend, Silico, for the Goth, Alaric, reappears in the animosity of Genseric against the Goths of Toulouse. He demanded in marriage, and then cruelly mutilated, the daughter of their king. He called Attila into Gaul against them. According to the contemporaneous historian Idatius (a historian of little weight, it is true), Attila was likewise summoned by his countryman Aëtius,† a general of the empire of the West, who wished to destroy the Goths by means of the Huns, and the Huns by means of the Goths. Attila's passage was marked by the ruin of Metz and of a great number of towns. The multitude of legends relating to this period may afford some idea of the impression which that terrible event left in the memory of nations.‡ Troyes owed its safety to the merits of St. Luke. God withdrew St. Servatus from this world to spare him the affliction of beholding the ruin of Tongres. Paris was saved by the prayers of St. Genevieve.§ The bishop Anianus bravely defended Orleans. Whilst the battering ram was at work upon the walls, the holy bishop, at prayer, inquired if nothing was seen approaching. Twice he was told that nothing appeared. At the third time of asking, he was informed that a slight cloud was distinguished upon the horizon. It was the Goths and the Romans coming to the rescue.||

Idatius gravely assures us that Attila slew two hundred thousand Goths with their king Theodoric, near Orleans. Thorismond, the son of Theodoric, desired to avenge him, but the prudent Aëtius, who feared alike the triumph of either party, went by night to Attila, and said to him, "You have destroyed but the smallest portion of the Gauls, to-morrow there will come such a great multitude of them, that you will be hard set to escape." Attila, grateful for the information, gave him ten thousand pieces of gold. Aëtius

---

\* Jornandes, ap. Scr. Fr., i. 22 : Gizericus . . . Attilam multis muneribus ad Wesegotharum bella præcipitat, etc.

† Greg. Tur., l. ii., ap. Scr. Fr., i. 163. Gaudentius Aëtii pater, Scythiæ provinciæ primoris loci.—Jornandes says (ap. Scr. Fr., i. 22) : Fortissimorum Mæsiarum stirpe progenitus, in Dorostenâ civitate. Aëtius had been a hostage among the Huns. (Greg. Tur. loc. cit.) Among Attila's ambassadors were Orestes, the father of Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, and the Hun Edeco, father of Odoacer, who conquered Italy. See the narrative of Priscus.

‡ Attila's invasion of Italy left there an impression no less profound. In a battle he fought with the Romans at the very gates of Rome, every man, it was said, perished on both sides, "but the souls of the dead rose again and fought with indefatigable fury for three days and three nights."—Damascius, ap. Phot. Bibl., p. 1039.

§ Attila, according to the legend, massacred in his retreat the 11,000 virgins of Cologne.

|| Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 7. Aspicite de muro civitatis, si Dei miseratio jam succurrat . . . Aspicite iterum, etc.

then went to the Goth Thorismond and told him a similar tale, making him fear besides, that if he did not make haste back to Toulouse his brother would usurp the throne. Thorismond gave him also ten thousand *solidi* for so good a piece of advice. The two armies hurried away from each other.\*

The Goth Jornandes, who wrote a century later, fails not to add to the fables of Idatius; but by his account all the glory belonged to the Goths. According to him it was not Aëtius, but Attila, who employed perfidy. The king of the Huns had no animosity against any one except the king of the Goths, Theodoric.† He led the whole barbarian world of the North and of the East into Gaul.‡ It was a tremendous warfare, involving the whole Asiatic, Roman, and Germanic world; and it cost the lives of nearly three hundred thousand men. Attila, seeing himself in danger of having his camp taken by storm, raised a huge pile, formed of the saddles of his cavalry, and mounting it with a torch in his hand, sat ready to set it on fire.§

There is a terrible fact in this narrative which it is hardly possible to doubt. On both sides the majority were brethren. There were Franks against Franks, Ostrogoths against Visigoths.¶ After so long a separation, these tribes met again to fight and slaughter each other. This has been very touchingly expressed in the German songs in the Nibelungen, where the good markgraf Rüdiger, in obedience to the wife of Attila, attacks the Burgundians, whom he loves; where he sheds big tears, and, fighting with Hagen, lends him his buckler.¶ More pathetic still is the lay of Hildebrand and Hadubrand: the father and son, parted for

\* Idatius, ap. Fredeg. Scr. Fr., ii. 462. The extracts from Fredegarius have been deemed suspicious.

† Jornandes, c. 36, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 23.

‡ See Ibid., and the notes of the editors.—“The greater part of the army which Aëtius had assembled in Gaul was composed of Franks, by moderns supposed to have been Salians and subjects of Mérovée; of Repuarians, who were also of the stock of the Franks; of Saxons, who had a settlement at Bayeux; of Burgundians, who forty years before had established their monarchy near the Lake of Geneva; of Sarmatians, who had passed into Gaul in the great invasion of the barbarians in 406; of Alans of Orleans or Valence, of Tayfals of Poitou, of Brétons, cantoned in Rhoetia, of Armoricans, perhaps soldiers of the provinces that had shaken off the yoke, and of Leti, or barbarian veterans, who after having served the Empire, had been recompensed with lands which they had engaged to defend.”

—Sismondi, Hist. des Français, i. 156, from Jornandes, c. 36.

§ Jornand., c. 40. *Equinis sellis construxisse pyram, seseque, si adversarii impulerent, flammis injicere voluisse.*—In the Nibelungen Chriemhild sets fire to the four corners of the hall, within which his brothers were.

¶ On the side of the Romans were the Visigoths and their king Theodoric; on that of the Huns the Ostrogoths and the Gepids. An Ostrogoth killed Theodoric.

¶

*Wie gerne ich dir waere gut mit minem Schilde,  
Torst'ich dir'n bieten vor Chriemhilde!  
Doch nim du in hin, Hagene, und trag'in an der hant:  
Hei, soldestu in füren heim in der Burgunden lant!*

Der Nibelungen Not, 888-892.

\* How gladly would I give thee my buckler, durst I offer it thee before Chriem-

many years, meet at the world's end; but the son does not recognise the father, and the latter finds himself compelled to perish or to slay his son.\*

(A.D. 451—81.)—Attila retired, but the Empire could not avail itself of his retreat. To whom was Gaul to remain? To the Goths and Burgundians, it seems. Those nations could not fail to invade the central regions, such as Auvergne, which persisted in remaining Roman. Were not the Goths themselves Romans? Their kings selected their ministers from among the vanquished. Theodoric the Second employed the pen of the ablest man in Gaul, and was pleased with

---

hild! Yet take it, Hagen, and wear it on thy arm. Ah! mayst thou carry it home into the land of the Burgundians!"

\* The lay of Hildebrand and Hadubrand was discovered and published in 1812 by the brothers Grimm, who consider it as belonging to the eighth century. I cannot forbear from presenting to my readers this venerable monument of the primitive literature of Germany. It has been translated into French by M. Gley (*Langue des Francs*, 1814) and by M. Ampère (*Etudes Histor. de Chateaubriand*).

"I have heard tell that one day Hildibraht and Hathubraht, father and son, challenged each other in the midst of the combatants. They arranged their arms, covered themselves with their coats of arms, buckled on their swords, and advanced against each other. The noble and sage Hildibraht inquires of the other in few words: 'Who among the men of the people is thy father, and of what race art thou? If thou wilt tell me I will give thee a coat of mail of triple links. I know every race of men.' Hathubraht, son of Hildibraht, replied: 'The old wise men who lived formerly told me that Hildibraht was my father; my name is Hathubraht. One day he departed towards the East, flying from the wrath of Othachr (Odoacer?); he went with Theothrich (Theodoric?) and a great number of his servants. He left at home behind him a young wife, an infant son, a suit of arms without a master, and he took his way to the East. Whilst misfortunes went on increasing for my cousin Dietrich, and all forsook him, he, on the contrary, was always at the head of the people, and his delight was in fighting. I do not believe he is yet alive.' 'God of Heaven, Lord of men,' said Hildibraht then; 'suffer not the fight between those who are thus related.' Saying this he took from his arm a chain fashioned into a bracelet, which was given him by the king, the lord of the Huns. 'Let me,' he said, 'here make thee this gift.'—Hathubraht replied: 'Only with the javelin can I receive it, and point to point. Old Hun, vile spy, thy words to me are deceitful. In a moment I hurl my javelin at thee. Didst thou hope then to trick me, old man? I have been told by those who have sailed towards the West, on the sea of the Vends, that there was a great battle in which Hildibraht, the son of Heeribraht, fell.' Thereupon Hildibraht, the son of Heeribraht replied: 'I see plainly by thy arms that thou art not a noble chief, that thou hast not yet vanquished. Alas! what a destiny is mine! Sixty summers, sixty winters have I wandered a banished man. Ever have I been remarked among the throng of combatants; never enemy dragged me prisoner into his fort. And now my beloved son must pierce me with his sword, must cleave me with his axe, or I must be his murderer. Doubtless, it may be, if thy arm is strong, that thou shalt strip a brave man of his arms, and plunder his corpse; do so, if it be thy right; and let him be the most infamous among the men of the East who would stop thee from the fight thou desirest. Brave companions, judge in your courage which best to-day knows how to cast the javelin, which shall have the disposal of both suits of arms.' Thereupon the sharp javelins flew and buried themselves in the bucklers: then they came to close fight, the stone axes resounded, striking violently on the white bucklers. Their limbs were somewhat shaken by the dint, not their legs however...."

the admiration excited by the elegance of the letters written in his name. The great Theodoric, the adopted son of the Emperor Zeno, and king of the Ostrogoths settled in Italy, had for his minister and declaimer, Cassiodorus. His daughter, the learned Amalasonte, spoke indifferently Latin and Greek; and her cousin, Theodatus, who caused her to be put to death, affected the language of a philosopher.

The Goths had but too well succeeded in restoring the Empire. The imperial administration had re-appeared, and with it all the abuses that followed in its train. Slavery had been rigorously upheld on behalf of the interests of the Roman proprietors. The Goths, imbued with Byzantine ideas, during their long sojourn in the East, had brought from thence the Greek Arianism; that doctrine which reduced Christianity to a sort of philosophy, and subjected the church to the state. Detested by the Gaulish clergy, they suspected it, and not without reason,\* of calling in the Goths, the barbarians of the North. The Burgundians, less intolerant than the Goths, partook of the same fears. These feelings of distrust rendered the government every day harsher and more tyrannical. We know that the Gothic law extracted from the judicial precedents of the Empire the first model of the inquisition.†

The sway of the Franks was the more desired, inasmuch as no one, perhaps, had any definite idea of what they were.‡ They

\* Cum jam terror Francorum resonaret in his partibus, et omnes eos amore desiderabili cuperent regnare, sanctus Aprunculus Lingonicæ civitatis episcopus apud Burgundiones cœpit haberi suspectus. Cumque odium de die in diem cresceret, jussum est ut clam gladio feriretur. Quo ad eum perlato nuntio, nocte a castro Divionensi....demissus, Arvernus advenit, ibique....datus est episcopus.—Multi jam tunc ex Galliis habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant. Unde factum est ut Quintianus Ruthenorum episcopus....ab urbe depelleretur. Dicebant enim ei "quia desiderium tuum est, ut dominatio Francorum teneat terram hanc...." Orto inter eum et cives scandalo, Gotthos qui in hac urbe morabantur, suspicio attigit, exprobrantibus civibus, quod velit se Francorum ditionibus subjugare; consilioque accepto, cogitaverunt eum perfodere gladio. Quod cum viro Dei nuntiatum est, de nocte consurgens, ab urbe Ruthena egrediens, Arvernos advenit. Ibique a sancto Eufrasio episcopo....benigne susceptus est, decedente ab hoc mundo Apollinari. Cum hæc Theodorico regi nuntiata fuissent, jussit inibi sanctum Quintianum constitui....dicens: Hic ob nostri amoris zelum ab urbe sua ejectus est.—Hujus tempore jam Chlodovechus regnabat in aliquibus urbibus in Galliis, et ob hanc causam hic pontifex suspectus habitus a Gotthis, quod se Francorum ditionibus subdere vellet, apud urbem Tholosam exilio condemnatus, in eo obiit.... Septimus Turonum episcopus Volusianus....et octavus Verus....pro memoratæ causæ zelo suspectus habitus a Gotthis in exilium deductus vitam finivit.—Greg. Tur., lib. ii., c. 25-36, l. x., c. 31. See also c. 26 et Vit. Pat. ap. Scr. Fr., iii. 498.

† Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, l. xxxviii., c. 1.

‡ Under Gallienus in 254, the Franks invaded Gaul and made their way through Spain into Mauritania. (Zozim., l. i., p. 646. Aurel. Victor., c. 33.) Probus defeated them twice on the Rhine in 277, and settled a great number of them on the coasts of the Black Sea. History has recorded the daring expedition of those pirates, who, weary of exile, set out to behold their Rhine once more, plundering on their way the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Sicily, and who at last arrived quietly in Friesland or Batavia. (Zozim., i., 666.)—Constance



were not a people, but a federation, more or less numerous, according as it was powerful. It must have been strong in the time of Mellobaud and Arbogast at the end of the fourth century. At that time the Franks had certainly considerable territories in the Empire. Germans of all races constituted, under the name of Franks, the best imperial troops\* and even the emperor's body guard.† This population, fluctuating between Germany and the Empire, generally declared against the other barbarians who came in its rear to invade Gaul. They made a fruitless opposition to the great invasion of the Burgundians, Sueves, and Vandals, in 406; many of them fought against Attila. At a later period we shall see them, under Clovis, beating the Germans near Cologne, and barring the passage of the Rhine against them. Still heathens, and doubtless indifferent as to religious subjects from the unsettled nature of the life they led upon the frontiers, they were naturally disposed to accept the religion of the clergy of Gaul without much difficulty. All the other barbarians were Arians at this period. They all belonged to one race—to a distinct nationality. The Franks alone, a mixed population, seemed

---

transported a Frank colony into Gaul in 298. In 358 Julian drove back the Chamavi beyond the Rhine, and subjugated the Salians, &c.—Clovis (or rather Hlodwig) beat Syagrius in 486.—Greg. Tur., ii., c. 9. Tradunt multi eòsdem de Pannonia fuisse digressos, et primum quidem litora Rheni amnis incoluisse: dehinc transacto Rheno, Thoringiam transmeasse.

\* Of Constantine's armies for instance.—Zozim., l. ii. Gibbon, iv. 95.

† Amm. Marcell., l. xv., ad ann. 355. Franci.....quorum ea tempestate in Palatio multitudo florebat.—At a later period, when the Emperor Anastasius sent the insignia of the consulship to Clovis, the Roman titles were already familiar to the chiefs of the Franks. Agathias says shortly afterwards, that the Franks are the most civilised of the barbarians, and differ from the Romans only in language and costume. Nor can it be said that their costume was void of elegance. "The young chief Sigismar," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "was preceded or followed as he moved along by horses covered with glittering jewels; he walked on foot, clad in a milk white sagum, glittering with gold, blazing with purple; in harmony with these three colours were his hair, his complexion, his skin.—The chiefs that surrounded him were shod with furs; their legs and knees were naked; their high, narrow, party-coloured casaques hardly reached down to the calves of the legs, and the sleeves covered only the upper part of the arm. Their green saga were bordered with scarlet. The sword, hanging from the shoulder in a long baldrick, girt their sides, covered with a rhenon. Their arms added to the richness of their dress." Sidon. Apoll., l. iv., epist. 20, ap. Scr. Fr., i. 793.—"In the tomb of Childeric I., discovered at Tournay in 1658, were found the king's name written round his face in gold letters, a crystal globe, a style, and tablets, and medals of several emperors. All this is not over barbarous." Chateaubriand, *Etudes Historiques*, iii. 212.—St. Jerome (in Fredegarius) believes the Franks to be, like the Romans, descended from the Trojans, and he traces their origin to Francio, a son of Priam. "De Francorum vero regibus beatus Hieronymus, qui jam olim fuerant, scripsit quod prius.....Priamum habuisse regem.....cum Troja caperetur.....Europam media ex ipsis pars cum Francione eorum rege ingressa fuit.....cum uxoribus et liberis Rheni ripam occuparunt.....Vocati sunt Franci, multis post temporibus, cum ducibus externas dominationes semper negantes. Fredeg., c. 2.—We know how eagerly this tradition was accepted in the middle ages.

to have remained wavering on the frontier, ready to admit every idea, every influence, every religion; they alone received Christianity through the Latin church, that is to say, in its complete form, in its lofty poetry. Rationalism may follow civilisation, but it could only wither barbarism, dry up its life blood, and blast its strength. Placed in the north of France, in the north-west corner of Europe, the Franks stood fast against the pagan Saxons, the last comers from Germany; against the Arian Visigoths; and, lastly, against the Saracens, all of them alike the enemies of the divinity of Jesus Christ. It is not without reason that the kings of France have borne the name of eldest sons of the Church.

The Church made the fortune of the Franks. The establishment of the Burgundians, the greatness of the Goths, the masters of Aquitaine and of Spain, the formation of the Armorican confederations, and that of a *Roman kingdom* at Soissons under the general Egidius, seemed destined to hem in the Franks in the Carbonaria forest, between Tournay and the Rhine.\* They allied with them the Armoricans, at least those who occupied the *embouchure* of the Somme and of the Seine.† They also took into their alliance the soldiers of the Empire, who had remained without a leader after the death of Egidius.‡ But never could their feeble bands have destroyed the Goths, humbled the Burgundians, and repulsed the Germans, had they not everywhere found in the clergy an ardent body of auxiliaries to guide them, to facilitate their march, and to gain over the populations for them beforehand.

(A. D. 486.)—Let us first see in what modest terms Gregory of Tours speaks of the first steps of the Franks in Gaul. “It is related that Clogio, a mighty man, and one distinguished in his country, was at that time King of the Franks. He inhabited Dispargum, on the frontier of the country of the Thuringians of Tongres. The Romans also occupied those regions, that is to say, towards the south as far as the Loire; beyond the Loire, the country belonged to the Goths. The Burgundians, who, likewise, were attached to the sect of the Arians, dwelt beyond the Rhone, which flows by the city of Lyons. Clogio having sent spies into the city of Cambrai, and caused the whole country to be explored, defied the Romans, and seized that city. After having remained there some time, he conquered the country as far

\* During their long sojourn in Belgium they must necessarily have intermingled with the natives, and, doubtless, they did not arrive in Gaul before they had become partly Belgians.

† Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, c. 12, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, ii. 30. Γερμανοί...ἐταρξίσθαι τε ἔβησαν... ἃ δὲ Ἀρβόρυχοι οὐκ ἀκούσιοι ἐνεδέχοντο. Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἐνυγχάζον.

‡ Ibid. Καὶ στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων...οὐτε ἐς Ῥώμην ὅπως ἐπανάξουσιν ἔχοντες, οὐ μὴν οὐτε προχωρεῖν Ἀρειανοῖς οὐσι τοῖς πολεμίοις βουλόμενοι, σφᾶς...Ἀρβόρυχοις τε καὶ Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν. Thus the Franks confederate with themselves all the Catholics of Gaul against the Arians.

as the *Somme*. Some assert, that King Merovius, the father of Childeric, was sprung from his race.\*

It is probable that several of the leaders of the Franks, for instance, that Childeric, who is represented to us as the son of Merovius and father of Clovis, had borne Roman titles, like Mellobaud and Arbogast in the preceding century. In fact, we see Egidius, a Roman general, the partisan of the Emperor Majorian, an enemy of the Goths and of their creature the Arvernian Emperor Avitus, succeed Childeric, the chief of the Franks, upon his temporary expulsion by his own people. It was not, to be sure, in the capacity of hereditary and national chief† that Egidius succeeded Childeric, but as master of the imperial militia. Childeric, accused of having violated free virgins, retires among the Thuringians, whose queen he carries off. He returns among the Franks after the death of Egidius; and his son Clovis, who succeeds him, prevails, likewise, over the patrician Syagrius, the son of Egidius. Syagrius, vanquished at Soissons, takes refuge among the Goths, who give him up to Clovis A.D. 486. The latter is subsequently invested with the insignia of the consulate by Anastasius, Emperor of Constantinople.

(A.D. 496.)—Clovis, as yet, commanded only a small tribe of Franks of Tournay, when several Suevic bands, designated by the name of Allmen (all of them men, or altogether men), threatened to cross the Rhine. The Franks took up arms as usual, to prevent the passage of the new comers. In such cases, all the tribes were wont to unite under the bravest leader.‡ In this way Clovis had the

\* Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 9, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 166.

† Several English and German critics now think with the Abbé Dubois that there was nothing Germanic in the royalty of the Franks, but that it was a mere imitation of the imperial governors, *presides*, &c. See Palgrave on the Commonwealth of England, 1832, vol. i.—The Franks made ineffectual efforts in 406 to defend the frontiers against the great invasion of the barbarians, and they repeatedly obtained lands as Roman soldiers. Sismondi, i. 174.—Lastly, the Benedictines say in their preface (Scr., i. 53.): "There is nothing either in history or the laws of the Franks, from which we can infer that the inhabitants of Gaul were despoiled of a portion of their lands to form Salique lands for the Franks."

‡ The following passages, collected by M. Guizot, *Essais*, p. 108, show how independent they were of their kings: "If thou wilt not go into Burgundy with thy brothers," say the Franks to Theodoric, "we will leave thee there, and we will march with them." Greg. Tur., l. iii., c. 11. In another place the Franks demand to march against the Saxons, who ask for peace: "Do not persist in going to this war, in which you will be lost," says Clotaire I. to them; "if you will go I will not go with you." But, thereupon the warriors threw themselves upon him, tore his tent to pieces, dragged him out of it by force, loaded him with abuse, and determined to kill him if he refused to march with them. Seeing this, Clotaire went with them in spite of himself. *Ibid.*, l. iv., c. 14. The title of king was primitively of no weight among the barbarians. Ennodius, Bishop of Paris, says of the army of Theodoric the Great: "There were so many kings in this army, that their number was at least equal to that of the soldiers, whom

honour of the common victory. He embraced, upon this occasion, the worship of Roman Gaul. It was that of his wife Clotilde, the niece of the King of the Burgundians. He had vowed, he said, during the battle, to worship the god of Clotilde if he were victorious. Three thousand of his warriors followed his example.\* Great was the joy among the Gaulish clergy, who, thenceforth, set all their hopes of deliverance upon the Franks. St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, and a subject of the Arian Burgundians, did not hesitate to write to him in these words: "When thou fightest, it is we who conquer."† This expression received an eloquent commentary from St. Remi at the baptism of Clovis; "Bend thy neck, gentle Sicambrian; adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored."‡ Thus, the Church solemnly took possession of the barbarians.

(A. D. 500.)—This union of Clovis with the Gaulish clergy threatened to be fatal to the Burgundians. He had already endeavoured to take advantage of the war between their kings Godegisile and Gondebaud. The Arianism of the latter, and the death of the father of Clotilde, whom Gondebaud had killed, gave Clovis a pretext against them. No doubt he was called in by the bishops. Gondebaud humbled himself. He amused the bishops with a promise of becoming Catholic, and entrusted them with the education of his children.§ He granted the Romans a milder body of laws than any barbarian people had as yet granted the vanquished. Lastly, he submitted to pay a tribute to Clovis. Alaric the Second, King of the Visigoths, sharing the same fears, wished to gain over Clovis, and had an interview with him in an island of the Loire. The latter gave his visiter fair words, but immediately afterwards called his Franks together: "It displeases me," he said, "that these Arians possess the best part of Gaul. Let us go against them with the help of God, and drive them out. Let us subjugate their territory to our power; we shall do well, for it is very good."||—(A. D. 507.)

Far from encountering any obstacle, it seemed as though he were led by a mysterious hand. A doe showed him a ford in the Vienne;¶ a pillar of fire rose, to guide him by night, above the cathedral of Poitiers.\*\* He sent to St. Martin, of Tours, to consult the *sortes*,†† and they were favourable to him. For himself, he did not

it was possible to feed with the provisions extorted from the inhabitants of the district in which it was encamped."

\* Greg. Tur., lib. ii., c. 31. Sigebert and Chilperic did not marry Brunehaut and Galswinthe until they had made them abjure Arianism. Chlotsinde, daughter of Clotaire I., Ingundis, the wife of Ermengild, and Bertha, the wife of the King of Kent, converted their husbands.

† Cum pugnatis, vincimus. S. Aviti epist. in append. ad Greg. Tur.

‡ Mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti. Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 34.

§ Ib., c. 31.

|| *Gesta Regum Francorum*, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 555. Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angleterre*, i. 43.

¶ Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 37.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Ibid.

mistake the quarter from whence he derived this aid. He prohibited his followers from pillaging in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Near Tours he smote, with his sword, a soldier, who was carrying off hay from the territory of that city, consecrated by the tomb of St. Martin: "Where will be our hope of victory," he said, "if we offend St. Martin?"\* After his victory over Syagrius, a warrior refused the king a consecrated vessel which he asked for, as part of his own share of the booty, that he might deliver it to St. Remi, to whose church it belonged. Shortly afterwards, Clovis, reviewing his troops, snatched the soldier's halberd from him, and while the man was picking it up, he clove his head with his axe: "Remember the Soissons vase."† So zealous a defender of the property of the church was sure to find potent aid to victory at her hands. He vanquished Alaric at Vouglé, near Poitiers; advanced into Languedoc, and would have gone further, if Theodoric, the great King of the Ostrogoths of Italy, and father-in-law of Alaric the Second, had not protected Provence and Spain with an army, and saved what remained to the infant son of that prince, who was his own grandson by the mother's side.

The invasion of the Franks, so ardently desired by the leaders of the Gallo-Roman population, I mean by the bishops, could not but add, for the moment, to the disorganisation. We have very scanty historical data as to the immediate results of a revolution so varied and so complex. Nowhere have these results been more happily divined and analysed than in the *Cours* of M. Guizot, t. i., p. 297.

"The invasion, or, to speak more properly, the invasions, were events essentially partial, local, temporary. A band arrived, generally by no means numerous; the strongest, those that founded kingdoms, as, for instance, the band of Clovis, hardly exceeded 5000 or 6000 men. The whole nation of the Burgundians was not more than 60,000 men. It overran rapidly a narrow territory, ravaged a district, attacked a town, and sometimes retired, carrying off its booty, sometimes settled somewhere or other, taking care not to disperse too widely. We know with what ease and promptitude such events are accomplished and disappear. Houses are burned, lands laid waste, harvests carried away, men slain or led into captivity. When all this mischief has been done, the waves close again after a few days, the furrow disappears, individual sufferings are forgotten, and society returns, apparently, at least, to its old condition. Thus matters passed in Gaul in the fifth century.

"But we know, too, that human society, that form of society which is called a people, is not a mere juxta-position of isolated and transient existences. Were it nothing more, the invasions of the barbarians would not have produced the impression depicted in the documents of the epoch. For a long while the number of the places,

\* Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 37. "Et ubi erit spes victoriæ, si beatus Martinus offenditur?"

† Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 28.

and of the men who suffered from these invasions, was much below the number of those that escaped them: but the social life of each man is not concentrated in the material space that constitutes its stage, nor in the passing moment; it ramifies through all the relations he has contracted upon the different points of the territory; and not only through those he has contracted, but also through those which he may contract or even merely conceive. It embraces, not only the present, but the future. A man lives upon the thousand points where he does not dwell, in the thousand moments, which, as yet, are not; and if this development of his life be cut off from him, if he be forced to shut himself up within the narrow limits of his material and actual existence, to isolate himself in space and time, then is social life mutilated, it exists no longer.

"This was the effect of the invasions, of those apparitions of barbarian bands, brief, it is true, and limited, but ceaselessly recurring, everywhere possible, always imminent. They destroyed, in the first place, all regular, habitual, practicable correspondence between the various parts of a territory. Secondly, they destroyed all security, all prospect for the future; they snapped the bonds which unite together the inhabitants of one country, the moments of one same life; they isolated men, and for each man they isolated each several day. The aspect of the country might remain the same in many places, and for many years; but social organisation was attacked, the members no longer belonged one to the other, the muscles no longer played, the blood no longer circulated freely or certainly in the veins, and the malady broke out sometimes at one point, sometimes at another. A town was pillaged, a road rendered impassable, a bridge broken down; this or that communication ceased, the cultivation became impossible in such and such a district; in a word, the organic harmony, the general activity of the social body, were every day molested and impaired, every day dissolution and paralysis made some new progress.

"All those bonds by which Rome had succeeded after so many efforts in uniting together the various parts of the world; that great system of administration, taxation, recruiting, public works and roads, could no longer be upheld. There remained of it only what could subsist singly and locally, that is to say, the fragments of the municipal system. The inhabitants shut themselves up in the towns; there they continued to govern themselves nearly as they had done of old, with the same rights, and by means of the same institutions. A thousand circumstances combine to prove this concentration of society in the cities; here is one of those proofs which was little remarked under the Roman administration. It is the governors of provinces, the consulars, the correctors, the presidents, who occupy the scene, and who recur incessantly in the laws and in history. In the sixth century their names became much more rare; we still see, indeed, dukes and counts to whom is confided the government of provinces. The barbarian kings strive to make themselves the heirs of

the Roman administration, to retain the same functionaries in their employment, and to make their power flow through the same channels; but they succeed very incompletely and with great disorder in this attempt. Their dukes are rather military chiefs than administrators; the governors of the provinces, evidently, no longer possess the same importance, nor play the same part. It is the governors of towns that fill the page of history. Most of those counts of Chilperic, of Gontran, of Theodebert, whose exactions are narrated by Gregory of Tours, are counts of towns established within the circle of their walls by the side of their bishop. It would be an exaggeration to say that the institution of the province has disappeared, but it is disorganised, without consistence and almost without reality. The town, the primitive element of the Roman world, was almost the sole survivor of its ruin."

(A.D. 507—11.)—A new organisation, in fact, was about gradually to unfold itself, one in which the town should no longer be the sole element, but in which the rural district, reckoned for nothing in ancient times, was in its turn to take its place. It needed centuries to establish this new order of things; nevertheless, as early as in the age of Clovis two things were accomplished which remotely prepared the way for this consummation.

On the one hand the unity of the barbarian army was secured. Clovis put to death all the petty kings of the Franks by a series of perfidies.\* The Church, full of the idea of unity, applauded their

---

\* "He sent word secretly to the son of the King of Cologne, Sigebert the Lame, 'Thy father is growing old, and limps with his bad foot: should he die, I would give thee his kingdom with my friendship.' Chlodoric sent assassins against his father, and had him put to death, hoping to obtain his kingdom, and Clovis sent him a message to this effect, 'I thank thee for thy good will, and I pray thee to show thy treasures to my envoys, after which thou shalt possess them all.' Chlodoric said to them, 'It was in this coffer that my father hoarded his gold pieces.' They said to him, 'Thrust thy hand to the bottom to find the whole.' Chlodoric having done so, and having stooped down as low as he could, one of the envoys raised his axe and cleft his skull. Clovis, having learned the death of Sigebert and his son, entered the town, convoked the people and said, 'I know neither act nor part in these things, for I cannot shed the blood of my kindred; it is forbidden. But since all this has happened I will give you a piece of advice; see if it may please you. Come to me and put yourselves under my protection.' The people applauded with a great din of voices and bucklers, raised him on the *pavois*, and took him for their king.—He then marched against Chararic, made him and his son prisoners, and caused them both to be tortured. As Chararic was weeping his son said to him, 'It is from a green bough that this foliage has been cut off, it will sprout out again very soon.' Would to God that he who has done all this might perish as soon.' This speech came to the ears of Clovis, and he had both their heads cut off. Upon their death he acquired their kingdom, their treasures, and their people.—Ragnacaire was then king in Cambrai. Clovis having caused breastlets and baldrics to be made of false gold, for they were only gilt copper, gave them to the *leudes* of Ragnacaire to excite them against him. Ragnacaire was beaten and taken prisoner with his son Richaire. Clovis said to him, 'Why hast thou disgraced our family by letting thyself be put in chains? It were better to have died,' and raising his axe he buried it in his head. Then, turning to Richaire, he said to

death; "Every thing succeeded with him," says Gregory of Tours, "because he walked with an upright heart before God.\* In like manner St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, congratulated Gondebaud upon the death of his brother, which put an end to the civil war in Bourgogne. That of the Frank, Visigoth, and Roman chiefs, united in the grasp of one hand all Western Gaul, from Batavia to the Narbonese.

On the other hand, Clovis recognised in the Church the most unbounded right of asylum and protection. At a period when law no longer afforded any protection, it was much to recognise the power of an order which took upon it the patronage and the safeguard of the vanquished. Even slaves could not be taken away from the churches where they sought refuge. The houses of the priests, like the temples, were held to shield and protect *those who appeared to live with them*.† A bishop had but to claim a captive, and the man was immediately delivered up.

Doubtless, it was easier for the chief of the barbarians to grant these privileges to the Church, than to enforce respect for them. The adventures of Attalus, carried away as a slave so far from his country, and afterwards delivered as if by a miracle,‡ shows us how insufficient was the ecclesiastical protection. It was something, at any rate, that it was recognised in principle. The immense estates which Clovis secured to the churches, particularly to that of Reims, whose bishop, it is said, was his principal adviser, must have infinitely extended this salutary influence of the Church. Whatever property was placed in ecclesiastical hands, was always so much subtracted from violence, brutality, and barbarism.

On the death of Clovis (A.D. 511), his four sons found themselves

---

him, 'Hadst thou aided thy father, he would not have been put in chains,' and he killed him, too, with a stroke of his axe. Rignomer was slain by his orders in the town of Mans. Having killed in like manner other kings, and his nearest relations, he extended his kingdom all over Gaul. Finally, having one day assembled his retainers he spoke thus of his relations whom he himself had caused to be put to death: 'Wretched man that I am, left like a traveller among strangers, with no relations remaining to aid me if adversity befall me!' But it was not that he lamented their death; he spoke thus only from craft, and in order to discover if he had yet any kinsman left, so that he might kill him."—Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 42.

\* Greg. Tur., lib. ii., c. 40. *Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, ed quod ambularet recto corde coram eo, et faceret quæ placita erant in oculis ejus.*—These sanguinary words amaze us in the mouth of a historian who, on all other occasions, displays much gentleness and humanity.

† *Qui cum illis in domo ipsorum consistere videbantur.....De ceteris quidem captivis laicis.....*Epist. Clodovæi ad Episc. Gall. ap. Scr. Fr., iv. 54. This letter was written by Clovis on the occasion of his war against the Goths.

‡ See Gregory of Tours, l. iii., c. 15. This story has been translated by Ang. Thierry in his *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*. On the personal condition of the inhabitants of Gaul under the kings of the first race, see the learned treatise of M. Naudet.



all kings, according to the usage of the barbarians. Each of them remained at the head of one of the military lines which the encampment of the Franks had formed over Gaul. Theuderic resided in Metz; his warriors were settled in eastern France, or Ostrasia, and in Auvergne. Clotaire resided at Soissons; Childebert at Paris; Clodomir at Orleans. These last three brothers furthermore divided between them the cities of Aquitaine.

In reality, it was not the soil which the brothers divided between them, but the army. This kind of partition could not be but very unequal. The barbarian warriors must frequently have passed from one leader to another, and must have followed in great numbers him whose courage and ability promised them the more booty. Thus, when Theudebert, the grandson of Clovis, invaded Italy at the head of 100,000 men, it is probable that almost all the Franks followed him, and that many other barbarians were mingled among them.

(A. D. 524—6.)—The rapid conquest achieved by Clovis, the causes of which were ill known, shed such a lustre on the Franks, that most of the barbarian tribes had been disposed to attach themselves to them, as, formerly, those that followed Attila. The most hostile races of Almayne, the Germans of the south, and those of the north, the Sueves and the Saxons, entered into federation with the Franks. The Bavarians did the same. The Thuringians, in the midst of those nations, resisted and were overwhelmed.\* The Burgundians of Gaul seemed at that time in a better condition to resist, than in the days of Clovis. Their new king, St. Sigismund, a pupil of St. Avitus, was orthodox, and beloved by his clergy. The pretext of Arianism no longer existed; so the sons of Clovis bethought them, that forty years before, the father of Sigismund had put to death the father of Clotilde their mother. Clodomir and Clotaire defeated him, and threw him into a well, which was filled up with stones. But Clodomir's victory was the cause of ruin to his family; being himself slain in the battle, he left his children without defence.

“Whilst Queen Clotilde was residing in Paris, Childebert, seeing that his mother had concentrated all her affection upon the sons of Clodomir, grew jealous, and fearing that through the queen's favour they would obtain a part in the kingdom, he sent secretly to his brother King Clotaire to say, ‘Our mother keeps with her the sons of our brother, and wishes to give them the kingdom. Thou must come promptly to Paris, so that we may take counsel together and determine what we must do with them, viz.: whether we shall cut off their hair in the manner of the rest of the people, or whether we shall kill them and divide equally between us the kingdom of

---

\* Greg. Tur., l. iii., c. 7. In Hesse and Franconia they had quartered or crushed under their chariot wheels more than two hundred young girls, and had then cast their limbs to their dogs and their falcons. See the speech of Theuderic to his men.—Ibid.

our brother.' Clotaire, much delighted at these words, repaired to Paris. Chilbert had already spread a report among the people, that the two kings were agreed to raise the children to the throne. They sent, therefore, in the name of both, to the queen, who was residing in the same city, and said to her, 'Send us the children, that we may raise them to the throne.' She, filled with joy, and not knowing their artifice, after making the children eat and drink, sent them saying, 'I shall think that I have not lost my son, if I see you succeed to his kingdom.' The children went, but they were immediately seized, and separated from their servants and their nurses; both were shut up apart, the servants in one place and the children in another. Thereupon, Chilbert and Clotaire sent Arcadius, of whom we have already spoken, to the queen. He carried scissors with him, and a naked sword. When he came into the queen's presence he showed them to her and said, 'Thy sons, our lords, oh! most glorious queen, wait to know thy will as to the manner in which these children must be treated. Give orders that they live, with their hair cropped; or, that their throats be cut.' Struck with consternation at this message, and at the same time excessively incensed at seeing the naked sword and the scissors, she suffered herself to be carried away by her indignation, and not knowing what she said in her grief, she replied imprudently, 'If they are not raised to the throne, I would rather see them dead than tortured.' But Arcadius, caring little for her grief, and not troubling himself to consider what she would afterwards think more really, returned with speed to those who had sent him, and said to them, 'You may continue what you have done with the approbation of the queen, for she wishes you to accomplish your project.' Immediately Clotaire, taking the eldest child by the arm, threw him upon the ground, and plunging his knife in the child's armpit, slew him cruelly. Terrified by his cries, his brother threw himself at the feet of Chilbert, and, grasping his knees, said to him with tears, 'Help me, my dearest father, that I may not die like my brother.' Thereupon Chilbert, with his face bathed in tears, said to Clotaire, 'I beseech thee, my very dear brother, have the generosity to grant me his life, and if thou wilt not kill him, I will give thee whatever thou wilt to ransom him.' But Clotaire, after loading him with abuse, said to him, 'Push him away from thee, or thou shalt certainly die in his place. It was thou that didst set me on to this thing, and dost thou now so soon break faith with me?' At these words Chilbert pushed away the child and threw him to Clotaire, who, catching him, plunged his knife in his side, and killed him as he had done his brother. They then slew the servants and the nurses, and, after they were dead, Clotaire mounting his horse, went away without feeling in any ways distressed at the murder of his nephews, and repaired with Chilbert to the suburbs. The queen having caused the little bodies to be laid on a bier, conducted them, with many pious songs and boundless mourning, to the church of St.

Peter, where they were both buried in the same manner. One of them was ten years old, the other seven."\*

Theuderic, who had not taken part in the Bourgogne expedition, led his men into Auvergne. "I will lead you," he said to his soldiers, "where you will find money as much as you can desire, and where you will capture in abundance cattle, slaves, and garments."† That province, in fact, had till then, alone escaped the ravages that had generally befallen the West.

Tributary to the Goths, and then to the Franks, it was self-governed. The ancient chiefs of the Arvernian tribes, the Appollinaires, who had valiantly defended that country against the Goths, felt at the approach of the Franks, that they would lose by the exchange, and they fought for the Goths at Vouglé.‡ But there, as elsewhere, the clergy was generally on the side of the Franks. St. Quintian, Bishop of Clermont, and the personal enemy of the Appollinaires, seems to have given up the citadel. The Franks slew, at the very foot of the altar, a priest who was obnoxious to the bishop.

(A. D. 539—567.)—The bravest of these Frank kings was Theudebert, the son of Theuderic, chief of the Franks of the East, of those who were incessantly recruited from among all the *wargi* of the Germanic tribes. It was the period when the Greeks and the Goths were disputing the possession of Italy. The whole policy of the Byzantines consisted in setting against the Goths or Romanised barbarians, others that had remained wholly barbarous. It was with Moors, Slaves, and Huns, that Belisarius and Narses won their victories. The Greeks and the Goths alike hoped to be able to use the Franks as auxiliaries; they knew not the men whose aid they invoked. When Theudebert entered Italy, the Goths went to meet him as friends and allies; he fell upon them and massacred them. The Greeks then supposed that he was for them, and they were in like manner butchered.§ The barbarians changed the finest towns of Lombardy into heaps of ashes, destroyed every kind of provision, and found themselves famished in the desert they had made, and sinking under the heat of the southern sun in the inundated plains of the Po. A great number of them perished; those who returned, brought back so much booty, that a new expedition set out soon after under the conduct of a Frank and a Sueve. They overran Italy as far as Sicily, and spoiled more than they won; but the climate did justice upon these barbarians.|| Theu-

\* Greg. Tur., lib. iii. The third son of Clodomir escaped, and took refuge in a convent. This was St. Clodoald, or St. Cloud.

† Ubi aurum et argentum accipiatis, quantum vestra potest desiderare cupiditas, de qua pecora, etc. Greg. Tur., l. iii., c. 11.

‡ Greg. Tur., l. iii. Gesta Reg. Franc., c. 17.

§ Procop. de Bell. Goth., l. ii., c. 25.

|| Theudebert's expedition was not the last made by the Franks into Italy. In 584, "King Chilbert went into Italy, which the Lombards learning, and fearing to be defeated by his army, they submitted to his sway, made him many presents, and promised to remain faithful and submissive to him. The king

debert had also died\* in Gaul, just as he was meditating a descent upon the valley of the Danube, and an invasion of the empire of the East. Yet, Justinian was his ally, and had yielded to him all the rights of the Empire over southern Gaul.†

(A. D. 555.)—The death of Theudebert, and the disastrous Italian expedition, which followed soon after, put an end to the progress of the Franks. Italy, being soon taken possession of by the Lombards, was thenceforth closed against their invasions. As to Spain, they were always unsuccessful there.‡ The Saxons did not long delay to break off an alliance that brought them no advantage, and they refused the tribute of 500 kine they had consented to pay.§ Clotaire, endeavouring to exact it, was beaten by them.

Thus the most potent Germanic tribes fell off from the alliance of the Franks. Here begins that opposition between the Franks and the Saxons, which was continually to increase, and to constitute, for so many ages, the great struggle between the barbarians. The Saxons, against whom the Franks thenceforth closed the land towards the west, whilst on the east they were pressed on by the Slaves, were about to turn towards the Ocean, towards the North. More and more intimately associated with the men of the North, we shall find them sweeping the coasts of France|| and fortifying their English colonies.

It was natural that the true Germans should become hostile to a people given up to the Roman and ecclesiastical influence. It was to the Church that Clovis had in a great measure owed his rapid conquests. His successors soon gave themselves up to the counsels of the Romans, of the vanquished:¶ and this was natural; for not to

having obtained from them what he desired, returned into Gaul, and ordered an army to march to Spain; meanwhile, he halted. The Emperor Maurice had given him, the preceding year, 50,000 gold sols to drive the Lombards out of Italy. Having learned that Childebert had made peace with them, the emperor demanded his money back again; but the king, confident in his strength, would not even reply to him on the subject. *Greg. Tur., l. vi., c. 42.*

\* From a wound inflicted by a wild bull, according to Agathias, *ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., i. 50.*

† *Procop. de Bell. Goth., l. iii., c. 33.*

‡ The first time they invaded it, Childebert and Clotaire made a pretext of avenging their sister, who had been maltreated by Amalaric, King of the Visigoths, who wanted to convert her to Arianism. She had sent her brothers a handkerchief stained with her blood.

§ *Quingentas vaccas inferendales annis singulis a Chlotario seniore censiti reddebant. Gesta Dagoberti, c. 39.*

|| *Sidon. Apollin. l. viii., epist. 9.* Istic (at Bordeaux) Saxona cœrulum videmus assuetum ante salo, solum timere. *Carmen viii.:*

Quin et Aremericus piratam Saxona tractus

Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum

Ludus, et assueto glaucum mare findere lembo.

¶ Clovis himself selected Romans to fulfil his embassies, Aurelianus in 481, and Paternus in 507. (*Greg. Tur. epist., c. 18, 25.*) We meet with a multitude of Roman names about all the German kings. One Aridius is the constant adviser of Gondebaud. (*Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 32.*) Arcadius, an Arvernian senator, invites Childebert I. into Auvergne, and makes himself agent for the murder of the children of Clodomir. (*Ib., iii., c. 9, 18.*) Asteriolus and Secun-

mention that the latter were much more supple, much more ingenious flatterers, they alone were capable of inspiring their masters with some ideas of order and administration, of gradually substituting a regular government for the caprices of force, and of raising up the barbarian monarchy after the model of the imperial. Already under Theudebert, the grandson of Clovis, we see the Roman minister, Parthenius, attempting to impose tributes upon the Franks, and massacred by them upon the death of that king.\*

Another grandson of Clovis, Chramne, the son of Clotaire, had for confidant Leof of Poictou; for enemy, the Bishop of Clermont, Cautin, the creature of the Franks; and, for friends, the Bretons, among whom he retired, when, having failed in an attempt at revolt, he was pursued by his father. The unfortunate wretch took refuge with his whole family in a cabin, where his father had him burnt.

(A. D. 558—561.)—Clotaire, become sole King of Gaul by the death of his three brothers, left four sons at his death. Sigebert had the encampments of the east, or, as the chronicles say, the kingdom of Ostrasia. He resided at Metz. Being thus in the vicinity of the Germanic tribes, many of which remained allied to the Franks, he seemed likely, sooner or later, to prevail over his brothers. Chilperic had Neustria, and was called King of Soissons. Gontran had Burgundy; his capital was Châlons-sur-Saône. As for the strange kingdom of Charibert, which combined Paris and Aquitaine, the death of that king divided his dominions between his brothers. The Roman influence was still stronger under these princes. We find them, generally, in the hands of Gaulish, Goth, or Roman ministers. These three words are, for this period, nearly synonymous. The vanquished had, in their intercourse with the barbarians, assumed

---

dinus, "both wise men, and skilled in letters and rhetoric," had much credit (in 547) with Theudebert. (Ib., c. 33.) One of Gontran's ambassadors was named Felix. (Ib., viii., c. 13); and his *referendary* was Flavius. (Ib., v., c. 46.) He sends one Claudius to kill Eberulf, in St. Martin de Tours. (Ib., vii., c. 29.) Another Claudius was *chancellor* to Childebert II. (Greg. de Mirac. S. Martini, l. iv.) Flavius was the name of one of Brunehaut's *domestics*. (Greg. Tur., l. ix. c. 19.) Her favourite Protadius (see p. 145, note 3) was succeeded by "the Roman Claudius, a very lettered man, and an agreeable narrator." (Fredegar., c. 28.) Dagobert had for ambassadors Servatus and Paternus; for generals, Abundantius and Venerandus, &c. (Gesta Dagoberti, passim) etc. etc. Doubtless, many a Merovingian king had his barbarian rudeness rubbed off by this contact with the vanquished, and wished to learn Latin elegance with his favourites. Fortunatus writes thus to Charibert:

Floret in eloquio lingua Latina tuo.

Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela,

Qui nos Romano vincis in eloquio!

—Sigebertus erat elegans et versutus.—Regarding Chilperic see further on.—The Franks seem to have been early tainted with Byzantine perfidy: Franci mendaces, sed hospitabiles (sociable?) Salvian., l. vii., p. 169. Si pejeret Francus, quid novi faceret; qui perjurium ipsum sermonis genus esse putat, non criminis. Salvianus, l. iv., c. 14. Franci, quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere. Flav. Vopiscus, in Proculo.

\* Greg. Tur., l. c. iii., 36.

† Ib., l. iv., c. 41.

something of the energy of the latter. "King Gontran," says Gregory of Tours, "honoured with the patriciate Celsus, a man of tall stature, broad shoulders, brawny arms; a man of inflated language, happy in repartee, practised in reading of the law. He became so avaricious, that he frequently despoiled the churches, &c."\* Sigebert chose an Arvernian for his envoy to Constantinople. We find among his servants one Andarchius, "perfectly instructed in the works of Virgil, in the Theodosian code, and the art of calculation."†

To these Romans must henceforth be attributed, in great measure, whatever is done for good or bad under the kings of the Franks. It is to them we must attribute the reviving fiscality.‡ We see them figure, even in war, and often with credit. Thus, whilst the King of Ostrasia is beaten by the Avari, and suffers himself to be captured by them, the Roman Mummolus, a general of the King of Burgundy, beats the Saxons and the Lombards, and forces them to purchase permission to return from Italy into Germany, and to pay for every thing they take upon the march.§

These Gaulish ministers of the Frank kings were often of very low origin. Nothing more clearly displays this than the history of the serf Leudaste, who became Count of Tours. "Leudaste was born in the island of Rhé, in Poitou, and was the son of one Léocade, a

\* Greg. Tur., l. iv., c. 24. Rex Guntchramnus Celsum patriciatu honore donavit, virum procerum statum, in scapulis validum, lacerto robustum, in verbis tumidum, in responsis opportunum, juris lectione peritum; cui tanta deinceps habendi cupiditas extitit, ut sæpius ecclesiarum res auferens.....

† Greg. Tur., l. iv., c. 39, 47.

‡ Fredégarius speaks of the fiscal tyranny of one Protadius, mayor of the palace in 605, under Theuderic, and the favourite of Brunehaut: "Fisco minium tribuens, de rebus personarum ingeniose fiscum vellens implere." C. 27.

§ When the Saxons returned into their country they found the place occupied: "At the time of the entrance of Alboin into Italy, Clotaire and Sigebert had placed Sueves and other nations in the place he quitted. Those who had accompanied Alboin having returned in the time of Sigebert, fell upon the new comers, and wished to drive them out of the country, but the latter offered them the third part of the land, saying, We can live together without fighting. The others, incensed because they had before possessed the country, would hear of peace upon no terms. The Sueves then offered the half of the lands, then two-thirds, retaining to themselves only one-third. The others still refusing, the Sueves offered them all the lands and all the cattle, provided only they would forbear to fight, but they would not consent to this, and they insisted upon fighting. Before engaging in battle they debated among themselves as to the division of the women of the Sueves, and as to the one which each of them should have after the defeat of their enemies, whom they looked upon as already dead. But the mercy of God, which acts in accordance with his justice, obliged them to turn their thoughts in another direction. The battle having taken place, of 26,000 Saxons 20,000 were slain; and of the Sueves, who were 6400, eighty only fell, and the rest obtained the victory. Those of the Saxons who survived the defeat swore with imprecations never to cut their beards or the hair of their heads till they had taken vengeance upon their enemies; but, having recommenced the fight, they suffered once more a still greater defeat, and thus it was that the war ended." Greg. Tur., l. v., c. 15. See also Paul Diacre, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, ap. Muratori, i.

servant who had charge of the vineyards belonging to the fisc. He was sent for to enter the royal service, and was placed in the queen's kitchens; but as his eyes were tender in his youth, and the smoke of the kitchen was injurious to them, he was transferred to the kneading trough. Though he seemed to like working in the dough, he ran away and quitted the service. He was brought back two or three times, but as he could not be cured of his disposition to run away, he was condemned to have one ear cut off. Thereupon, as there was no credit capable of concealing the mark of infamy put upon his body, he fled to Queen Marcovese, whom King Charibert, having conceived a violent passion for, had called to his bed in place of her sister. She received him willingly, and raised him to the office of keeper of her best horses. Tormented with vanity, and devaloured with pride, he coveted the place of count of the stables, and having obtained it, he despised and disdained all the world, was puffed up with vanity, gave himself up to debauchery and cupidity, and, being favoured by his mistress, he meddled right and left in other people's affairs. After his mistress's death, being gorged with booty, he obtained permission of King Charibert, through his relations, to fill the same functions in his service. After this, in chastisement of the manifold sins of the people, he was named Count of Tours. In that capacity he gloated over his dignity with still more insolent haughtiness, showed himself greedy and unsparing in pillage, overbearing in disputes, and polluted with adultery; and by his activity in sowing the seeds of discord, and putting forth calumnious accusations, he amassed considerable treasures." This intriguer, whom, it is true, we know only by the report of Gregory of Tours, his personal enemy, endeavoured, he says, to ruin him, by accusing him of having spoken ill of Queen Fredegonde; but the people assembled in great numbers, and the king was satisfied with the oath of the bishop, who said mass on three altars. The assembled bishops even threatened the king that they would deprive him of communion.\* Leudaste was killed sometime afterwards by Fredegonde's people.

The great and popular names of this period, those that have remained in the memory of men, are the names of the queens, and not of the kings, those of Fredegonde and Brunehaut. The latter of these, the daughter of the King of the Goths of Spain, a woman full of grace and insinuating charms, whose mind was imbued with Roman cultivation, was called by her marriage with Sigebert into the savage Ostrasia, into that Gaulish Germany, the theatre of an endless invasion. Fredegonde, on the other hand, a true daughter of the barbarians, completely mastered the mind of the poor King of Neustria, a grammarian and theologian, who owed to his wife's crimes† the name of the Nero of France. First of all she made him

\* *O rex, quid nunc ad te, nisi ut . . . communione priveris?*—At ille: *Non, inquit, ego nisi audita narravi.* Greg. Tur., l. v., c. 50.

† This is the opinion of Valois, and of D. Ruinart, the editor of Gregory of Tours. "*Uxorius magis quam crudelis.*" Scrip. Fr., ii., prefatio, p. 115.

strangle his legitimate wife Galswinthe, the sister of Brumhant; then his stepsons suffered the same fate, and, afterwards, his brother-in-law Sigebert. This terrible woman, surrounded by men devoted to her, whom she fascinated by her murderous genius, whose reason she bewildered with intoxicating beverages,\* employed their hands to smite her enemies. The ancient *devoted ones* of Aquitaine and of Germany, the members of the assassin sect, who at their chief's beck went forth like blind men to slay and to die, have their anti-types in the followers of Fredegonde. She herself, beautiful and murderous, encompassed all around with heathen superstitions,† appears to us like a Scandinavian Valkyrie. She made up by audacity and crime for the weakness of Neustria, waged a war of craft and assassination against its potent rivals, and, perhaps, saved the west of Gaul from a new invasion of the barbarians.‡

(A. D. 575.)—Sigebert, King of Ostrasia, the husband of Bru-

\* Greg. Tur., l. viii., c. 29. Fredegonde administered a beverage to two clerks, to make them go and assassinate Childebert. *Medicatos potione direxit.*

† A freed woman, possessed by the spirit of Pytho, rich, and clad in magnificent garments, takes refuge with Fredegonde. *Ib.*, vii., c. 44. Claudius promises Fredegonde and Gontran to kill Eberulf, the murderer of Chilperic, in the basilica of Tours: "*Et cum iter ageret, ut consuetudo est barbarorum, auspicia intendere cepit. Simulque interrogare multos si virtus beati Martini de presenti manifestaretur in perfidis.*" c. 29. "Paganism was still very strong at this period. In a council at which were present Sonnatius, Bishop of Rheims, and forty bishops, it was decided, 'That those who follow auguries and other heathen ceremonies, or who make superstitious repasts with pagans, be at first mildly admonished and warned to quit their old errors; but that if they neglect to do so, and consort with idolators and with all those who sacrifice to idols, they shall be subjected to a punishment proportioned to their fault.'" Frodoard., l. ii., c. 5. In Gregory of Tours (l. viii., c. 15), Saint Wulfilaic, hermit of Trèves, relates how he overthrew, in 585, the Diana of the place, and the other idols. The councils of Latran in 402, and of Arles in 452, forbid the worship of stones, trees, and fountains. In the canons of the council of Nantes, in 658, we read as follows: *Summo decertare debent studio episcopi et eorum ministri, ut arbores demonibus consecratæ quas vulgus colit et in tanta veneratione habet ut nec ramum nec surculum inde audeat amputare, radicitus excindantur atque comburantur. Lapidés quoque quos in ruinosis locis et silvestribus, dæmonum ludificationibus decepti, venerantur, ubi et vota vovent et deferunt, funditus effodiantur, atque in tali loco projiciantur, ubi nunquam a cultoribus suis inveniri possint. Omnibusque interdicitur ut nullus candelam vel aliquod munus alibi deferat nisi ad ecclesiam Domino Deo suo.* Sirmund., iii. Conc. Gallie. See also the twenty-second canon of the Council of Tours, in 567, and Charlemagne's Capitularies, ann. 769.

‡ "Bethink thee of Fredegonde," said St. Ouen to his friend Ebroin, the defender of Neustria against Ostrasia. Neustria at first had the predominance. From the time of Clovis, and before the complete annihilation of the royal authority under the mayors of the palace, four kings held in their hands the whole united Frank monarchy: these were kings of Neustria—Clotaire I., 558-561.—Clotaire II., 613-628.—Dagobert I., 628-638.—Clovis II., 655-656. Indeed it was in Neustria that Clovis established himself with the then predominant tribe. Neustria was more central, more Roman, more ecclesiastical. Ostrasia was subject to the continual fluctuations of German emigration. Guizot, *Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 73.



nehaut, had, in fact, called in the Germans.\* Chilperic could not stand against their bands, which overran the country as far as Paris, burning every village, and carrying away every man into captivity. Sigebert himself knew not how to restrain his terrible auxiliaries, who would have left him nothing over which to reign.† He had, however, succeeded in hemming in Chilperic in Tournay. He believed himself King of Neustria, and was in the act of having himself raised upon the buckler, when two of Fredegonde's men, armed with poisoned knives, stepped out of the crowd and stabbed him.‡ (A. D. 575.) His Goth ministers§ were instantly massacred by the people. Brunehaut, but late victorious and all-powerful, became the captive of Chilperic and Fredegonde, who, however, spared her life.|| She afterwards found means to escape, thanks to the passion with which she had inspired Mérovée, the son of Chilperic. The unfortunate young man was so blinded by his love, that he married Brunehaut; it was wedding death; his father had him killed. Pretextatus, a Bishop of Rouen, a thoughtless man, who had the audacity to marry them, was at first protected by Chilperic's scruples, but Fredegonde afterwards relieved him of these.

(A. D. 577.)—Brunehaut returned to Ostrasia, where her infant son, Chilperic the Second, was nominally reigning; but the grandees would no longer obey the Gothic and Roman influence. They were even on the point of killing Lupus, the Roman Duke of Champagne, the only one among them who was devoted to Brunehaut. She threw herself into the midst of the armed battalions, and thus gave him time to escape.¶ The grandees of Ostrasia, feeling their superiority over the Roman Gaul of Burgundy, where Gontran reigned, wished to make a descent upon the South with their barbarian troops, and they promised a part in the enterprise to Chilperic. Many of the grandees of Burgundy encouraged them. Chilperic lent them a hand; but his troops were beaten by the valiant patrician, Mumolus, whose successes over the Saxons and the Lombards had already

\* Greg. Tur., iv. 90. Sigebertus rex gentes illas quæ ultra Rhenum habentur, commovet.....et contra fratrem suum Chilpericum ire destinat.

† "The towns situated in the environs of Paris were entirely consumed by fire," says Gregory of Tours. "The enemy destroyed the houses and every thing else, and even carried away the inhabitants into captivity. Sigebert implored them not to do so, but he could not restrain the fury of the people who had come from the other bank of the Rhine. He bore every thing, therefore, with patience until he could return to his own country. Some of these pagans quarrelled with him and reproached him with having shunned the fight, but he, full of intrepidity, mounted his horse, presented himself before them, appeased them with soft words, and then caused a great number of them to be stoned." L. iv., c. 50.

‡ Ib., iv. 52. Duo pueri cum cultris validis, quos vulgo scramasaxos vocant, infectis veneno, maleficati a Fredegunde regina, utraque ei latera feriunt.

§ Ib. Ibi et Sigila, qui quondam ex Gotthia venerat, multum laceratus est.

|| Ibid., l. v., c. 1. Chilperic went to Paris to seize Brunehaut's treasures, and sent herself to Rouen, and her daughters to Meaux.

¶ Greg. Tur., l. iv., c. 1.

protected the kingdom of Gontran. On the other hand, the free men of Ostrasia, aroused against the *grandees*, perhaps at the instigation of Brunehaut, accused them of betraying the young king. It seems, in fact, that at this period the *grandees* of Ostrasia and of Burgundy had secretly concerted together to free themselves of the Merovingian kings.

In Neustria, on the contrary, the royal power appeared to be gathering strength. Less warlike than the kingdom of Ostrasia, less rich than that of Burgundy, Neustria could only subsist on condition that the vanquished should resume their places there by the side of the victors. Thus we see Chilperic employing Gaulish soldiery against the Bretons.\* This was the first occasion since the fall of the Empire, in which arms were intrusted to the vanquished. It would even seem that, in spite of his natural ferocity, Chilperic endeavoured to conciliate them in a still more direct manner. In a war against Gontran, he killed one of his own men for not stopping the pillage;† at the same time he built amphitheatres at Soissons and at Paris,‡ in which he gave public spectacles, after the manner of those of the Romans. He himself made verses in the Latin language,§ particularly hymns and prayers. He endeavoured, like the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, to impose a creed of his own making upon the bishops, wherein God should be named without mentioning any distinction of the three persons. The first bishop to whom he showed this creed was horrified, and would have torn it in pieces had he been nearer the monarch.|| The patience displayed by the latter shows, clearly enough, how warily he dealt with the church.¶

\* Greg. Tur., l. v., c. 27.

† Ib., vi. 31.

‡ Ib., v. 18. Apud Suessionas atque Parisios circos ædificare præcepit, in eis populo spectaculum præbiturus.

§ "Sed versiculi illi," says Gregory of Tours, "nulli penitus metricæ conveniunt rationi," l. v., c. 45. Tradition, however, attributes to him the following epitaph on St. Germain des Prés :

Ecclesiæ speculum, patriæ vigor, ara reorum,  
Et pater, et medicus, pastor amorque gregis,  
Germanus virtute, fide, corde, ore beatus,  
Carne tenet tumulum, mentis honore polum.  
Vir cui dura nihil nocuerunt fata sepulchri :  
Vivit enim, nam mors quem tulit ipsa timet,  
Crevit adhuc potius justus post funera ; nam qui  
Fictile vas fuerat, gemma superna micat.  
Hujus opem et meritum multis data verba loquuntur,  
Redditus et cæcis prædicat ore dies.  
Nunc vir apostolicus, rapiens de carne trophæum,  
Jure triumphali considet arce throni.

Apud Aimoin., l. iii., c. 10.

He added some letters to the alphabet ; et misit epistolas in universas civitates regni sui, ut sic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus scripti, planati pumice rescriberentur.—Greg. Tur., v. 45.

¶ Ut si chartam potuisset adtingere, in frustra discerperet. Et sic rex ab hac intentione quievit.—Ib.

¶ See in Greg. of Tours (vi. 22) his clemency to a bishop, who, among other

(A. D. 580.)—These rude attempts at the revival of the imperial government, brought about the restoration of that fiscality which had ruined the Empire. Chilperic ordered a sort of *cadastre*\* to be made, "exacting," says Gregory of Tours, "an amphora of wine for every half acre." These exactions, inevitable, perhaps in the fearful struggle which Neustria was maintaining against Ostrasia and its barbarian allies, nevertheless, appeared intolerable after so long an interruption. It was, doubtless, for this reason quite as much as for the murders, of which Gregory of Tours has transmitted to us the horrible details, that the names of Chilperic and Fredegonde have remained execrable in the memory of the people. They themselves believed, when an epidemic carried off their children, that the maledictions of the poor had brought down upon them the wrath of heaven.

"In those days King Chilperic fell grievously ill; and when he was beginning to be convalescent, the youngest of his sons, who was not yet regenerated with water, or the Holy Spirit, fell ill in his turn. When he was seen to be at the point of death, he was washed in the waters of baptism; shortly afterwards he felt better; but his eldest brother, named Chlodebert, was attacked with the malady. His mother, Fredegonde, seeing him in danger of death, was seized with contrition, and said to the king: 'It is now a long time that the divine mercy has endured our wicked deeds; it has often smitten us with fevers and other maladies, and we have not yet made amendment. See, now, we have already lost sons: the tears of the poor,† the groans of the widows, the sighs of the orphans will cause the death of these, and there remains to us no longer the hope of amassing for any one; we gather up treasure, and know not for whom. Our treasures will remain without possessors, loaded with rapine and malediction. Were not our cellars full of wine? Were not our garners loaded with corn? Were not our coffers piled full of gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, and other imperial ornaments? And behold, now, we lose that which is the best of all we had. Now then, if thou wilt, come and let us burn these unjust registers; let us content ourselves for our fisc with what sufficed thy father, King Clotaire.'

---

insulting speeches, said that in passing from Gontran's kingdom into that of Chilperic, he passed from paradise into hell. Nevertheless, on other occasions, he complains bitterly of the bishops. (Ib., vi. 46.) *Nulium plus odio habens quam ecclesias; aiebat enim plerumque: "Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatae; nulli penitus, ni soli episcopi regnant: perit honor noster, et transiit ad episcopos civitatum."*

\* Greg. Tur., v. 29. *Descriptiones novas et graves in omni regno fieri jussit ..... statutum enim fuerat ut possessor de propria terra unam amphoram vini per aripennem, id est, semijugerem continentem 120 pedes, redderet..... Sed et aliae functiones infligebantur multæ, tam de reliquis terris quam de mancipiis.*

† An idea may be formed of the violence of their government by the manner in which Chilperic dowried his daughter Rigunthe. He caused a multitude of royal coloni to be carried off as slaves to follow her into Spain. Many of these

"Having said these words, smiting her breasts with her fists, the queen called for the registers which Marc had brought her from the cities that belonged to her. Throwing them into the fire, she turned to the king and said to him, 'What stops thee? Do as thou seest me do, in order that if we lose our dear child, we may at least escape from eternal punishment.' The king, touched with remorse, threw all the registers of the taxes into the fire, and having burned them, he sent word everywhere forbidding that others should be made for the future. After this, the youngest of their little children died, overcome with great langour. They carried him with much sorrow from their house at Braine to Paris, and buried him in the basilica of St. Denis. Chlodebert was laid upon a litter, and conveyed to Soissons to the basilica of St. Medard. They presented him at the holy tomb, and made a vow for him; but already worn out, and wanting breath, he gave up the ghost in the middle of the night. They buried him in the basilica of the martyrs St. Crispin and St. Crispinian. There was a great groaning through the whole people. The men followed his obsequies in mourning, and the women dressed in dismal garments, such as they are accustomed to wear at the funerals of their husbands. King Chilperic afterwards made gifts to the churches and to the poor.\*

\* \* \* "After the synod whereof I have spoken, I had already bid farewell to the king, and was preparing to return home; but not wishing to go away without having taken leave of Salvius and embraced him, I went in search of him, and found him in the court of the house at Braine. I told him that I was about to return home, and we having withdrawn a little to converse together, he said to me, 'Dost thou not see above this roof what I perceive there?' 'I see there,' said I to him, 'a little building which the king has recently caused to be erected at top;' and he said, 'Dost thou see nothing else there?' 'Nothing else,' said I; and supposing that he talked thus in a jesting way, I added, 'If thou seest any thing more, tell it me;' and he, heaving a deep sigh, said to me, 'I see the sword of divine wrath drawn and suspended over this house.' And truly the bishop's words did not lie, for twenty days afterwards died, as we have said, the two sons of the king.†"

(A. D. 584.)—Chilperic himself soon perished, being assassinated, as some say, by a paramour of Fredegonde; or, according to others, by the emissaries of Brunehaut, who desired to avenge her two husbands, Sigebert and Mérovée. The widow of Chilperic, her infant son, and the Church, and all the enemies of Ostrasia and the barbarians, turned to the King of Burgundy, the good Gontran. The latter was, in fact, the best of all these Merovingians. Nothing was alleged against him but two or three murders. Given up to women and pleasure, he seemed softened by intercourse with the

men put themselves to death, and the train set out loading the king with curses. For the details of this tragedy see Gregory of Tours, l. vi., c. 45.

\* Greg. Tur., l. v., c. 35.

† Greg. Tur., l. v., capite ultimo.

Romans of the South, and with churchmen. He felt much deference for the latter. "He was," says Fredegarius, "like a priest among the priests."\*

Gontran declared himself the protector of Fredegonde and her son, Clotaire II.† Fredegonde swore to him, and made twelve Frank warriors join in the oath, that Clotaire was the son of Chilperic. The good man seems to have been assigned the comical part in the terrible drama of the Merovingian history. Fredegonde played upon his simplicity.‡ The death of all his brothers seems to have deeply smitten his imagination. He made an oath that he would pursue the murderer of Chilperic, even to the ninth generation, "in order to put an end to that evil custom of slaying kings." He believed himself in peril. "It happened one Sunday, after the deacon had silenced the people that they might hear mass, the king, turning to the people, said, 'I entreat you, men and women, who are here present, preserve an inviolable fidelity towards me, and do not kill me as you recently killed my brothers. Let me, at least, for three years bring up my nephews, whom I have made my adopted sons, lest it happen with me—the eternal God forbid it!—that after my death, you perish with these little children, since there would remain, of our family, not one strong man to defend you.'"

§ All the people prayed to the Lord that he might be pleased to preserve Gontran's days; he alone, in fact, could protect Burgundy and Neustria against Ostrasia, Gaul against Germany, the Church and civilisation against the barbarians. The Bishop of Tours strongly declared for Gontran. "We sent word" (Gregory himself is the speaker) "to the bishop and the citizens of Poitiers, that Gontran was now the father of the two sons of Sigebert and Chilperic; and that he possessed the whole realm, as formerly his father Clotaire had done."||

Poitiers, the rival of Tours, did not follow its example; it chose rather to recognise the King of Ostrasia, who was too remote to be troublesome to it. As for the men of the South, those of Aquitaine and Provence, they believed, that in the weak condition of the Merovingian family, represented by an old man and two children, they could make for themselves a king who would be dependent upon

\* Guntchramnus rex.....cum sacerdotibus utique sacerdotis ad instar se ostendebat. Fredeg. ap. Scr. R. Fr., ii., p. 414. A woman cured her son of the quartan fever by administering to him some water in which she had steeped a fringe from Gontran's mantle. Greg. Tur., i. ix.

† Patrocinio suo fovebat. Ib., vii. 7.

‡ Greg. Tur., i. vii., c. 7.—"Gontran protected Fredegonde, and frequently invited her to repasts, promising her that he would be to her a sure stay. One day when they were together, the queen rose from table and bade the king farewell, who kept her from going, saying, 'Take something more;' she said to him 'Excuse me, I entreat you, my lord, for it happens to me according to the custom of women, that I must rise to be delivered of a child.' He was stupefied at these words, for he knew that it was but four months since she had brought a son into the world; nevertheless, he allowed her to retire."

§ Greg. Tur., i. vi., c. 8.

|| Greg. Tur., i. vi., c. 13.

them. They invited from Constantinople one Gondovald, who gave himself out as sprung from the blood of the Frank kings. The history of this attempt, which is given at full length by Gregory of Tours, serves admirably to make us acquainted with the *grande*es of the south of Gaul, such as Mummolus and Gontran-Boson; equivocal men, and twofold in origin and in policy; half Romans, half barbarians; and it unfolds to us the secret of their connexions with the enemies of Burgundy, and of Neustria, with the Byzantine Greeks, and with the Allemanns of Ostrasia.

"Gondovald, who called himself son of King Clotaire, had arrived in Marseilles from Constantinople. Here we must relate, in a few words, what was his origin. Born in Gaul, he had been brought up with care, and instructed in letters, and, according to the custom of the kings of that country, he wore his hair floating in long locks over his shoulders. He was presented to King Childebert by his mother, who said to him, 'Here is thy nephew, the son of King Clotaire. As his father hates him, take him with thee, for he is of thy flesh.' Childebert, who had no son, took him and kept him with him. This news having reached King Clotaire, he sent messages to his brother, saying to him, 'Send this young man, that he may come to me.' His brother sent him to him without delay. Clotaire having seen him, ordered that his hair should be cut off, saying, 'He was not begotten by me.' After the death of Clotaire, King Charibert received him, but Sigebert having sent for him again, cut off his hair, and sent him into the town of Agrippina, now called Cologne. His hair having grown again, he escaped from that place and repaired to Narses, who then governed Italy. There he took a wife, begot sons, and proceeded to Constantinople. From thence, as it is related, he was long afterwards invited by some one to return to Gaul, and disembarking at Marseilles, he was received by the Bishop Theodorus, who gave him horses, and he went to meet Duke Mummolus. Mummolus, as we have said, was then in possession of the city of Avignon, but by reason of this thing, Duke Gontran-Boson seized Bishop Theodorus, and kept him in ward, accusing him of having introduced a stranger into Gaul, and of designing, by that means, to subject the kingdom of the Franks to the emperor's sway. Theodorus produced, it is said, a letter, signed by the *grande*es of King Charibert, and said, 'I have done nothing or myself, but only what was commanded by our masters and lords.' Gondovald took refuge in an island of the sea to await the event. Duke Gontran-Boson divided the treasures of Gondovald with one of the dukes of King Gontran, and carried away, it is said, an immense quantity of gold and silver and other things into Auvergne."

Before deciding for or against the pretender, the King of Ostrasia sent to his uncle Gontran, to demand restitution of the towns which had made part of the patrimony of Sigebert. "King Childebert sent to King Gontran the Bishop Egidius, Gontran-Boson, Sigewald, and many others. When they had entered, the bishop

said, 'We render thanks to Almighty God, oh! most pious king, for that, after many toils and troubles, he has put thee again in possession of the countries which depend upon thy kingdom.' The king said to him, 'We ought to render due and worthy thanks to the King of kings, to the Lord of lords, whose mercy has deigned to accomplish these things; for no thanks are due to thee, who by thy perfidious counsels and thy perjuries didst set all my states in a flame last year; to thee, who hast never kept thy troth with any man; to thee, whose craft and subtlety is everywhere notorious, and who everywhere conductest thyself not like a bishop, but as the enemy of our realm.' At these words, the bishop, overcome with rage, held his peace. One of the deputies said, 'Thy nephew, Childebert, entreats thee to cause the cities of which his father was in possession to be restored to him.' Gontran replied to the latter, 'I have already told you, that our treaties confer those towns upon me; wherefore, I will not give them up.' Another deputy said to him, 'Thy nephew prays thee to put into his hands that sorceress Fredegonde, who has caused a great number of kings to perish; to the end, that he may avenge upon her the death of his father, his uncle, and his cousins.' The king replied to him, 'She cannot be delivered into his power, because she has a son who is king. But, nothing of what you say against her do I believe to be true.' Then Gontran-Boson approached the king, as if to remind him of something; and, as the rumour had spread, that Gontran-Boson had just been proclaimed king, Gontran, preventing his words, said to him, 'Enemy of our country, and of our throne, who heretofore didst go into the East expressly to place upon our throne one Ballomer' (it was thus the king called Gondovald), 'man ever perfidious, and who never keepest any part of thy promises!' Boson replied to him, 'Thou, lord and king, art seated upon the royal throne, and no one has dared to reply to what thou sayest. I maintain that I am innocent of this affair. If there be any one my equal, who secretly imputes to me this crime, let him come forth publicly and speak. As for thee, most pious king, leave all to the judgment of God; let him decide when he shall have seen us fight in a listed field.' On hearing these words, as every body kept silence, the king said, 'This affair ought to excite all warriors to repel from our frontiers a stranger whose father has turned a mill. Nay, to speak the truth, his father handled the card and combed wool.' Now, although it may very well be that a man may follow both these trades at once, one of the deputies replied to this reproach thrown out by the king, 'Thou assertest, therefore, that this man has had two fathers, a carder and a miller. Cease, oh! king, to speak so ill, for it has never been heard of that a single man can have two fathers, except it be in spiritual matters.' As these words excited the laughter of a great number, another deputy said, 'We bid thee farewell, oh! king; since thou wilt not restore thy nephew's cities, we know that the axe is whole that chopped off the heads of thy brothers. It will soon dash out

dry brains.' And they withdrew, thus, with scandal. The king, fired with rage at these words, ordered, that, as they retired, horse-dung, rotten herbs, straw, rotten hay, and the stinking mud of the town, should be pitched at their heads. The deputies, covered with filth, withdrew, not without undergoing a great number of insults and outrages."

This reply of Gontran united the Ostrasians with the Aquitanians in favour of Gondovald. The grandees of the South welcomed him,\* and under their guidance he made rapid progress. He soon found himself master of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Perigueux, and Angoulême. He received the oath of fidelity in the name of the King of Ostrasia from the towns which had belonged to Sigebert; the danger was becoming momentous for the old King of Burgundy. He knew that Brunehaut, Childebert, and the grandees of Ostrasia, favoured Gondovald, that Fredegonde herself was tempted to treat with him, that the Bishop of Rheims was secretly of his party, and that all the bishops of the South were so openly. The defection of the Roman ecclesiastical party, of which he had believed himself so

---

\* "As Gondovald was looking about in all directions for aid, some one told him that a certain king of the East, having carried off the thumb of the martyr St. Sergius, had inserted it in his right arm, and that when he felt it necessary to repulse his enemies, all he had to do was to raise his arm with confidence; the hostile army, as if overwhelmed by the might of the martyr, immediately became routed. Gondovald eagerly inquired whether there was any one in that place who had been deemed worthy to receive some relic of St. Sergius. Bishop Bertrand pointed out to him a certain merchant named Euphron, whom he hated, because coveting his wealth. He had formerly caused him to be tonsured against his will to make him a clerk, but Euphron passed into another town and returned when his hair was grown again. The bishop said, therefore: 'There is in this place a certain Syrian named Euphron, who, having transformed his house into a church, has placed a relic of the saint there, and through the power of the martyr he has seen several miracles performed; for when the city of Bordeaux was undergoing a violent conflagration, that house, then surrounded by the flames, was preserved from them.' Mummolus immediately ran with all speed to the house of the Syrian, entered it by force, and ordered him to show them the holy relics. Euphron refused, but thinking that some trap was maliciously led for him, he said: 'Do not torment an old man, and do not commit outrages upon a saint, but take these hundred pieces of gold and retire.' As Mummolus still insisted, Euphron offered him two hundred pieces of gold, but they would not even for that sum retire without having seen the relics. Mummolus then had a ladder laid against the wall (the relics were concealed in a shrine at the top of the wall, against an altar), and he ordered a deacon to go up. The latter having then ascended by means of the ladder, was seized with such a trembling when he took hold of the shrine, that it was thought he could not come down alive. Nevertheless taking possession of the shrine, which was attached to the wall, he carried it away. Mummolus having examined it, found in it a finger bone of the saint, and he did not dread to strike it with a knife. Placing a knife upon the relic he struck it from above with another knife. After many blows, which with great difficulty broke it, the bone, chopped into three parts, suddenly disappeared. The thing was not agreeable to the martyr, as the sequel will plainly show."—These Romans of the South showed much less respect for holy things and for the priests than did the men of the North. By and bye we shall see that a bishop having insulted the pretender at table, Dukes Mummolus and Didier fell on him and beat him.—Greg. Tur., lib. vii., ap. Scr. R. Fr., t. ii., p. 302.



secure, obliged Gontran to come to an understanding with the Ostrasians. He adopted his nephew Childebert, and named him his heir, restored him all he demanded, and promised Brunehaut to leave her five of the principal cities of Aquitaine that had formed part of her sister's dowry, as ancient possessions of the Goths.

The reconciliation between the Kings of Burgundy and Ostrasia discouraged the party of Gondovald. The Aquitanians showed as much alacrity in abandoning him as they had in giving him welcome. He was obliged to shut himself up in the town of Comminges, with the grandees who were most compromised. These latter were upon the watch for a favourable moment to deliver up the unfortunate man, and to make their peace at his expense. One of them did not even wait for this opportunity, but ran away with Gondovald's treasures. "A great number ascended the hill, and often talked to Gondovald, loading him with abuse, and saying to him, 'Art thou that painter, who, in the time of King Clotaire, used to daub the walls and arches of the oratories? Art thou he, whom the inhabitants of Gaul were accustomed to call by the name of Ballomer? Art thou he, who, by reason of his pretensions, has so often had his hair cropped, and been exiled by the Kings of the Franks? Tell us, at least, O! most miserable of men, what brought thee hither? Who gave thee the extraordinary audacity to approach the frontiers of our lords and kings? If any one invited thee, say so aloud. Here is death staring thee in the face, and here is the pit which thou hast sought so long and into which thou hast come to cast thyself. Repeat to us the names of thy satellites. Declare to us those who have called thee in.' Gondovald hearing these words, approached and said from the door, 'That my father, Clotaire, abhorred me is a thing of which no one is ignorant. That my hair was cut by him, and afterwards by my brother, is known to all men. It was for this reason, that I retired to Italy to the prefect Narses. There I took a wife and begot two sons. My wife having died, I took my children with me and went to Constantinople, where I lived until now, treated with much goodness by the emperors. Some years ago, Gontran-Boson having come to Constantinople, I eagerly inquired of him respecting my brothers, and I learned that our family was very much diminished, and that there remained to us only Childebert, my brother's son, and Gontran, my brother; that the sons of King Chilperic had died with him, and that he had left only a little child; that my brother Gontran had no child, and that my nephew, Childebert, was not very brave. Then, Gontran-Boson, after having exactly set forth these things, invited me, saying, 'Come, for thou art called by all the principal men of the kingdom of Childebert, and no one dares to say a word against thee; for we well know that thou art the son of Clotaire, and no one is left in Gaul to govern that kingdom unless thou come.' Having made great presents to Gontran-Boson, I received his oath in twelve holy places, to the end that I might afterwards come in safety to this kingdom. I came to Marseilles, where the bishop re-

ceived me with extreme goodness, for he had letters from the chief men of my nephew's kingdom. From thence I advanced to Avignon, to the patrician Mummolus; but Gontran-Boson breaking his oath and his promise, carried off my treasures, and kept them in his power. Admit, therefore, that I am king like my brother, Gontran. Nevertheless, if your mind is inflamed with so great a hatred, let me be brought at least to your king, and, if he owns me for his brother, let him do what he will. If you will not consent even to this, let me be allowed to return to the place whence I came. I will go away without doing hurt to any one. In order that you may know that what I say is true, interrogate Radegonde and Ingiltrude, of Tours; they will confirm to you the truth of my words.' Whilst he spoke thus, a great number received his speech with insults and outrages.

"Mummolus, the Bishop of Saggitarius, and Waddon, having gone in a body to Gondovald, said to him: 'Thou knowest the oaths of fidelity we have pledged to thee, now listen to wholesome advice—depart from this town and present thyself to thy brother, as thou hast often requested permission to do. We have already spoken to these men, and they have told us the king was unwilling to lose thy support, because there remained few men of your race.' But Gondovald seeing through their scheme, said to them with his face bathed in tears: 'It was at your invitation that I came into this Gaul. Of my treasures, which comprised immense sums of gold and silver, and various objects of price, part is in the town of Avignon, part has been pillaged by Gontran-Boson. As for me, placing all my hope in you, next after God, I have confided in your counsels, and have always desired to reign through you. Now, if you have deceived me, answer for it before God, and let him be the judge of my cause.' To these words Mummolus replied: 'We do not tell thee any thing of a lie, but here are brave warriors waiting for thee at the gate. Now take off my gold baldric, which thou hast on, that thou mayest not appear to walk with pride. Take thy sword, and give me back mine.' Gondovald said to him: 'What I see in these words is, that thou strippest me of what I received and wore for thy sake.' But Mummolus affirmed with an oath, that no one should do him any hurt. Having then passed the gate, Gondovald was received by Ollan, Count of Bourges, and by Boson. Mummolus having returned into the town with his satellites, barred the gate very securely. Gondovald, seeing himself delivered over to his enemies, lifted up his eyes and his hands to heaven, and said: 'Eternal Judge, true avenger of the innocent, God from whom all justice proceeds, who hatest falsehood, and in whom resides no guile or wickedness, I confide my cause to thee, beseeching thee promptly to avenge me upon those who have delivered an innocent man into the hands of his enemies.' After these words, having made the sign of the cross, he went away with the men above named. When they had withdrawn from the gate, as the valley below the town descends rapidly,

Ollon, giving him a push, threw him down, and cried out: 'Here is your Ballomer, who calls himself brother and son of a king.' He flung his javelin at him; but the weapon, resisted by the circles of his cuirass, did him no hurt. Gondovald having got up, endeavoured to reascend the height, when Boson dashed his brains out with a stone. He fell instantly, and died. All the multitude hurried up, and, having pierced him with their lances, they bound his feet with a cord, and dragged him all round the camp. Having torn out his hair and his beard, they left him without sepulture in the place where they had killed him."

(A. D. 593.)—Gontran, reassured by the death of Gondovald, would have paid the bishops for the aid they had afforded him, had he not been anticipated by death.

This event, which opened Burgundy to the King of Ostrasia, seemed likely to deliver Neustria also to him eventually. It resisted, however. The Ostrasians having invaded it, were amazed to see a moving forest advance against them. It was the Neustrian army, bearing boughs of trees.\* The invaders fled. This was the last success of Fredegonde, and of Landeric her lover, whom it was said she had taken as a substitute for Chilperic. She died shortly afterwards. Childebert had died before her. All Gaul was in the hands of three children; the two sons of Childebert, called Theudebert II. and Theuderic II., and Clotaire II., the son of Chilperic. The latter was very feeble, compared to the two others. He was compelled to yield to the Burgundians all the lands between the Seine and the Loire, and to the Ostrasians the country between the Seine, the Oise, and Ostrasia. But the dissensions of the victors were soon to restore him more than he had lost.

(A. D. 596—612.)—The aged Brunehaut had hoped to reign under Theudebert, her grandson, by intoxicating him with voluptuous pleasures. In this she succeeded but too well. The imbecile prince was soon governed by a young female slave, who drove Brunehaut away. Taking refuge with Theuderic, in Burgundy, in a country completely under the Roman influence, she possessed more ascendancy there. She made and unmade the mayors of the palace, killed Bertoald, who had given her a kind reception, and substituted for him her lover, Protadius.† The people having afterwards torn that favourite in pieces, she had again credit enough to raise a certain Claudius to power. His government was, at first, without glory. The Ostrasians, and the Germans, their allies, took from the kingdom of Burgundy, Sundgaw, Turgaw, Alsace, and Champagne, and ravaged the whole country extending between the lakes of Geneva and Neufchatel. The dread of these invasions seems to have united together the populations of the South.

(A. D. 612.)—"In the seventeenth year of his reign, in the month

\* Thus Shakespeare, in *Macbeth*, act v.—So likewise the army of the men of Kent that marched against William the Conqueror after the battle of *Hastings*.

† *Fredegar. Schol.*, c. 24.

of March," says Fredegarius, "King Theuderic assembled an army at Langres, from all the provinces of his realm, and directed his course through Audelet. After having taken the castle of Nez, he marched towards the town of Toul. There Theudebert, having advanced to meet him with the army of the Ostrasians, they gave each other battle on the plain of Toul. Theuderic defeated Theudebert, and routed his army. In this battle the Franks lost a multitude of valiant men. Theudebert, retracing his steps, traversed the territory of Metz, crossed the Vosges, and continuing his flight, arrived at Cologne. Theuderic followed him closely with his army. A holy and apostolic man, Leonisius, Bishop of Mayence, loving the valour of Theuderic, and hating the stupidity of Theudebert, met the former and said to him: 'Complete what thou hast begun, for it is needful to thee, that thou follow up and seek out the cause of the evil.' A rustic fable relates, that a wolf having one day climbed up a mountain, when his sons were beginning already to hunt, he called them to him upon this mountain, and said, 'As far as your eyes can see, in whatever direction you turn them, you have no friends, unless it be a few of your own species. Complete, therefore, what you have begun.'"

"Theuderic, having passed through Ardennes, arrived at Tolbiac with his army. Theudebert, with the Saxons and the Thuringians, and the rest of the nations from beyond the Rhine, whom he had been able to assemble, marched against Theuderic, and again engaged him at Tolbiac. We are assured that neither the Franks nor any other nation of former times had ever yet fought so fierce a battle. . . . Theuderic, however, once more vanquished Theudebert, for God marched with him, and the army of Theudebert was mown down by the sword from Tolbiac to Cologne. In some places the dead completely covered the face of the ground. The same Theuderic arrived in Cologne, and there he found all the treasures of Theudebert. He sent Berthaire, his chamberlain, in pursuit of Theudebert, who was flying beyond the Rhine, accompanied by few persons. He overtook him, and presented him to Theuderic stripped of his royal garments. Theuderic granted his spoils to Berthaire, all his royal equipage, and his horse; but he sent Theudebert loaded with chains to Chalons." The chronicle of St. Benigna relates, that Brunehaut, his grandmother, had him at first ordained a priest, and soon afterwards she caused him to be put to death. "By order of Theuderic, a soldier seized the infant son of Theudebert by the foot, and dashed him against a stone till his brains protruded."†

(A. D. 613.)—Ostrasia and Burgundy, united together under Theuderic, or rather under Brunehaut, seemed to threaten Neustria with certain ruin. The death of Theuderic, and the accession of his three infant sons, would have made no change in this state of

\* Fredegar. Schol., c. 38.

† Fredegar., c. 38, p. 429.

things had Clotaire's enemies been united among themselves, but Ostrasia was ashamed and incensed at her recent defeat. In Burgundy itself the Roman and ecclesiastical party were no longer for Brunehaut. In order to be sure of that party it was necessary to have the ecclesiastics in one's favour, to gain them over at any price, and to reign with them. Brunehaut set them against her by causing St. Didier, Bishop of Vienne, to be assassinated for having sought to bring back Theuderic to his legitimate wife, and to remove the mistresses with whom his grandmother surrounded him. The Irish St. Colomb, the restorer of the monastic life, that bold missionary who reformed kings as well as peoples, spoke with the same freedom to Theuderic, and refused to bless his sons. "They are the sons," he said, "of incontinence and of crime." Expelled from Luxeuil and from Ostrasia he took refuge with Clotaire II., and seemed to legitimatise the cause of Neustria by his holy presence.

Brunehaut was abandoned on all sides. The grandes of Ostrasia hated her as belonging to the Goths, to the Romans (these two words were almost synonymous). The priests and the people looked with horror on the persecutor of the saints.\* Although, until then, hostile to the Germanic influence, she was obliged to fall back upon the aid of the Germans and the barbarians against Clotaire. Arnolph, Bishop of Metz, and his brother Pepin (Pipin) went over to Clotaire before the battle. The others suffered themselves to be beaten and were slackly pursued by Clotaire, having been gained over beforehand. Warnachaire, the mayor, had stipulated that he should preserve his post for life. Old Brunehaut, the wife, sister, mother, and grandmother of so many kings, was treated with atrocious barbarity. She was tied by the hair, by one leg, and one arm, to the tail of an unbroken horse, which kicked her to pieces. She was charged with having caused the deaths of ten kings. The crimes of Fredegonde were imputed to her in addition to her own. Of all these the greatest, no doubt, in the eyes of the barbarians, was the having restored, in some respects, the imperial administration. Fiscalty, juridical forms, the pre-eminence of cunning over strength, this was what rendered the world invincibly repugnant to the idea of the ancient Empire, which the Goth kings had attempted to restore. Their daughter, Brunehaut, had followed their steps. She had founded a multitude of churches and monasteries. The monasteries were schools in those days. She had favoured the missions which the pope sent among the Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain. The money extorted from the people by so many odious means was employed in a manner not devoid of glory or grandeur. Such was the impression made by the long reign of Brunehaut, that it seems to have enfeebled that of the Empire in the north of Gaul. The people

\* Monach. S. Gall., l. ii., ap. Scr. Fr., v., p. 122. Cum a regno Romanorum..... Franci vel Galli defecissent.....ipsique reges Gallorum vel Francorum propter interfectionem S. Desiderii Viennensis episcopi et expulsionem sanctissimorum advenarum, Columbani videlicet et Galli retro labi cepissent.....

ascribe to the famous Queen of Ostrasia a multitude of Roman monuments. Fragments of Roman roads, which still appear in Belgium and the north of France, are called Brunehaut's causeways. Near Bourges they used to show a castle belonging to Brunehaut; her tower at Etampes; Brunehaut's stone near Tournay; and Brunehaut's fortress near Cahors.

(A. D. 614.)—Neustria resisted under Fredegonde; under her son it was triumphant. This, it may be, was but a nominal victory due only to the hatred of the Ostrasians for Brunehaut, a victory of the weaker party, of the old races, of the Gaul-Romans and the priests. The very year following the victory of Clotaire (614), the bishops were summoned to the assembly of the leudes. They repaired to it from all Gaul, to the number of seventy-nine. This was the enthronement of the church. The two aristocracies, lay and ecclesiastical, drew up a *perpetual constitution*. Several remarkably liberal articles in this constitution bespeak the ecclesiastical hand. The judges are forbidden to condemn a freeman, or even slave, without hearing him. Whoever violates the public peace is to be punished with death. The leudes are to be restored to the property of which they had been stripped in the civil wars. The election of the bishops is secured to the people. The bishops are the sole judges of the ecclesiastics. The tributes, established since the days of Chilperic and his brothers, are abolished.\*—The bishops, who had become large proprietors, must have profited by this abolition more than any other persons. Thus begins, with Clotaire II., that sway of the church which went on consolidating itself under the Carlovingians, and which suffered no other interruption than the tyranny of Charles Martel.

(A. D. 628—638.)—We know little of Clotaire II., something more of Dagobert. Sage, just, and an administrator of the laws, Dagobert begins his reign by making the tour of his dominions, according to the custom of the barbarian kings.† He had been King of Ostrasia in his father's lifetime, but he did not long retain his Ostrasian ministers. The two chief men of the country, Arnolph, Archbishop of Metz, and then Pepin, his brother, were removed to make place for the Neustrian Ega. Surrounded by Roman ministers, by the goldsmith, St. Eloi, and by the referendary, St. Ouen, he employed himself in founding convents, and in causing ornaments to be made for the churches.‡ His scribes committed the barbarian laws to writing for the first time,§ that is to say, at a period when they were beginning to become obsolete. The Solomon of the Franks, like him of the Jews, peopled his palace with beautiful women,|| and

\* Capit. Baluz., i., p. 21; et ap. Scr. R. Fr., iv. 118.

† See the following books.

‡ Gesta Dagob., c. 17, sqq.

§ See the following books.

|| Fredegar., c. 60. *Luxuriæ supra modum deditus, tres habebat, ad instar Salomonis, reginas, maxime et plurimas concubinas... Nomina concubinarum, eo quod plures fuissent, increvit huic chronicæ inseri.*

divided his time between his concubines and his priests. This pacific prince was the natural friend of the Greeks. As the ally of the Emperor Heraclius, he interposed in the affairs of the Lombards and of the Visigoths. In the precocious senility of all the barbarian nations, the decrepitude of the Franks was still surrounded by a sort of splendour.

Nevertheless, it is easy to detect the weakness concealed under these appearances. In the lifetime of Clotaire Ostrasia, resumed the provinces that had been wrested from her. She insisted upon having a king of her own, and Dagobert, king of that country at the age of fifteen, was in point of fact but a tool in the hands of Pepin and Arnolph. His father becomes King of Neustria. Ostrasia again claims a government of her own, and obtains, as her king, the king's son, young Sigebert. Clotaire II. agreed to forego a tribute paid by the Lombards, on condition of a sum of ready money.\* The Saxons, though said to have been defeated by the Franks,† nevertheless withheld from Dagobert payment of the five hundred kine they had, till then, delivered every year. The Vends, emancipated from the yoke of the Avari by the Frank Samo, a warlike merchant whom they took for their chief,‡ threw off the yoke of Dagobert, and defeated the united forces of the Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards. The Avari, themselves fugitives, settled by force in Bavaria, and Dagobert got rid of them only by perfidy.§ As for the submission of the Bretons and the Gascons, it seems voluntary. They rendered homage, not so much to warriors, as to priests, and St. Judicaël, Duke of the Bretons, refused to eat at the king's table, preferring to sit at that of St. Ouen.||

The true king of that period was, in fact, the priest. The church had made its noiseless way, even in the midst of those boisterous invasions of barbarians, that seemed about to destroy every thing. Strong, patient, industrious, it had in a manner grasped and inter-

\* Fredegar., c. 45. Chron. Moissiac. Cœnobii., ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 651.

† Gesta Dagob., c. i., ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 580. Clotharius tum præcipue illud memorabile suæ potentiae posteris reliquit indicium, quod rebellantibus adversus se Saxonibus, ita eos armis perdomuit, ut omnes virilis sexus ejusdem terræ incolas, qui gladii, quem tum forte gerebat, longitudinem excesserint, peremerit.

‡ Fredegar., c. 46. Homo quidam nomine Samo, natione Francus, de pago Sennonago, plures secum negotiantes adæcivit; ad exercendum negotium in Sclavos, cognomento Winidos, perrexit. Sclavi jam contra Avaros, cognomento Chunos...cœperant bellare. Cum Chuni in exercitu contra gentem quamlibet adgredebant, Chuni pro castris adunato illorum exercitu stabant; Winidi vero pugnant, etc....Chuni ad hyemandum annis singulis in Sclavos veniebant: uxores Sclavorum et filias eorum stratu sumebant...Winidi cernentes utilitatem Samonis, eum super se eligunt regem. Duodecim uxores ex genere Winidorum habebat.

§ Ibid., c. 72. Cum dispersi per domos Bajoariorum ad hyemandum fuissent, consilio Francorum Dagobertus Bajoariis jubet ut Bulgaros illos cum uxoribus et liberis unusquisque in domo sua in una nocte Bajoarii interficerent: quod protinus a Bajoariis est impletum.

|| Ibid., c. 78.

penetrated the whole body of the new social system. She had betimes abandoned speculation for action; she had rejected the boldness of Pelagianism, and adjourned the grand question of human liberty. It was not of liberty, but of submission she had need to talk to the savage conquerors of the Empire, that she might bring them to bend their stubborn necks under the yoke of civilisation and of the Church.

Inheriting the municipal government of the Empire, the Church had gone forth beyond the walls at the approach of the barbarians. She had put herself forward as umpire between them and the vanquished, and having once quitted the walls, she remained in the rural districts. Though the daughter of the city, she felt that the city was not every thing. She created bishops of the fields, of the hamlets, *chorepiscopi*.\* Her salutary protection extended to all; even those whom she did not ordain, she marked with the protecting sign of the tonsure. She became an immense asylum, an asylum for the vanquished, for the Romans, for the serfs of the Romans. The serfs rushed eagerly into the Church. Many a time it was found necessary to close her doors against them; else no one would have remained to till the land. She was an asylum for the victors, who took refuge in the Church against the tumult of barbarian life; against their own passions and violent deeds, which entailed as much suffering upon themselves as upon the vanquished. Thus, the serfs ascended to the priesthood, the sons of the kings and the dukes descended to the episcopacy. The great and the lowly met together in Jesus Christ. At the same time vast donations diverted the soil from profane uses and bestowed it on men of peace, upon poor men and serfs. The barbarians made gifts of what they had seized, and found that they had conquered for the Church.

And it was necessary that this should be so. As an asylum, and as a school, the Church had need of wealth; the bishops had need to stand upon an equality with the grandees, in order to be listened to by them. It was necessary that the Church should become material and barbarous, in order to lift up the barbarians to herself; that she should become flesh, to win over those men of flesh. Like the prophet who lay upon the child to restore him to life, the church made herself little to brood over that young world.

The bishops of the South, too much civilised, too much rhetoricians and reasoners,† had exercised little influence over the men of the first race. The old metropolitan sees of Arles and Vienne, and even of Lyons and Bourges, lost their influence. The bishops,

\* Τοῦ χώρου ἐπίσκοποι. In Charlemagne's Capitularies, they are styled "Episcopi villani." Hincmar. Opusc., 33, c. 16, "Vicani." Canones Arabici Nicæne synodi: Chorepiscopus est loco episcopi super villas et monasteria, et sacerdotes villarum. See Ducange's Glossary, vol. ii.

† St. Dumolus, regarded with favour by Clotaire, for having often concealed his spies in Childebert's lifetime, was about to be recompensed by being advanced to the see of Avignon. But he besought the king, Ne permitteret simplicitatem illius inter senatores sophisticos ac judices philosophicos fatigari. Clotaire made him Bishop of Mans. Greg. Tur., vi. 9.



*par excellence*, the true patriarchs of France were those of Rheims and Tours. St. Martin of Tours was the oracle of the barbarians. He was what Delphi was for Greece, the *ombilicus terrarum*, the *ὀμφαλὸς ἀσποῦρος*.

It was St. Martin who guaranteed treaties; the kings consulted him every moment upon their affairs, and even their crimes. Chilperic, when in pursuit of his unhappy son, Mérovée, laid a paper upon the tomb of St. Martin, in order to know whether it was permitted him to drag the suppliant from the basilica. The paper remained white, says Gregory of Tours. These supplicants, for the most part ferocious men, and not less violent than their pursuers, sometimes caused the bishop terrible embarrassment; they became the tyrants of the asylum to which they owed protection. It is worth reading in the book of the good Bishop of Tours, the history of that Eberulf who wanted to kill Gregory, and who beat the clerks for that they were slow in bringing him wine. The handmaids of the barbarian, who took refuge in the basilica, scandalised the whole clergy by the way in which they scrutinised the sacred pictures that decorated the walls.\*

Tours, Rheims, and all their dependencies, were exempt from taxes.† The possessions of Rheims extended into the most distant regions, into Ostrasia and Aquitaine. Every crime committed by the barbarian kings, brought the church some new donation; and who could blame these donations? Every body wished to belong to the church, it was a sort of enfranchisement. The bishops made no scruple of inducing the kings to these concessions, and of extending them by pious frauds. They were sure of being backed by the testimony of the people of the country, if need were; all would be ready, if requisite, to attest that this estate, or that village, had formerly been given by Clovis, or the good Gontran, to the neighbouring monastery or bishopric, which had only been despoiled of them by impious violence. Thus, the connivance of the priests and of the people, tended every day to abstract something from the barbarian, and to take advantage of his credulity, his devotion, and his remorse. Under Dagobert the concessions to the church were traced to Clovis, under Pepin the Little to Dagobert. The latter bestowed at once twenty-seven town lands upon the Abbey of St. Denis ‡ “His son,” says the worthy Sigebert of Gemblours, “founded twelve monasteries, and granted Remacle, Bishop Tongres, a tract twelve leagues long and twelve leagues wide in the forest of Ardennes.”§

The most curious concession was that of Clovis to St. Rémi, which was brought forward, or more probably fabricated, under Dagobert.

\* Greg. Tur., vii., c. 21, sqq.

† Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 81.

‡ Gesta Dagob., c. 35. In archivo ipsæ ecclesiæ.....viginti et septem villarum nomina.

§ Vita S. Sigiberti Austras., c. 5, ap. Scr. Fr., i. 601. Tradidi ei ex ipsa foresta duodecim leucas in latitudine, totidem in longitudine.

"Clovis had established his dwelling at Soissons. That prince took great delight in the company and conversation of St. Rémi; but as the holy man had no other habitation in the neighbourhood of the town than a little estate, which had formerly been given to St. Nicaise, the king offered St. Rémi to give him all the ground he could run over whilst he himself was taking his noon-tide slumber. This he consented to do at the prayer of the queen, and of the inhabitants, who complained that they were surcharged with exactions and contributions, and who, for that reason, liked better to pay to the church of Rheims than to the king. The blessed Rémi set out, therefore, on his course, and the limits that he marked out are still to be seen to this day. Upon his way, a miller repulsed the holy man, not wishing that his mill should be included within the line: 'My friend,' said the man of God to him, mildly, 'take it not amiss that we possess this mill together.' The miller having again refused, the mill wheel immediately began to turn backwards. Thereupon the man ran after St. Rémi, crying out, 'Come, servant of God, and let us possess this mill together.' 'No!' replied the saint, 'it shall belong neither to thee, nor to me.' Immediately the earth was rent, and such an abyss was opened, that it was never possible since to build a mill on it.

"In like manner again, the saint passing by a little wood, those to whom it belonged hindered him from including it in his domain; 'Well, then,' said he, 'never let a leaf fly or a branch fall from this wood into my enclosure,' and this actually was the case, with the will of God, as long as the wood endured, although it was quite contiguous.

"Thence continuing upon his way, he arrived at Avignon, which he wished also to enclose, but the inhabitants prevented him. Sometimes repulsed, and sometimes returning, but always equable and peaceful, he kept walking on, tracing out the limits, such as they still exist. At last, finding himself wholly repulsed, it is related that he said to them, 'Toil ever, and remain poor and suffering:' the which is accomplished still to this day by the virtue and power of his word. When Clovis had got up after his nooning, he gave St. Rémi, by rescript of his royal authority, all the land he had encompassed in his walk; and of these estates, the best are Luilly and Coccy, which the church of Rheims still enjoys in peace to this day.

"A very powerful man, named Eulogus, being convicted of the crime of lese-majesty against King Clovis, had recourse one day to the intercession of St. Rémi; and the holy man obtained for him grace for life and property. Eulogus, in recompense for this service, offered his generous patron his village of Epernay to hold in full possession. The blessed bishop would not accept a temporal retribution as the wages of his intervention; but seeing Eulogus covered with confusion, and determined to withdraw from the world, because he could no longer remain there, inasmuch as he merited only

to live by the royal clemency to the dishonour of his house, he gave him a sage counsel, saying to him, that if he wished to be perfect, he should sell all his goods and distribute the money to the poor, in order to follow Jesus Christ. Then, fixing the value of the property, and taking from the ecclesiastical treasury 5000 livres of silver, he gave them to Eulogus, and acquired for the church the property in his estates. Thus did he leave to all bishops and priests this good example, that when they intercede for those who have cast themselves into the bosom of the church, or into the arms of the servants of God, and when they render them any service, they ought never to do so with a view to a temporal recompense, nor to accept fleeting possessions as the wages of their services, but, quite on the contrary, according to the command of the Lord, to give for nothing as they have received for nothing.

“ St. Rigobert obtained from King Dagobert letters of immunity for his church, remonstrating with him to the effect, that under all the Frank kings, his predecessors, from the time of St. Rémi, and King Clovis, by him baptised, it had always been free and exempt from all servitude and public charge. The king, therefore, willing to ratify or renew that privilege, ordained, with the advice of his grandees, and in the same forms as the kings, his predecessors, that all the lands, villages, and men, belonging to the church of Rheims, or to the basilica of St. Rémi, situated, lying, or being, as well in Champagne, in the town or suburbs of Rheims, as in Ostrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, the country of Marseilles, Rouergue, Gevaudan, Auvergne, Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, and everywhere else in those countries and kingdoms, should be exempt from all charge in perpetuity; that no public judge should dare to enter on the lands of those two holy churches of God, to take up his abode therein, to render therein any judgment, or to levy any tax; and, lastly, that they should for ever preserve the immunities and privileges to them conceded by the kings, his predecessors.

“ This venerable bishop was in very great friendship with Pepin, mayor of the palace, to whom he was in the custom of frequently sending eulogies in token of benediction. Now, at this time, Pepin was residing in the village of Gernicourt; and having learned from the bishop, that that abode pleased him, he offered it to him, adding, that he would give besides all the ground he could encompass, whilst he himself was reposing at noon. Rigobert then, following the example of St. Rémi, set out, and caused the limits, which are seen to this day, to be marked out from point to point, and thus he traced the boundary to obviate all contestation. Pepin, when he awoke, found him returned, and confirmed to him the donation of all the land he had just encompassed, and, for a memorable indication of the path he followed, the grass is seen there at all seasons richer and greener than anywhere else all round. There is yet another miracle, not less worthy of attention, which the Lord is pleased to effect upon these lands, doubtless in regard to the

merits of his servant, and that is, that since the concession made to the holy bishop, never has tempest or hail done injury to his domain, and whilst all the places around are beaten and ravaged, the storm halts at the limits of the church without ever daring to cross them.”\*

Thus every thing favoured the absorption of society by the Church. Romans, bondmen and freemen, and lands, all entered it, all took refuge in its maternal bosom. The Church ameliorated every thing it received from without, but it could not do so without becoming itself deteriorated in the same proportion. The spirit of the world entered into the clergy with wealth; and with power, the barbarity which was then inseparable from it. The serfs who became priests retained the usages of serfs, dissimulation and baseness; the sons of the barbarians who had become bishops, often remained barbarians. A spirit of violence and grossness took possession of the Church. The monastic schools of Lérins, Saint-Maixant, Reomé, and l’Île Barbe, lost their credit. The episcopal schools of Autun, Vienne, Poitiers, Bourges, and Auxerre, subsisted silently. Councils became more and more rare: there had been fifty-four in the sixth century, there were but twenty in the seventh, and only seven in the first half of the eighth.

The spiritualist genius of the Church took refuge among the monks. The monastic condition was an asylum for the Church, as the Church had been for society. The monasteries of Ireland and of Scotland, better preserved from German admixture, essayed a reform of the Gaulish clergy. Thus, in the first age of the Church, the Briton Pelagius had kindled the spark that lighted the whole West. Then the Briton Faustus, professing the same doctrines with more moderation, opened the glorious school of Lérins. In the second age, it was again a Celt, but this time an Irishman, St. Colomban, who undertook the reform of Gaul. One word upon the Celtic church.

The Kymry of Britain and of Wales were rationalists, the Gaels of Ireland poets and mystics; nevertheless both exhibit in their ecclesiastical history one common trait, viz., a spirit of independence and opposition to Rome. They were more in accordance with the Greeks, and for a long time, despite of distance, despite of so many revolutions, and so many various miseries, they kept up relations with the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria. Already we have seen in Pelagius a true son of Origen. Four hundred years later, the Irishman, Scotus, translated the Greek fathers and adopted the Alexandrian pantheism. In the seventh century, St. Colomban, too, defended the Greek usage in celebrating Easter, against the Pope of Rome. “The Irish,” he said, “are better astronomers than you Romans.”† It was an Irishman, a disciple of St. Colomban, Virgil, Bishop of Salzburg, who was the first to affirm that the earth is round, and that we have antipodes. All the sciences were then

\* Prodoard., i. 14; ii. 11.

† In the isle of Anglesey there are two places still called the Astronomer’s Circle, *carrig brwyda*, and the City of the Astronomers, *carr edris*. Rowland, *Mons Antiqua*, p. 84. Low, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 277.

cultivated with high renown in the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland. The class of monks called *Culdees*\* had scarcely more idea of a hierarchy than the modern Presbyterians of Scotland. They lived together in bodies of twelve under an abbot elected by themselves.† The bishop, conformably with the etymological sense of that word, was only an inspector. Celibacy does not appear to have been regularly observed in that church,‡ which was furthermore distinguished by the special form of the tonsure, and by some other particulars. In Ireland they baptised with milk.§

The most celebrated of these Culdee establishments was that of Iona, founded, like almost all the rest, upon the ruins of the Druidical schools. Iona, the burial place of seventy kings of Scotland, the mother of the monks, the oracle of the West, in the seventh and eighth century was a city of the dead, like Arles in Gaul, and Thebes in Egypt.

The war which the emperors waged against the numerous usurpers who issued from Britain in the last ages of the Empire,|| was continued by the popes against the Celtic heresy, against Pelagius, against the Scotch and Irish church. To that church, wholly Greek in language and in spirit, Rome often opposed Greeks. In the beginning of the fifth century, she sent against them Palladius, a platonist of Alexandria;¶ but the doctrines of Palladius soon appeared as little orthodox as those he attacked. Safer men were then sent, St. Loup, St. Germain d'Auxerre,\*\* and three disciples of St. Germain, Dubri-

\* Hermits of God. *Deus*, and *celare, cella*, have analogous roots in the Latin and Celtic tongues.

† Ducange, ii. Low, p. 315.

‡ The wives and children of the Culdees had their share of the gifts made to the altar. Low, p. 318.

§ Carpentier, Suppl. au Gloss. de Ducange : In Hybernia lac adhibitum fuisse ad baptizandos divitum filios, qui domi baptizabantur, testis est Bened. abbas Petroburg, t. i., p. 30. The children were thrice dipped in water, or in milk if their parents were rich; the council of Cashel (1171) ordained that baptism should be performed in the church. Ex concil. Neocesariensi, in vet. Pœnitentiali, discimus infantem posse baptizari inclusum in utero materno, cujus hæc sunt verba : "Prægnans mulier baptizetur, et postea infans." Married bishops were common in Ireland. O'Halloran, vol. iii.—In the ninth century the Bretons nearly coincided as to liturgy and discipline with the Anglo-British church. Louis le Débonnaire observing that the monks of the abbey of Landévenec wore the tonsure in the form used among the insular Britons, ordered them to conform in that matter, as in all others, to the decisions of the church of Rome. D. Lobineau, *Preuves*, ii. 26. D. Morice, *Preuves*, i. 228.

|| Britannia, fertilis provincia tyrannorum. St. Jerome.

¶ Low, ad ann. 451, from Æneas Gzæus, in Theophrastus.

\*\* St. Loup was born at Toul, married the sister of St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, and became a monk at Lérins, and afterwards Bishop of Troyes. St. Germain, born at Auxerre, was at first duke of the troops of the marches of Armorica and Nervicane. On returning to Auxerre he gave himself up wholly to the chase, and erected trophies in memory of the successes he obtained. St. Amator, bishop of the town, expelled him from it, then converted him and ordained him a priest in spite of him. St. Genevieve and St. Patrick were his disciples; St. Germain and St. Martin, the hunter and the soldier, were the two most popular saints of France, but St. Hubert succeeded St. Germain as the patron of hunters.

cius, Illutus, and St. Patrick, the great apostle of Ireland. All the fables with which the life of the latter has been adorned are well known. The most incredible of these is, that he found no knowledge of writing in a country which we see covered with monasteries in the space of so few years, and furnishing missionaries to all the West. The Saxon invasion put a truce to religious quarrels; but as soon as the Saxons were definitively established, the pope sent the monk Augustine, of the order of St. Benedict, into Britain. The envoys of Rome succeeded with the Saxons of England, and began that spiritual conquest which was to have such grand results. From the monastery of Iona, founded precisely at the same period by St. Colomban, issued her celebrated disciple St. Colomban,\* whose daring zeal we have seen displayed against Brunehaut. This ardent and impetuous missionary for awhile attached Gaul to the principles of the Irish church.

The downfall of the children of Sigebert and of Brunehaut, and the union of Ostrasia with Neustria, afforded a favourable opportunity. In Neustria, and throughout all the south of Gaul, whilst the traces of invasion were disappearing, the Germans had become blended, as it were, with the Gaulish and Roman population. The ancient races recovered strength. Neustria had repulsed Ostrasia under Fredegonde and had united with it under Clotaire. That prince and his son Dagobert, less Franks than Romans, were naturally disposed to favour the progress of the Celtic Church, the morals and the enlightenment of which put to shame the barbarous character which the church of Gaul had assumed.

St. Colomban had crossed over to Gaul with twelve companions; a multitude of others seem to have followed these in order to people the numerous monasteries founded by these first apostles. As for St. Colomban, we have seen him first of all settle in the most profound solitudes of the Vosges, on the ruins of a pagan temple,† a circumstance which his biographer remarks in all the establishments founded by the saint. There he soon received the children of all the grandes from that part of Gaul;‡ but the jealousy of the bishops disturbed him. The singularity of the Irish rites afforded pretexts for their attacks.§ The freedom with which he spoke to Theuderic and

\* St. Colomban himself explains the mystical relation of his own name with the words *jona*, *barjona*, which signify dove in the Scriptures. Bibl. Max., iii. 28, 31.

† Acta SS. Ordin. St. Bened., ii. 12. Vita S. Columb., ab auctore fere æquali. Invenitque castrum.....Luxovium.....Ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicina saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant.

‡ Ibid. Ibi nobilium liberi undique concurrere nitebantur.

§ We have his eloquent reply to a council assembled against him. Bibl. Max. Patrum, iii., Epist. 2, ad patres cujusdam gallicanæ super quæstiones paschæ congregatæ: "Unum depono a vestra sanctitate ut.....quia hujus diversitatis author non sim, ac pro Christo Salvatore communi Domino ac Deo in has terras peregrinus processerim, deprecor vos per communem Dominum qui judicaturum .....ut mihi liceat cum vestra pace et charitate in his sylvis silere et vivere juxta

Brunehaut occasioned his expulsion from Luxeuil. Having been reconducted along the Loire out of Gaul, he returned thither through the domains of Clotaire II., who received him with honour. It was, in fact, an immense advantage for that prince to appear in the eyes of the nations as the protector of the saints whom his enemies persecuted. From thence St. Colomban passed into Switzerland, where St. Gall, his disciple, founded the famous monastery of that name. Then he settled in Italy, under the Bavarian Agilulfe, King of the Lombards. He built himself a retreat there at Bobbio, where he remained until his death, despite of all the urgent entreaties of the victorious Clotaire that he would return to him.\* It was from thence that he wrote to the pope his eloquent and curious letters for the union of the Irish and Roman churches. He speaks in them in the name of the king and queen of the Lombards. It was at their intreaty, he says, that he wrote. Perhaps the opinions he expresses as to the superiority of the church of Ireland were shared by Clotaire and his son Dagobert; at least, we see those princes multiplying the monasteries of St. Colomban throughout all France. On the other hand the Ostrasian race of the Carolingians entered into a strict union with the pope, and subjected all their monasteries to the rule of St. Benedict.

From the great schools of Luxeuil and Bobbio issued the founders of a multitude of abbeys. St. Gall, of whom we have already spoken; St. Magnus and St. Theodore, the first abbots of Kempten and Fuessen, near Auxburg; St. Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the three apostles of Flanders; St. Wandrille, a kinsman of the Carolingians, the founder of the great school of Fontenel in Normandy, which was destined in its turn to be the metropolis of so many others. It was Clotaire II. who raised St. Amand to the episcopal dignity; and Dagobert desired that his son should be baptised by that saint. St. Eloi, Dagobert's minister, founded Solignac in Limousin, whence issued St. Remacle, the great Bishop of Liege. He had said one day to Dagobert, "My liege, grant me this gift, that I may make of it a ladder by which you and I may ascend to heaven."†

Besides these schools others were opened by learned virgins for persons of their own sex. Not to mention those of Poitiers and Arles, or that of Maubeuge, where St. Aldegonde wrote her revelations,‡ St. Gertrude, Abbess of Nivelles, had gone to study in Ireland;§ and St.

*omnium nostrorum fratrum decem et septem defunctorum, sicut usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos vixisse duodecim annis.....Capiat nos simul, oro, Gallia, quod capiet regnum calorum, si boni simus meriti.....Confiteor conscientie mee secreta, quod plus credo traditioni patris mee....."*

\* Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., ii. 21.

† Gesta Dagob., c. 17, sqq. ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 585. Sancti Eligii Vita., ibid., iii., 552-556. Hanc mihi, domine mi rex, serenitas tua concedat, quo possim et mihi et tibi scalam construere, per quam mereamur ad celestia regna uterque ascendere.

‡ The book is lost.

§ Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., ii. 664, 665.

Bertille, Abbess of Chelles, was so celebrated that disciples of both sexes thronged around her from all Gaul and from Great Britain.”\*

What was the new rule imposed on this multitude of monasteries? The Benedictines would fain have us believe that it was none other than that of St. Benedict, and the very facts they cite evidently prove the contrary. For instance, some nuns induced St. Donatus, St. Colomban's disciple, who had become Bishop of Besançon, to make a digest for them of the rules of St. Cesarius of Arles, St. Benedict, and St. Colomban. St. Projectus did the like for other nuns; those rules were, therefore, not identical.

The rule of St. Colomban, opposed in this respect to that of St. Benedict, did not prescribe the obligation of regular labour; it subjected the monk to an enormous number of prayers. In general it does not wear the impress of that positive spirit which distinguishes the other in so eminent a degree. Like the other it prescribes obedience, but it does not leave the penalties at the arbitrary disposal of the abbot; it defines them beforehand for each offence with minute and whimsical precision. In this strange penal code, there are many things which shock the modern reader. “A year's penance for the monk who has lost a host. Two days bread and water for the monk who has transgressed with a woman: one day only if he did not know that it was a fault.” In general their tendency is mystical. The legislator has more regard to the thoughts than to the acts of the monks. “The chastity of the monk,” he says, “is judged of by his thoughts. What avails it that he be virgin of body if he be not so of mind?”†

---

\* Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., ii. 24, 25.

† Acta. SS. Ord. S. Ben., ii. præfat.—The church of Rome was strongly interested in suppressing the writings of an enemy who had, nevertheless, left in the memory of the nations so great a reputation for sanctity. Thus the greater part of St. Colomban's books have perished. Some of them were still to be found in the sixteenth century at Besançon and at Bobbio, whence, it is said, they were conveyed to the libraries of Rome and of Milan.

‡ Bib. Max. Patrum, xii. 2.—The basis of the discipline is absolute obedience unto death. “Obedientia usque ad quem modum definitur? Usque ad mortem certe, quia Christus usque ad mortem obedivit Patri pro nobis.” What is the measure of prayer? “Est vera orandi traditio, ut possibilitas ad hoc destinati sine fastidio voti prævaleat.” He who loses the host shall be punished with a year's penance: he who suffers it to be eaten by worms, with six months. Twenty days for him who suffers the consecrated bread to become red. Forty days for him who by mistake throws it into the water. For him who vomits it from weakness of stomach twenty days,—from illness, ten days. Six stripes, twelve stripes, twelve psalms to repeat, &c., for neglecting to respond amen to the benedicite, for speaking during meals, for not making the sign of the cross on the spoon (*qui non signaverit cochlear quo lambit*), or on the lantern lighted by a younger brother. A hundred stripes for him who does a work apart. Ten stripes for him who strikes the table with his knife or spills his beer. Fifty for him who has not stooped down to pray, who has not sung well, who has coughed whilst chanting the psalms, or smiled during divine service, or who amuses himself with telling stories. He who recounts a sin already expiated shall be put on bread and water for one day (that he may not revive his past temptations?) “Si quis monachus dormierit in una domo cum muliere, duos dies in pane et



This reformation, doubly remarkable both for its celebrity, and for its connection with the awakening of the vanquished races in Gaul, was yet far from satisfying the real wants of the world. Pious practices and mystical impulses were not the things most needed at a time when barbarism was pressing so heavily upon the world, and when a new invasion was ever impending on the Rhine. St. Benedict had felt, with more reason, that such an epoch needed a humbler, a more laborious monachism to clear the face of the land which had become uncultivated and wild, and to reclaim the rugged soil of the barbarian mind. Far from putting himself in opposition with Rome, the natural centre of Romish and ecclesiastical civilisation, he saw the necessity of rallying round her. But the Irish church, animated with an indomitable spirit of individuality and of opposition, was not in accordance either with Rome or with herself. St. Gall, the chief disciple of St. Colomban, refused to follow him into Italy, remained in Switzerland, and wrought there on his own account.\* St. Colomban proceeding then to Italy employed himself in combating the Arianism of the Orientals. This was turning his face towards the world that was done instead of looking to Germany and to the future. While he was yet upon the Rhine, he entertained, for a moment, the thought of undertaking the conversion of the Sueves and afterwards that of the Slaves. An angel dissuaded him from this in a dream, and tracing out before him a plan of the world, pointed to Italy.† This want of sympathy for the Germans, for the obscure labour of their conversion, was the grand error of St. Colomban and of the Celtic church. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries, submissive disciples of Rome, went, with the aid of the Ostrasian dynasty, to gather in that harvest in Germany which Ireland would not or could not reap.‡

The impotence of the Celtic church and its want of unity are

*aqua; si nescivit quod non debet, unum diem.—Castitas vera monachi in cogitationibus judicatur. ....et quid prodest virgo corpore, si non sit virgo mente?"*

\* St. Gall pretended to have a fever, in order to avoid accompanying Colomban into Italy. "Ille vero existimans eum pro laboribus ibi consummandis amore loci detentum, viæ longioris detractare laborem, dicit ei: Scio frater jam tibi onerosum esse tantis pro me laboribus fatigari; tamen hoc discessurus denuntio, ne vivente me in corpore missam celebrare præsumas." A bear waited on St. Gall in his solitude, and brought him wood for his fire. St. Gall gave him a loaf: "Hoc pacto montes et colles circumpositos habeto communes." A poetic symbol of the alliance between man and living nature in solitude.

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., sec. ii. Cogitatio in mentem irrui ut Venetiorum, qui et Slavi dicantur, terminos adiret. Angelus Domini ei per visum apparuit, parvoque ambitu, velut in paginali solent stylo orbis describeret circulum, mundi compagem monstravit, etc.

‡ The Hollandists say, very justly, that there is between the rule of St. Colomban and that of St. Benedict, the same difference as between the rules of the Franciscans and those of the Dominicans; viz.: the opposition between the law and grace. The order of St. Benedict was destined to prevail, first over the RATIONALISM of the Pelagians; secondly, over the MYSTICISM of St. Colomban. With it begins that FREE LABOUR, the absence of which was the great malady of the expiring empire.

found likewise in the monarchy, which, at this period, nominally ruled all Gaul. The definitive dissolution seems to begin with the death of Dagobert. Under him it is probable that the ecclesiastical influence was superior to that of the *grandeess*. The priests, with whom we see him surrounded, must have followed the plans and practices of the old Neustrian government in its struggle against Ostrasia, that is to say, against the country of the barbarians and of the aristocracy. When the famous mayor of the palace, Ebroin, sent to ask advice of St. Ouen, Bishop of Rouen, Dagobert's old minister replied, without hesitation, "Bethink thee of Fredegonde."\*

(A.D. 638—56.)—The *grandeess* missed their blow at first in Ostrasia, under Sigebert III., the son of Dagobert. Pepin had been mayor, and been succeeded by his son, Grimoald; and the latter had attempted, upon the death of Sigebert, to make one of his own children king. He was seconded by Dido, Bishop of Poitiers, an uncle of the famous St. Leger. The uncle and the nephew were the chiefs of the *grandeess* in the South.† The true king was but three years old; he was got rid of without difficulty. Dido conveyed him to Ireland. But the freemen of Ostrasia laid a trap for Grimoald, arrested him, and sent him to Paris to the King of Neustria, Clovis II., the son of Dagobert, who put him to death with his son.

Thus, the three kingdoms were united under Clovis II., or rather under Erchinoald, mayor of the palace of Neustria. During the minority of the three sons of Clovis, this Erchinoald, and afterwards the famous Ebroin, filled the same office, supporting themselves by the name and sanctity of Bathilde, the widow of the last king. She was a Saxon slave, whom Clovis had made queen.‡ The mayors, the enemies of the *grandeess*, found their advantage in putting forward against them, before the face of the nations, a slave and a saint.

What was the precise nature of this office of *mayor of the palace*? M. de Sismondi cannot believe that the mayor was originally a royal officer, he regards him as a popular magistrate appointed for the protection of the freemen, like the justiza of Aragon. This sort of tribune and judge, he supposes to have been called *mord-dom*, judge of murder. These German words may easily have been confounded with those of *major domus*, and the office of mayor may have been assimilated with that of the count of the old imperial palace. There is no doubt that the mayor was often elected, and this, even at an early period, on occasions of minority, or of the weakness of the royal power; but it is likewise unquestionable that he was chosen

\* Gesta reg. Fr., c. 45. Ad beatum Audoenum direxit, quid ei consilii daret interrogaturus. At ille per internuntios hoc solum scripto dirigens, ait : De Fredegunde tibi subveniat in memoriam. At ille ingeniosus ut erat, intellexit.

† Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 1, etc. ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 611, sqq.—Fredegar. contin. ibid. 450.

‡ Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 449.

by the king, at least until Dagobert's time.\* No one, who knows the spirit of the Germanic family, will be surprised at finding in the mayor an officer of the palace. Domesticity ennobles in that family. All the functions reputed servile among the nations of the South, are honourable among those of the North, and, in reality, they are exalted by personal devotedness. In the Nibelungen, Rumolt, the master of the kitchens, is one of the principal leaders of the warriors. The electors held it an honour to bring in the bushel of oats at the festival of the imperial coronation, and to put the dishes on the table. Among these nations, whoever was great in the palace was great among the people. The superior of the palace (*major*) must have been the first of the *leudes*, their leader in war, their judge in peace. Now at a period, when freemen found their interest in being under the royal protection, in *truste regia*, in becoming *antrustions* and *leudes*, the judge of the *leudes* must, by degrees, have come to be a judge of the people.

(A. D. 659—70.)—The mayor Ebroin had undertaken an impossible task, viz., to establish unity when every thing was tending to dispersion; to establish royalty securely when the *grandees* were strengthening themselves on all sides. The two means he adopted to attain his ends would have been useful, had it been possible to put them in force. The first of these was, to choose the dukes and the *grandees* from another province than that in which they had their estates, their slaves, and their clients.† Being thus cut off from their personal means of power, they would have been simply the king's men, and would not have made their offices hereditary

\* In infantia Sigiberti omnes Austrasii, cum eligerent Chrodinum majorem domus... Ille respuens... Tunc Gogonem eligunt. Greg. Tur. epist., c. 58. ann. 628. Defuncto Gondoaldo... Dagobertus rex Erconaldum virum illustrem in majorem domus statuit.—656. Defuncto Erconaldo... Franci in incertum vacillantes, præfinito consilio Ebruino hujus honoris altitudine Majorem domo in aula regis statuunt (Dagobert was dead and they had elected Clotaire III. to be king). Gesta Reg. Fr. 42, 45.—626. Clotarius II. cum proceribus et leudis Burgundiæ Treccassis conjungitur, cum eos sollicitasset si vellent mortuo jam Warnachario alium in ejus honoris gradum sublimare. Sed omnes unanimiter denegantes se nequaquam velle Majorem domus eligere, regis gratiam obnixè petentes cum rege transigere... Fredegar., c. 54, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 435.—641. Flaochatus, genere Francus, Major domus in regnum Burgundiæ, electione pontificum et cunctorum ducum, a Nantichilde regina in hunc gradum honoris stabilitur. Ibid., c. 89.—See the following books. Mr. Pertz has collected, in his *Geschichte der Merowingischen Hausmeister* (1819), all the names by which the mayors of the palace were designated:—Major domus regis, domus regalis, domus, domus palatii, domus in palatio, palatii, in aula.—Senior domus.—Princeps domus.—Princeps palatii.—Præpositus palatii.—Præfectus domus regis.—Præfectus palatii.—Præfectus aulæ.—Rector palatii.—Nutritor et bajulus regis. (Fredeg., c. 86.)—Rector aulæ, imo totius regni.—Gubernator palatii.—Moderator palatii.—Dux palatii, Custos palatii et tutor regni.—Subregulus.—Thus the mayor becomes almost the king, and the phrase *to govern the palace* was used in the sense of *to govern the kingdom*. “Bathilda regina, quæ cum Chlotario filio Francorum regebat palatium.”

† Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 1, ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 613.

in their families. Furthermore, Ebroin appears to have attempted to assimilate with each other the various laws and usages of the nations that composed the empire of the Franks.\* The attempt appeared tyrannical, and it was so, in fact, at that period. Thus, Ebroin lost Ostrasia in the first place. It insisted upon having a king, a mayor, and a government of its own. Then, the *grandees* of Ostrasia, and of Burgundy, among others St. Leger, Bishop of Autun, nephew of Dido, Bishop of Poitiers (both of them were friends of the Pepins),† marched against Ebroin in the name of young Childeric II., King of Ostrasia.‡ Ebroin, abandoned by the *grandees* of Neustria, was shut up in the monastery of Luxeuil. St. Leger, who had contributed to the revolution, derived little advantage from it. He was accused, whether justly or not, of aspiring to the throne, in concert with Victor the Roman, the sovereign patrician of Marseilles, who had come to Childeric upon a certain business.§ The *grandees* of the North inspired the king with natural distrust against the leader of the *grandees* of the South, and St. Leger was shut up in Luxeuil along with that same Ebroin whom he had himself placed there in captivity. The softened manners of the times are here visible. Under the first Merovingians, such a suspicion would have infallibly caused bloodshed.

(A. D. 670—3.)—Meanwhile Childeric, the Ostrasian, had no sooner breathed the air of Neustria, than he, too, became the enemy of the *grandees*. In a fit of rage, he had one of them, named Bodilo, scourged with rods. This servile chastisement incensed them all. Childeric was assassinated in the forest of Chelles. The murderers did not even spare his pregnant wife and his infant son.||

(A. D. 673—80.)—Ebroin and St. Leger came out of Luxeuil, reconciled in appearance, but they soon separated to take advantage of the two revolutions which had been effected in Ostrasia and in Neustria. The parts were changed. Whilst the *grandees* were triumphing with St. Leger in Neustria through the death of Chil-

\* Ibid. *Inter ea Hilderico regi expetunt universi ut talia daret decreta per tria quæ obtinuerat regna, ut uncuscuque patriæ legem vel consuetudinem observaret, sicut antiqui iudices conservavere.*

† Ibid., *passim*.

‡ The quarrel between St. Leger and Ebroin thus involved a national quarrel, a hostility between towns. St. Leger, bishop of Autun, was supported by the Bishop of Lyon (see Vita 1a. S. Leodeg., c. 8, 11), and had against him the bishops of Valence and Chalons (c. 9). These two towns thus made war against their rivals, the two capitals of Burgundy. When St. Leger had voluntarily surrendered himself to his enemies, Autun was not the less obliged to ransom itself (c. 10). They wished also to expel the Bishop of Lyon, but the Lyonese armed in his defence (c. 11). The towns evidently took an active part in the quarrel.

§ Vita S. Leodeg., c. 5. *Vir quidam nobilis, Hictor vocatus nomine, qui tunc regebat in fascibus Patriciatum Massiliæ... ad Hildericum regem pro quadam causâ advenerat... Mendacem fabulam de Leodegario et Hictore confingunt, quasi ideo insimul fuissent conjuncti ut regiam dominationem everterent, et potestatis jura sibi met usurparent.*

|| Gesta Reg. Fr., c. 45.

deric, the freemen of Ostrasia had brought back from Ireland that child of Dagobert II., whom the Pepin family had formerly removed from the throne, with the hope of seating themselves upon it. The freemen of Ostrasia formed an army for Ebroin, and brought him back in triumph to Neustria, where he caused St. Leger to be degraded, blinded, and put to death, as guilty of having advised the death of Childeric. At that very moment another Merovingian was killed in Ostrasia by the friends of St. Leger. The two Pepins, and Martin, the grandson of Arnolph, Bishop of Metz, and nephew of Grimoald, caused Dagobert II., the king of the freemen, that is to say, of the party allied with Ebroin, to be condemned by a council and poignarded. Ebroin avenged Dagobert, as he had avenged Childeric II. He drew Martin into a conference, and had him assassinated. He himself was slain shortly afterwards by a Frank noble whom he had threatened with death.\*

(A. D. 687.)—This remarkable man had, like Fredegonde, successfully defended Western France, and had for twenty years retarded the triumph of the Ostrasian grandees; his death threw Neustria into their hands. His successors were defeated by Pepin at Testry, between St. Quentin and Peronne.†

This victory of the grandees over the popular party, of Germanic Gaul over Roman Gaul, did not seem, at first, to lead to any change of dynasty. Pepin adopted the very king in whose name Ebroin and his successors had fought. Nevertheless, the battle of Testry may be considered as the downfall of the family of Clovis. It matters little that that family still paraded the title of king in the obscurity of some monastery or another; henceforth, the name of the Merovingian princes will no longer be pronounced as a party watch-word, they will soon cease to be employed, even as instruments; the last term of their decline is arrived.

According to an old legend, the father of Clovis having carried off Basine, the wife of the King of Thuringia, "She said to him the first night, when they were in bed, 'Stay; get thee up, and what thou shalt have seen in the court of the palace, thou shalt tell thy servant.' Having got up, he saw, as it were, lions, unicorns, and leopards, walking about. He returned, and told what he had seen. The woman then said to him, 'Go, see again, and return and tell thy servant.' He went out, and this time he saw bears and wolves. The third time, he saw dogs and other mean beasts. They passed the night chastely, and when they got up Basine said to him, 'What thou hast seen with thine eyes, is surely true. There will be born to us a lion; his courageous sons have for symbols the

\* Vita Ia. S. Leodeg., c. 16. Cuidam optimati, qui tunc functionem fiscalem ministravit, inventa occasione, eo usque intulit spoliū, donec pene auferret omne ejus prædium: insuper minabatur etiam mortis periculum.—M. de Sismondi seems not to have accurately translated this passage.

† Annal. Metenses, ad ann. 690. Contin. Fredeg., c. 100. Chron. Moissiac. ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 653.

leopard and the unicorn; of them will spring bears and wolves for courage and voracity; the last kings are dogs, and the throng of little beasts indicates those who will harass the people, ill defended by its kings."\*

The degeneration of these Merovingians was, indeed, rapid. Of the four sons of Clovis, one only, Clotaire, left any posterity; one only, of the four sons of Clotaire had children. Those who followed died almost all in early youth. They seem to have been a peculiar species of men. Every Merovingian was a father at fifteen, and decrepit at thirty; most of them did not even attain that age. Charibert II. died at twenty-five, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. died at twenty-six and twenty-three, Childeric II. at twenty-four, Clotaire III. at eighteen, Dagobert II. at twenty-six or twenty-seven, &c. A symbol of this race were the *Enervés* of Jumièges, those young princes whose joints were cut, and who were turned adrift in a boat down the river that bore them towards the ocean; but they were saved and received into a monastery.

Who cut the sinews, and broke the bones of these children of the barbarian kings? It was their fathers' premature entrance upon the wealth and the luxuries of the Roman world which they had invaded. Civilisation gives light and enjoyment to men. Enlightenment and intellectual occupation counteract, among cultivated minds, the enervating effects of physical enjoyments. But barbarians, who find themselves suddenly placed in the midst of a disproportioned civilisation, accept no part of it but its enjoyments. It is not to be wondered at, if they are consumed by them and melt away as snow before fire.

The poor old historian, Fredegarius, expresses in a very melancholy manner, in his own barbarous language, this dwindling away of the Merovingian world. After having announced, that he will endeavour to continue the work of Gregory of Tours, "I could have wished," he says, "that I had been gifted with so much eloquence as to resemble him in some small degree, but water is drawn more charily from a source which is not perennial. The world is now growing old; sagacity is becoming blunted in us; no man of this day can resemble the orators of preceding ages, none durst presume to do so."†

---

\* Greg. Tur. epist. ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 397. Basine, like the Brunhild of the Edda, had the gift of second sight, and, like her, surrendered herself to the most valiant. "Novi utilitatem tuam, quod sis valde strenuus, ideoque veni ut habitum tecum: non noveris si in transmarinis partibus aliquem cognovissem utiliorem te, expetissem utique cohabitationem ejus." Greg. Tur., ap. Scr. Fr., ii., 168.

† Fredegar., ap. Scr. Fr., ii. 414. Optaveram et ego ut mihi succumberet talis dicendi facundia, ut vel paululum esset ad instar. Sed carius hauritur, ubi non est perennitas aquæ. Mundus jam senescit, ideoque prudentiæ acumen in nobis tepescit, nec quisquam potest hujus temporis, nec præsumet oratoribus præcedentibus esse consimilis.

## CHAPTER II.

Carlovingians.—VIIIth, IXth, and Xth Centuries.

“THE man of God, St. Colmban, went to Theudebert and counselled him to lay aside arrogance and presumption, to become a clerk, and to enter the bosom of the Church, submitting to her holy religion, lest, in addition to the loss of his temporal kingdom, he should incur that of life eternal. This excited the laughter of the king and all the by-standers; for, they said, they had never heard tell that a Merovingian, raised to royalty, had voluntarily become a clerk. Whilst every body thus expressed scorn and aversion for his words, Colmban exclaimed, ‘He disdains the honour of being a clerk; he will be one in spite of himself.’”\*

This passage reveals to us one of the chief differences existing between the first and the second race. The Merovingians enter the church in spite of themselves; the Carlovingians voluntarily. The progenitor of this latter family was Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, whose son, Chlodulf, succeeded him in that bishopric. Arnulf’s brother was Abbot of Bobbio; St. Wandrille was his grandson. This whole family was closely united with St. Leger. Carloman, the brother of Pepin le Bref, became a monk in Mount Cassin; his other brothers were respectively Archbishop of Rouen, and Abbot of St. Denis. Charlemagne’s cousins, Adalhard, Wala, and Bernard, were monks. Drogon, a brother of Louis le Debonnaire, was Bishop of Metz, three other brothers were monks, or clerks. St. Guillaume of Toulouse, the great saint of the South, was the cousin and guardian of Charlemagne’s eldest son. This ecclesiastical character of the Carlovingians sufficiently explains their close union with the pope, and their predilection for the order of St. Benedict.

Arnulf was sprung, it is said, of an Aquitanian father, and of a Sueve mother.† That Aquitanian, named Ansbert, is said to have belonged to the family of the Ferreoli, and to have been the son-in-law of Clotaire I. This genealogy appears to have been trumped

\* *Aiebant enim nunquam se audiisse Merovingum in regno sublimatum, voluntarium clericum fuisse. Detestantibus ergo omnibus....*—*Vita S. Columb.* in *Actis Ord. S. Bened.*, *sec. ii.*, p. 27.

† *Acta SS. Ord., S. Ben.*, *sec. ii.* In a life of St. Arnoul, by a certain Umno, who alleges that he writes by order of Charlemagne, it is said, *Carolus cui fuit tritavus Arnolfus.—Regem Chlotarium; cujus filiam, Bhlithildem, nomine Ansbertus, vir Aquitanicus, præpotens divitiis et genere, in matrimonium accepit, de qua Burtgisum genuit, patrem B. hujus Arnulfi.*—And further on: *Natus est B. Arnulfus Aquitanico patre; Sueviâ matre in castro Lacoensi (at Lay, diocese of Tulle) in comitatu Calvimontensi.*

up in order to connect the Carolingians on the one side with the Merovingian dynasty, on the other with the most illustrious house of Roman Gaul.\* Be this as it may, I can easily believe, from the frequent intermarriages between the Ostrasian and Aquitanic families,† that the Carolingians may, in reality, have sprung from a mixture of those races.

This episcopal house of Metz‡ combined two advantages which tended to secure the crown to it. On the one hand, it was strictly allied to the Church; on the other hand, it was established in the most Germanic country of Gaul. Every thing, moreover, was in its favour; the royal authority was reduced to nothing, the freemen were diminishing in number day by day; the *grandeess*, alone, *leudes* and bishops, were gathering strength and stability. The power of the state was destined to pass into the hands of him who should combine the qualifications of a great proprietor and a chief of the *leudes*. It was necessary, moreover, that all these conditions should be concentrated in a great episcopal family, in an Ostrasian family; that is to say, one friendly to the Church and to the barbarians. The Church, which had called in Clovis and his Franks against the Goths, would naturally favour the Ostrasians against Neustria, when the latter began, under Ebroin, to organise a lay power, rivalling that of the clergy.

(A.D. 687—714.)—The battle of Testry, that victory of the *grandeess* over the royal authority, or, at least, over the royal name, did but complete, proclaim, and legitimise the dissolution. All nations must have beheld in it the judgment of God against the unity of the Empire. The south of Aquitaine and Burgundy ceased to be France; and we soon find those districts designated under Charles

\* See Lefebvre, *Disquis*, and Valois, *Rer. Fr.*, lib. viii. and xvii. In the old life of St. Ferreol we find: Sanctus Ferreolus, natione Narbonensis, a nobilissimis parentibus originem duxit; hujus genitor Anspertus, ex magno senatorum genere prosapiam nobilitatis deducens, accepit Chlotarii regis Francorum filiam, vocabulo Blitil. The monk Ægidius, in his additions to the history of the bishops of Utrecht, composed by the Abbé Harigère, says that Bodegisile or Boggis, son of Anspert, possessed five duchies in Aquitaine. According to this genealogy the wars of Charles Martel and Eudes, of Pepin and Hunald, would have been family wars.

† See the important charter of 845 (*Hist. du Sang.*, Preuves, p. 85, and notes, p. 688). The dukes of Aquitaine, Boggis, and Bertrand, married the Ostrasians, Ode and Bhigberte. Eudes, son of Boggis, married the Ostrasian Waltrude. These marriages furnished St. Hubert, the brother of Eudes, with opportunity to settle in Ostrasia, under the protection of Pepin, and to found the bishopric of Liège.

‡ The Carolingian house gave three bishops to Metz in a century and a half, Arnulf, Chrodulf, and Drogon. As the bishops frequently married before entering into orders, they had no difficulty in bequeathing their sees to their sons or grandsons. Thus the Apollinares laid claim of hereditary right to the bishopric of Clermont. Gregory of Tours, speaking of a man who sought to supplant him: "He knew not, the wretch, that except five, all the bishops who had filled the see of Tours were connected by blood with our family." (*L. V.*, c. 50., ap. *Sc. Rer. Fr.*, ii. 264.)



Martel as *Roman countries*: he penetrated, say the chronicles, as far as into Burgundy. In the East and the North, the Allemann dukes, the Frieslanders, Saxons, Sueves, and Bavarians, had no need to submit to the Duke of the Ostrasians, who, perhaps, would not have been victorious without them. Through his very victory, Pepin found himself solitary. He hastened to associate himself again with the party of Ebroin, which was nothing else than that of Gaulish unity. He made his son marry a potent matron, the widow of the last mayor, and one who was beloved by the party of the freemen.\* Abroad he endeavoured to bring back, under the sway of the Franks, the Germanic tribes who had shaken off the yoke, the Frieslanders in the North, and the Sueves in the South. But these efforts were far from sufficient to re-establish unity. Things were much worse at his death. His successor in the office of mayor was his grandson Theobald, under the guardianship of his widow Plectrude. King Dagobert III., as yet a child, was subject to an infant mayor, and both of them to a woman. The Neustrians easily enfranchised themselves. Ostrasia, thus disarmed, lay open to any who chose to attack her; the Frieslanders and the Neustrians ravaged her, the Saxons overran all her possessions in Germany.

(A.D. 715.)—The Ostrasians, trampled on by all nations, turned their backs upon Plectrude and her son. They brought forth from prison a valiant bastard of Pepin, Carl, surnamed Marteau. Pepin had left him nothing. He was an accursed branch, hateful to the Church, sullied with the blood of a martyr. St. Lambert, Bishop of Liege, had one day expressed at the royal table his contempt for Alpaide, the mother of Carl, Pepin's concubine. Alpaide's brother broke into the episcopal house, and slew the bishop at his prayers. Grimoald the son and heir of Pepin, having gone upon a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Lambert was slain there; doubtless by the friends of Alpaide. Carl himself was distinguished as an enemy to the Church. His heathen surname of *Marteau* (hammer) inclines me to doubt that he was a Christian. We know, that the hammer was the attribute of Thor; the emblem of heathen association, of property, of barbarian conquest. This circumstance would explain how it was that an empire, exhausted under the preceding reigns, suddenly furnished so many soldiers against both the Saxons and the Saracens. Those same men, who were allured into Carl's armies by the wealth of the Church, which he lavished upon them, may gradually have adopted the creed of their new country, and they prepared a generation of soldiers for Pepin le Bref and Charlemagne. The bastard and outlaw Carl, or Charles Martel, presents an exceptional, and far from Christian aspect in this wholly ecclesiastical family of the Carolingians.†

\* Annal. Met., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 681.

† If we are to believe some authors, France was at this period on the verge of becoming pagan. Bonifac., epist. 32, ann. 742: *Franci enim, ut seniores*

(A. D. 717.)—At first the Neustrians, beaten by him at Vincy, near Cambrai, called to their aid the Aquitanians, who constituted a formidable power since the dissolution of the empire of the Franks. Eudes, their duke, advanced to Soissons, and joined the Neustrians, who were, nevertheless, beaten. Perhaps, he would have continued the war with advantage, but he had then an enemy in his rear. The Saracens, masters of Spain, had seized Languedoc. From the Roman and Gothic town of Narbonne, which they occupied, their innumerable cavalry made daring sallies northwards as far as Poitou and Burgundy,\* confident in the celerity of their movements, and in the indefatigable vigour of their African horses. The prodigious rapidity of these brigands, who swept across the country in every direction, seemed to multiply their numbers. They began to make their appearance in larger bodies, and it was feared, that, according to their usual custom, after having converted a part of the countries of the South into a desert, they would, at last, settle there. Eudes, after sustaining one defeat at their hands, applied to the Franks themselves. An encounter took place near Poitiers, between the rapid riders of Africa, and the heavy battalions of the Franks (732). The former, after satisfying themselves that they could effect nothing against an enemy redoubtable for his strength and his numbers, withdrew during the night. What may have been the loss sustained by the Arabs, it is impossible to say. This regular engagement between the men of the North, and those of the South, struck the imagination of the chroniclers of the times; they assumed that this encounter of the two races could not have taken place without an immense massacre.† Charles Martel pushed on into Languedoc, laid siege without effect to Narbonne, entered Nîmes, and endeavoured to burn the Arènes, which had been

---

*dicunt plus quam per tempus lxxx. annorum synodum non fecerunt, nec archiepiscopum habuerunt, nec ecclesiæ canonica jura alicubi fundabant vel renovabant.*—Hincmar, *epist.* 6, c. 19. *Tempore Caroli principis...in Germanicis et Belgicis ac Gallicanis provinciis omnis religio Christianitatis penè fuit abolita, ita ut...multi jam in orientalibus regionibus idola adorarent et sine baptismo manerent.*

\* In 725 they took Carassonne, received Nîmes by way of composition, and destroyed Autun (*Chronic. Moissiac.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, ii. 655). In 731 they burned the church of St. Hilaire de Poitiers (*Fredegari contin.*, *ib.*, 454. *Gesta Reg. Fr.*, *ib.*, 574).

† According to Paul Diacre (*l. vi.*), the Saracens lost three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Isidore de Béjà wrote an account of this war twenty-two years after the battle in barbarous Latin. A part of his narrative is in rhyme, or rather in assonance. (We find assonances in the song of the inhabitants of Modena, composed about 924):

Abdirraman multitudine repletam  
Sui exercitus prospiciens terram,  
Montana Vaceorum disecans,  
Et fretosa et plana percalcans,  
Trans Francorum intus expeditat.

Isidor. *Pacensis*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, ii. 721.

changed into a fortress; the marks of the fire are still visible upon the walls.

(A. D. 732—41.)—But it was not from the South that danger was most to be apprehended; the Germanic invasion was much more to be feared than that of the Saracens. The latter were established in Spain, and their divisions soon confined them to that country; but the Frieslanders, the Saxons, and the Allemanns, were always invited towards the Rhine by the wealth of Gaul, and the recollection of their ancient invasions. It was only by a long series of expeditions that Charles Martel succeeded in repulsing them. With what soldiers can he have made these expeditions? We know not; but every thing leads to the belief, that he recruited his army in Germany. It was easy for him to attract to him warriors among whom he distributed the spoils of the Bishops and Abbots of Neustria and Burgundy.\* In order to employ these same Germans against the Germans their brethren, it was necessary to make them Christians. This explains why Charles was, in the end, the friend of the popes, and their supporter against the Lombards. The pontifical missions created in Germany a Christian population friendly to the Franks,

---

\* Chronic. Virdun., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., iii. 364. Tanta enim profusione thesaurum totius aerarii publici dilapidatus est, tanta dedit militibus, quos soldarios vocari mos obtinuit (soldarii, soldurii? we have seen that the *devoted* liege men [les dévoués] of Aquitaine were so called)...ut non ei suffecerit thesaurus regni, non deprædatio urbium...non exspoliatio ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, non tributa provinciarum. Ausus est etiam, ubi hæc defecerunt, terras ecclesiarum diripere, et eas commilitonibus illis tradere, etc.—Frodoard., l. ii., c. 12. "When Charles Martel had defeated his enemies, he expelled from his see the pious Rigobert, his godfather, who had held him at the baptismal font, and gave the bishopric of Reims to one Milo, a mere tonsured person, who had followed him to the war. This Charles Martel, sprung from the concubinage of a female slave, as we read in the annals of the Frank kings, more audacious than all the kings his predecessors, gave not only the bishopric of Reims, but many others besides of the realm of France, to laymen and counts; in such sort that he took away from the bishops all power over the property and the affairs of the church. But all the evils he had inflicted on that holy person and on the other churches of Jesus Christ, the Lord by a righteous judgment caused to revert on his own head: for we read in the writings of the Fathers that St. Eucière, formerly Bishop of Orleans, whose body is deposited in the monastery of St. Trudon, being one day at prayer and absorbed in meditation of heavenly things, was rapt into the other world; and there, by revelation from the Lord, he saw Charles tormented in the bottom of hell. On his asking the cause thereof of the angel who was his guide, the latter replied, that by the sentence of the saints, who in the future judgment will hold the balance with the Lord, he was condemned to everlasting punishment for having laid hands on their property. On returning to this world St. Eucière made haste to relate what he had seen to St. Boniface, whom the holy see had delegated to France for the purpose of there re-establishing canonical discipline, and to Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, and first chaplain of King Pepin; giving them this token of the truth of what he related touching Charles Martel, that if they went to his tomb they would not find his body there. Accordingly they having gone to the place of Charles' burial, and having opened his tomb, there issued from it a serpent; and the tomb was found empty, and blackened as though it had been on fire."

and each tribe must have come to be divided into a Christian and heathen portion; the latter of which remained obstinately attached to the soil and to the primitive condition of the tribe, whilst the Christian portion furnished soldiers for the armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

The instrument of this great revolution was St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. The Anglo-Saxon church, to which he belonged, was not like that of Ireland, Gaul, or Spain, a sister and an equal of that of Rome; she was the daughter of the popes. Through that church, Roman in spirit,\* German in language, Rome obtained a hold upon Germany. St. Colomban had disdained to preach to the Sueves. The Celts, with their hard spirit of opposition to the Germanic race, could not be the instruments of its conversion. A principle of anti-hierarchical rationalism, a spirit of individuality, of division, prevailed in the Celtic church. There needed a more binding, a more sympathetic element, to attract these last comers of the barbarians to Christianity. It was necessary to speak to them of Christ in the name of Rome; in that great name which had filled their ears for so many generations. In order to convert Germany, it was necessary that the disinterested genius of Germany herself should set the world an example of submission to the hierarchy, and should teach it to submit a second time to Roman centralisation.

Winfried (this is the Germanic name of Boniface) gave himself

---

\* Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., sæc. iii. Pope Zachary writes to St. Boniface: *Provincia in qua natus et nutritus es, quam et in gentem Anglorum et Saxonum in Britannia insula primi prædicatores ab apostolica sede missi, Augustinus, Laurentius, Justus et Honorius, novissime vero tuis temporibus Theodorus, ex Græco Latinus, arte philosophus et Athenis eruditus, Romæ ordinatus, pallio sublimatus, ad Britanniam præfatam transmissus, judicabat et gubernabat. . . .* This Theodoric, a Greek monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, had been sent to fill the see of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian; he was very learned in astronomy, music, metrical science, Greek, and Latin; he brought with him a Homer and a St. Chrysostom. He had for guide Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, born in Africa, a man of no less learning, who had been twice in France. (*Usque hodie supersunt eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut propriam norunt.*) Under them the Northumbrian monk Benedict Biscop procured artists from France, and built the monastery of Wearmouth, in Northumberland, in the Roman style of architecture; the walls were adorned with paintings bought at Rome, and the windows with glass brought from France. A master singer was brought from St Peter's at Rome. (*Beda, Hist. Abbat. Wiremouth.*) Theodore and Adrian had for pupils Alcuin and Aldhelm, a relation of King Ina, the first Saxon who wrote in Latin according to Camden; he himself sang his *Cantiones Saxonice* in the streets to the populace. William of Malmesbury calls him: "*Ex acumine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, ex pompâ Anglum.*" Warton, *Disert. on the Introd. of Learning into England*, i., 122.

† It may seem strange that the example was set by the Saxons, who, on the German soil, so long rejected Christianity, and who were the first to shake off the yoke of Rome at the voice of Luther. But those Saxons, when transplanted into Britain, had ceased to obey the descendants of the Ases, and had come to follow military chiefs. The necessities of their lengthened expeditions, and the novelties of conquest, had made them different men; and the conversion of their old country was itself another tempting conquest for these new Christians.

without reserve to the popes, and under their auspices he entered the vast heathen world of Germany, and traversed its barbarous populations. He was the Columbus and the Cortes of that unknown world, upon which he had ventured armed with no other weapon than his intrepid faith and the name of Rome. This heroic man, who so often crossed the sea, the Rhine, and the Alps, was a common bond between nations. It was through him the Franks kept up an understanding with Rome, and with the Germanic tribes. It was he, who, by means of religion and civilisation, attached those wandering tribes to the soil, and prepared, unknown to himself, the route for the armies of Charlemagne, as the missionaries of the sixteenth century opened America to those of Charles V. He erected on the Rhine that metropolis of German Christianity, the church of Mayence, the church of the empire; and further on Cologne, the church of the relics, the holy city of the Low Countries. The young school of Fulda, founded by him in the very heart of barbarian Germany, became the light of the West, and taught its masters. As first Archbishop of Mayence, it was from the pope he desired to hold the government of that new Christian world he had created. By his oath he pledged himself, and his successors, to the prince of the apostles, "Who alone ought to bestow the pallium on bishops."\* There was nothing servile in this submission. The good Winfried asks the pope in his simplicity, "Is it true that he, the pope, violates the canons and falls into the sin of simony?"† and he urges him to put an end to the heathen ceremonies still celebrated by the people in Rome, to the great scandal of the Germans. But the principal object of his hatred are the Scots (under which name are included the Scotch and Irish). He condemns their principle of the marriage of priests. He denounces to the pope, at one time, the famous Virgil, Bishop of Saltzburg;‡ at another, a priest named Samson, who suppressed baptism. Clement, another Irishman, and Adalbert, a Gaul, likewise troubled the church. Adalbert erected oratories and crosses near fountains (perhaps on ancient Druidical altars), and the people flocked to them and deserted the churches.§ This Adal-

\* Bonifac., epist. 105. *Decrevimus in nostro synodali conventu et confесси sumus fidem catholicam et unitatem, et subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ, sine tenus vitæ nostræ, velle servare; sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subijci. . . . Metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quærere: et per omnia, precepta Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur.*

† The pope writes thus to Boniface: *Talia nobis a te referuntur, quasi nos corruptores simus canonum, et patrum rescindere traditiones studeamus: ac per hoc (quod absit) cum nostris clericis in simoniacam hæresim incidamus, expectentes et accipientes ab illis præmia, quibus tribuimus pallia. Sed hortamur, carissime frater, ut nobis deinceps tale aliquid minime scribas.* Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., sæc. iii., 75.

‡ Ibid., 308-309.

*Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia primum  
Instituit, docuit, nutrit. . . . amavit.*

He it was who first affirmed that the earth is round.

§ St. Boniface writes thus to Pope Zachary: *Maximus mihi labor fuit adversus*

bert was so revered that many strove for the parings of his nails and the trimmings of his hair as for relics. Upon the authority of a letter which he received from Jesus Christ, he invoked angels whose names were unknown. He knew the sins of men beforehand, and did not harken to their confession. Winfried, the implacable enemy of the Celtic church, prevailed upon Charlemagne and Pepin to shut up Adalbert. This stern and uncompromising zeal was, at least, disinterested. After having founded nine bishoprics and many monasteries, he resigned the archbishopric of Mayence, when in the height of his glory, and at the age of seventy-three, to his disciple Lulle, and returned as a simple missionary into the woods and marshes of pagan Friesland, where he had preached for the first time forty years before. There he met with martyrdom.\*

Four years before his death (A. D. 752), he had anointed King Pepin in the name of the Pope of Rome, and transferred the crown to the new dynasty. This son of Charles Martel, left sole mayor by the retirement of one of his brothers to Mount Cassin, and by the flight of the other, was the well beloved son of the Church. He made reparation for the spoliations committed by Charles Martel, and was the pope's sole support against the Lombards. All this emboldened him to put an end to the long farce played by the mayors of the palace since the death of Dagobert, and to assume to himself the title of king. It was now nearly a hundred years since the Merovingians, shut up in their villa at Maumagne, or in some monastery, preserved but an idle shadow of royalty.† It was only in spring, at the opening of the Champs de Mars, that the idol was brought forth from its sanctuary, and the people was shown its king. Silent and grave, this long-haired, bearded king (these were the indispensable insignia of royalty, whatever was the prince's age) appeared, drawn slowly by oxen, in the Germanic car, like that of the goddess Hertha.‡ Amid all the revolutions that took place in the name of these kings, whether they were victors or vanquished, their fate varied little. They passed from the palace to the cloisters without remarking the difference. Frequently, even, the victorious mayor left his own king for the vanquished one, if the latter made a better appearance. Generally speaking, these poor kings hardly lived. Last scions of an enervated race, feeble and puny, they paid the penalty of their father's excesses. But their very youth, their inaction, their innocence, must have inspired the people

duos hæreticos pessimos, . . . unus qui dicitur Adelbert, natione Gallus, alter qui dicitur Clemens, genere Scotus.—Fecit quoque (Adelbert) cruciculas et oratoriola in campis et ad fontes; . . . ungulas quoque et capillos dedit ad honorificandum et portandum cum reliquiis S. Petri principis apostolorum. *Epist.*, 135.

\* *Acta SS. sæc. iii.* : Eginhard, *Annal. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 197.

† Like the Pontiff-king of Rome, the caliph at Bagdad in the decline, or the Dairo in Japan.

‡ Crine profuso, barba submissâ . . . quocumque eundum erat, carpento ibat, quod bubus junctis, bubulco rustico more agente, trahebatur. Eginhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 1, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 89.

with a profound idea of royal sanctity and of the king's right. The king early appeared to its eyes as an irreproachable being, perhaps as a fellow-sufferer, who lacked only the power to repair the miseries of the people; and the silence even of imbecility did not diminish the popular respect. That mute being seemed to keep the secret of the future. In many countries the people still believes, at this day, that there is something divine in idiots, as the heathen formerly recognised the divinity in brutes.

After the Merovingians, says Eginhard, the Franks appointed them two kings.\* Indeed, this duality is almost everywhere to be traced at the commencement of the Carolingian dynasty. Commonly two brothers reigned together, Pepin and Martin, Pepin and Carloman, Carloman and Charlemagne. When there was a third brother (for instance, Grifon, brother of Pepin le Bref), he was excluded.

This royalty of Pepin, founded by the priests, was devoted to the priests. The descendant of Bishop Arnulf, the relation of so many bishops and saints, bestowed great influence on the prelates.

(A. D. 753—55.)—Invariably the enemies of the Franks were found to be those of the Church; heathen Saxons; Lombards, the persecutors of the pope; Aquitanians, the despoilers of ecclesiastical property. Pepin's grand war was waged against Aquitaine. He made but one campaign in Saxony, by which he obtained liberty for the missionaries to preach,† and left the rest to them. Two campaigns were enough against the Lombards. Pope Stephen himself, having come in person to implore the aid of the Franks, Pepin crossed the Alps, stormed Pavia, and exacted from the Lombard, Astolph, that he should give up, not to the Greek empire, but to St. Peter and to the pope,‡ the towns of Ravenna, Emilia, Pentapolis, and those of the duchy of Rome. The Lombards and the Greeks must have been very little formidable, since Pepin could deem these provinces secure in the disarmed hands of a priest.

A very different sort of war was that which he waged in Aquitaine. That country, backed against the Western Pyrenees, and then occupied, as now, by the old Iberians, Vasques, Guasques, or Basques (Eusken), perpetually recruited its population from among those mountaineers. That people, agricultural in taste and genius, freebooters by their position, had long been compressed within their rocks by the

\* *Franci, facto solenniter generali conventu, ambos sibi reges constituunt, eâ conditione præmissâ ut totum regni corpus ex æquo partirentur.* Eginhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 1, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 90.

† Besides a tribute of three hundred horses. *Annal. Met. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 336. The horse was the principal victim immolated by the Persians and the Germans. Pope Zachary (Epist. 142) enjoins Boniface to prevent the eating of horseflesh, doubtless as a sacrificial meat.

‡ In reply to the emperor's remonstrances he said that he had undertaken that war for St. Peter's sake and for the remission of his sins. *Hinc de receptis civitatibus a B. Petro, atque a S. Romana ecclesia, vel ab omnibus in perpetuum pontificibus Apostolicæ sedis possidendis misit in scriptis donationem.* Anastas. *Biblioth.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 3.

Romans, and afterwards by the Goths. The Franks drove out the latter, but did not replace them. They failed several times against the Vasques, and appointed one Duke Genialis, doubtless a Roman of Aquitaine, to watch them (about A.D. 600).<sup>\*</sup> Meanwhile, the giants† of the mountain descended by degrees among the little men of Béarn, enveloped in their large red cloaks, and shod with the horsehair abarca, and advanced towards the North, men, women, and children, with their flocks. The Landes lay open to them as a vast highway. These elder sons of the ancient world came to demand their share of the beautiful plains, from the many successive usurpers, Gauls, Romans, and Germans. Thus, in the seventh century, upon the dissolution of the Neustrian empire, Aquitaine was renovated by the Vasques, as Ostrasia had been by the new Germanic immigrations. In both instances the name followed the people, and spread with it; the north was called *France*, the south Vasconia, *Gascony*. The latter spread as far as to the Adour, the Garonne, and, for a brief period, to the Loire. Then came the collision.

According to traditions of very doubtful authenticity, Amandus, the Aquitanian, made good his position in those countries about the year 628, beating the Franks with the help of the Basques, and the Basques with the help of the Franks. He is said to have given his daughter to Charibert, the brother of Dagobert.‡ After the death of his son-in-law, he defended Aquitaine in the name of his orphan grandsons against their uncle Dagobert. Perhaps the marriage of Charibert was only a fable invented in later times to connect the great families of Aquitaine with the first race. Shortly afterwards, however, we find the Aquitanian dukes marrying three Ostrasian princesses.

Eudes and Hubert were the great grandsons of Amandus. Hubert passed into Neustria, where the Mayor Ebroin then reigned, and subsequently into Ostrasia, the country of his aunt and of his grandmother. There he established himself under Pepin. Addicted to the chase, he roamed over the immense extent of the Ardennes. An apparition of a miraculous stag decided him to quit the world and enter the Church. He was the disciple and successor of St. Lambert of Maestricht, and founded the bishopric of Liège. He is the patron of hunters from Picardy to the Rhine.

His brother Eudes pursued a very different career. He believed himself, for a moment, King of all Gaul, being master of Aquitaine, as far as the Loire, and of Neustria in the name of King Chilperic II., whom he had in his hands. But the fate of the various dynasties of Toulouse was, as we shall see by and bye, to be evermore

<sup>\*</sup> Fredegar. Scholast., c. 21. I doubt very much that the Franks, who were beaten by them in the infancy of their empire, imposed a tribute upon them, as Fredegarus asserts, under the feeble progeny of Brunehaut.

† The Basques are men of very tall stature, particularly as compared with the Béarnais.

‡ See P<sup>H</sup>ist. Gen. du Languedoc, i. 688.



crushed between Spain and northern France. Eudes was beaten by Charles Martel; and the dread of the Saracens, who threatened his rear, determined him to deliver up Chilperic to the victor. He defeated the Saracens before Toulouse; but, afterwards being menaced by the Franks, he entered into treaty with the infidels. The Emir Munuza, who had made himself independent in the north of Spain, was in the same position with regard to the lieutenants of the caliph, as was Eudes with reference to Charles Martel. Eudes leagued with the emir and gave him his daughter in marriage.\* This strange alliance, of which there had been no previous examples, is an early evidence of the religious indifference whereof Gascony and Guienne afford us so many proofs. Their people were quick, versatile, intelligent; dexterous more than enough, in the affairs of this world, and but little occupied with those of the other. The country of Henry IV, of Montesquieu, and Montaigne, is not a country of devotees.

This political and impious alliance turned out very ill. Munuza was blockaded in a fortress by Abder Rahman, the caliph's lieutenant, and escaped captivity only by death. He threw himself from the top of a rock. The poor Frenchwoman was sent to the seraglio of the Caliph of Damascus. The Arabs crossed the Pyrenees, and Eudes was beaten, like his son-in-law; but the Franks themselves joined him, and Charles Martel assisted him to defeat the invaders at Poitiers (A.D. 732). Aquitaine, thus manifestly helpless, found itself in a sort of dependence upon the Franks.

Hunald, the son of Eudes, the hero of this race, could not submit to this. He began a desperate struggle against Pepin le Bref and Carloman (A.D. 741), in which he sought to engage all the declared or secret enemies of the Franks. He went even into Saxony and Bavaria in search of allies.† The Franks burned Berri, made a detour round Auvergne, drove back Hunald behind the Loire, and were recalled by the incursions of the Saxons and Allemans. Hunald crossed the Loire in his turn, and burned Chartres. Perhaps he would have obtained more signal successes, but he seems to have been betrayed by his brother Hatton, who governed Poitou under him. Here, already, we have the cause of the subsequent disasters of Aquitaine, viz.: the rivalry between Poitiers and Toulouse.

(A. D. 759—68.)—Hunald yielded, but revenged himself upon his brother, whose eyes he put out, and then he shut himself up to do

\* Isidorus Pacensis, ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 721. *Filiam suam Eudo, causâ fœderis ei in conjugium copulandam, ad persecutionem Arabum differendam jam olim tradiderat, ad suos libitus inclinandam.*

† Annal. Met. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 687. *Bajoarii . . . conductos in adjutorium Saxones et Alamannos et Sclavos secum habuerunt. . . Hunaldus, Ligerim transiens, Carnotis igne cremavit; hæc autem fecit per suggestionem Ogdilonis ducis; qui invicem fœdus inierunt, ut unusquisque eorum, irruentibus Francis, alter alteri subsidium debuissent.*

penance in a convent on the island of Rhé.\* His son, Guaifer (A.D. 745), found an auxiliary in Grifon, the younger brother of Pepin, as Pepin had found one in Hunald's brother. But the war of the South did not begin seriously till 759, when Pepin had beaten the Lombards. It was the period when the caliphate had just been divided. Alphonso the Catholic, intrenched in the Asturias, was reviving the monarchy of the Goths. Those of Septimania (Languedoc, excepting Toulouse) also exerted themselves to recover their independence. The Saracens, who occupied that country, were soon obliged to shut themselves up in Narbonne. A leader of the Goths had caused himself to be recognised by Nîmes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Béziers,† for their liege lord; but the Goths were not strong enough to reconquer Narbonne. They called in the aid of the Franks, who, having no skill in the art of sieges, would have remained for ever before the place, if the Christian inhabitants had not, at last, fallen upon the Saracens, and themselves opened the gates. Pepin swore to respect the laws and franchises of the country.‡

Thereupon he recommenced with advantage the war against the Aquitanians, whose eastern frontier he could, thenceforth, turn. "After the country had reposed from war for two years, King Pepin sent deputies to Guaifer, Prince of Aquitaine, calling upon him to restore to the churches of his realm the estates they possessed in Aquitaine. It was his will that those churches should enjoy their lands with all the immunities formerly insured to them; that that prince should pay to him, according to the law, the price of the life of certain Goths he had killed contrary to all justice; and, lastly, that he should deliver up to him those of Pepin's men who had fled from the realm of the Franks into Aquitaine. Guaifer disdainfully rejected all these demands."§

The war was tedious, bloody, and destructive. Several times the Aquitanians and the Basques|| made daring incursions as far as Autun and Chalons; but the Franks, better organised, and advancing in large bodies, did much more mischief to their enemies. They burned all Berri, trees and houses, and that more than once; then, entering into the heart of Auvergne, the fortresses of which they captured, they overran and burned Limousin. Then, with the same regularity, they burned Quercy, cutting down the vines that constituted the wealth of Aquitaine. "Prince Guaifer, seeing that the

\* Annal. Met. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., ii. 687 In monasterium quod Radis insula situm est, intravit.

† Chron. Moissiac. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 68.

‡ Ib., 69. Dato sacramento Gothi qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pipini regis Francorum, permitterent eos leges suas habere.

§ Contin. Fredeg. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 4. See also Eginhard, Annal. ibid., 199. Cum res quæ ad ecclesias . . . pertinebant, reddere nolisset.—Spondet se ecclesiis sua jura redditurum, etc.

|| Ib., 5. 6, 7: Waifarius cum exercitu magno et plurimorum Wasconorum, qui ultra Garonnam commorantur, qui antiquitus vocati sunt Vaceti . . .

King of the Franks, with the help of his machines, had captured the fortress of Clermont, as well as Bourges, the capital of Aquitaine, a very strongly fortified city, despaired, thenceforth, of being able to resist him, and caused the walls of all the towns belonging to him in Aquitaine to be demolished, to wit, Poitiers, Limoges, Saintes, Périgieux, Angoulême, and many others.\*

The unfortunate man withdrew into the fastnesses of the mountains, but every year cut off from him some of his followers. He lost his Count d'Auvergne, who fell in battle; his Count de Poitiers was killed in Touraine by the men of St. Martin de Tours.† His uncle, Remistan, who had abandoned him, and then supported him again, was taken and hanged by the Franks. Guaifer himself was at last assassinated by his own people, whose restless temperament was, doubtless, wearied out by a glorious but hopeless war. At last then, Pepin, triumphing by perfidy, beheld himself sole master of all Gaul; all-powerful in Italy, by the humiliation of the Lombards; all-powerful in the Church, by the friendship of the popes and bishops, to whom he transferred almost all the legislative authority. His reform of the Church, through the instrumentality of St. Boniface, and his numerous translations of relics, of which he robbed Italy to enrich France, procured him infinite honour. He himself appeared on solemn ceremonial occasions carrying the relics upon his shoulders; among others, those of St. Austremon, and those of St. Germain-des-Près.‡

Charles,§ the son and successor of Pepin (A. D. 768), soon found himself sole master of the Empire by the death of his brother Carlo-

\* Contin. Fredeg. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 6. Pectavis, Lemodicas, Santonis, Petreors, Equolisma, et reliquas, quam plures civitates et castella, omnes muros eorum in terram prostravit.....

† Ib., 6; Comes Pictavensis, dum Turonicam infestatam prædaret, ab hominibus Vulfardi abbatis monasterii B. Martini interfectus est.

‡ Secunda S. Austremonii translatio, ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 433. Rex ad instar David regis....oblita regali purpura, præ gaudio omnem illam insignem vestem lacrymis perfundebat, et ante sancti martyris exequias exultabat, ipsiusque sacratissima membra propriis humeris evehebat. Erat autem hiems. Translat. S. Germani. Pratens., ib., 428.....mittentes, tam ipse quam optimates ab ipso electi, manus ad feretrum.....

§ It is commonly said that CHARLEMAGNE is a translation of CAROLUS MAGNUS. "Challemaines si vaut autant comme grant Challes." (Chron. de St. Denis, l. i., c. 4.)—Charlemagne is only a corruption of *Carloman*, KARLMANN, strong man. The Chronicles of St. Denis themselves have Challes and Challemaines for Charles and Carloman (maine, a French corruption of mann; like lana, laine, &c.). We find in the Chron. of Theophanes a still more positive text. He calls Carloman *Καρολλόμαγνος*. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 187. The two brothers had therefore the same name. In the tenth century Charles the Bald also acquired the surname of Great, like his ancestor, through the ignorance of the Latin monks. Epitaph. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., viii. 322.

Nomen qui nomine duxit

De Magni Magnus, de Caroli Carolus.

In a similar manner the Greeks were mistaken as to the name of Elagabal, out of which they chose, right or wrong, to make Heliogabalos, from the Greek *ἥλιος*, the sun.

man, as Pepin l'Ancien had been by that of Martin, and Pepin le Bref by the retirement of the first Carloman. The two brothers had easily extinguished the war, which had begun to break out again in Aquitaine. Old Hunald, coming forth from his convent after three-and-twenty years, strove, in vain, to avenge his son, and to free his country. He was himself delivered up by a son of that brother whose eyes he had formerly put out. That indomitable man did not yet give way; he contrived to retire to Italy, to Didier, King of the Lombards. Didier, to whom his son-in-law Charles, had sent back his daughter with gross insult, retaliated by supporting the nephews of Charles, and threatening to enforce their rights. The King of the Franks marched into Italy, and laid siege to Pavia and Verona. Those two towns made a long resistance. Hunald had thrown himself into the former of them, and he hindered the inhabitants from surrendering until they stoned him.\* Didier's son took refuge in Constantinople, and the Lombards retained only the duchy of Benevento. It was the central part of the kingdom of Naples; the Greeks possessed the ports. Charles took the title of King of the Lombards.

(A. D. 773—4.)—The empire of the Franks was already old and exhausted when it fell into the hands of Charlemagne; but all the surrounding nations were enfeebled. Neustria was no longer any thing; the Lombards not much. Being for sometime divided between Pavia, Milan, and Benevento, they had never perfectly recovered their strength. The Saxons, a far more formidable power, it is true, were taken in the rear by the Slaves. The Saracens lost the unity of their empire the same year in which Pepin became king. Spain separated from Africa, and was, herself, enfeebled by the schism in the caliphate. This latter event secured Aquitaine upon the side of the Pyrenees. Thus, two nations remained erect in this general prostration of the West; feeble, but the least so of all. These were the Aquitanians and the Franks of Ostrasia. These latter were destined to conquer. More united than the Saxons, less fiery and less capricious than the Aquitanians, they were better disciplined than either. "It appears to me," says M. de Sismondi (t. ii., p. 267), "that the Franks retained something of the habits of the Roman soldiery, among whom their ancestors had served so long." They were, in fact, the most disciplinable of the barbarians. They were those whose genius was the least individual, the least original, the least poetical.† The sixty years of war that fill up the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, offer few victories, but regular periodical ravages. They wore out their enemies rather than subdued them, and wearied and broke their spirit and impetuosity. The most po-

\* Sigeberti Chronic., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 376. *Ibique non multo post lapidibus, obrutus male perit.*

† This is very striking in their jurisprudence. They adopt, almost indifferently, the greater part of the symbols, each of which is proper to some one Germanic tribe. See Grimm, *Alterthümer*, passim.

pular tradition that has remained of those wars is that of a defeat, that of Roncevalles. Victors or vanquished, it was all alike, they made deserts, and in those deserts they erected some fortress\* and advanced still further; for men were now beginning to build. The barbarians had been long enough wayfarers; they now desired stability. The world was settling down, at least from weariness.

A circumstance that, furthermore, favoured the fixing of this wavering world, was the length of reign enjoyed by Pepin and Charlemagne. After all those kings who died at fifteen or twenty, came two who almost filled a century with their reigns (A.D. 741—814). They had time to build and to found. They collected and put together the scattered elements of the preceding ages; they were the heirs of all that had gone before them, and they cast it all into oblivion. It was with Charlemagne as with Louis XIV.; every thing was dated from the *great reign*. The institutions, and the glory of the nation were all referred to him. The tribes even he had fought against attribute to him their laws, though ancient as the Germanic race.† In reality, the very decrepitude and decay of the barbarian world was favourable to the glory of his reign. In the prostrate condition of the world, all the forces of life rallied in the heart. The illustrious men of every country thronged to the court of the King of the Franks. Three heads of schools, three reformers of letters and of morals created a transient movement there. From Ireland came Clement, from the Anglo-Saxons Alcuin, from Gothia or Languedoc, St. Benedict of Aniane. Every nation thus paid its tribute. Let us also mention Paul Warnefrid the Lombard, Theodulf the Italian Goth, and Agobert the Spaniard. The fortunate Charlemagne had the benefit of every thing. Surrounded by those foreign priests, who were the light of the Church; himself, the son, nephew, and grandson of bishops and of saints; secure of the pope, whom his family had protected against the Greeks and the Lombards, he disposed of bishoprics and abbeys, and gave them even to laymen. But he confirmed the institution of tithes,‡ and he freed the Church from the secular jurisdiction.§

\* Fronsac (Francicum or Frontiacum) in Aquitaine (Eginh., *Annal. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 201); and in Saxony the town mentioned in the chronicles by the name of *Urbs Karoli* (*Annal. Franc.*, *ibid.*, p. 14), a fort on the Lippe (p. 29), Ehresburg, &c.

† See Jac. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, l. v.

‡ Capitular. ann. 779, c. 7. De decimis, ut unusquisque suam decimam donet, atque per jussionem pontificis dispensetur. — Capitul. de Saxon., ann. 791, c. 16. Undecunque census aliquid ad fiscum pervenerit.... decima pars ecclesiis et sacerdotibus reddatur. C. 17: omnes decimam partem substantiæ et laboris sui dent, tam nobiles quam ingenui, similiter et liti. See also Capitul. Francoford., ann. 794, c. 23.—In the year 567 we find mention made of tithes in a pastoral letter of the bishops of Touraine; a constitution of Clotaire, and the acts of the Council of Mâcon, in 588, expressly prescribe them. Ducange, ii., 1334, voc. DECIMÆ.

§ Capit. add. ad leg. Langob., ann. 801, c. 1. Volumus primo, ut neque abbates, neque presbyteri, neque diaconi, neque subdiaconi, neque quislibet de

This David, this Solomon of the Franks, was more a priest than the priests themselves, and thus was he their king.

The wars of Italy, the fall even of the kingdom of the Lombards, were but episodes in the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne. The grand war of the former was, as we have seen, against the Aquitanians; that of Charles was waged against the Saxons. There is no evidence that the latter was prompted, as appears to have been supposed, by the fear of an invasion. Doubtless, there had been constantly an immigration of the Germanic races by the way of the Rhine, which they crossed in great numbers to seek their fortunes in the rich regions of the West. These recruits continually strengthened and renovated the armies of the Franks; but as for invasions of whole tribes like those which took place in the latter times of the Roman Empire, nothing warrants a suspicion that such a fact accompanied the elevation of the second race, or that that race was in danger of seeing it renewed upon the accession of Charlemagne.

The real moving cause of the war was the violent antipathy between the Frank and Saxon races; an antipathy which gathered strength every day in proportion as the Franks became more Roman, and particularly from the time they received a new organisation beneath the thoroughly ecclesiastical hand of the Carolingians. The successes obtained by St. Boniface had, at first, induced the Carolingians to hope that Germany would be gradually won over and subjected to them by the missionaries. But the difference between the two peoples became too strong to allow of this fusion taking place. The more recent progress of the Franks in civilisation had been too rapid. The men of the *Red land*,\* as the Saxons proudly called themselves, dispersed in accordance with the freedom of their instincts through their *marches* and their deep forest glades, where the squirrel could travel seven leagues along the trees without touching ground, and knowing and desiring no other barriers than the vague bounds of their *gau*, abhorred the limited lands, the *mansi* of Charlemagne.† The Scandinavians and the Lombards, like the Romans, surveyed and portioned out their fields; but in Germany itself, there is no trace of any such thing. Divisions of the soil, enumerations of the people, and all such means of order, administration, and tyranny, were dreaded by the Saxons. Divided by the Ases themselves into three peoples of twelve tribes, they would have no other division. Their *marches* were not absolutely undefined tracts of land. Town and prairie are synonymes in the old language of the North;‡ the

---

clero de personis suis ad publica vel ad secularia judicia trahantur vel distringantur, sed a suis episcopis iudicati justitiam faciant. Cf. Capit. Aquisgr., ann. 789, c. 37.—Capit. Francoford., ann. 794, c. 4 : Statutum est a domino rege et S. Synodo, ut episcopi justitias faciant in suas parochias.....Comites quoque nostri veniant ad iudicium Episcoporum.

\* See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*,

† See Grimm, p. 536.

‡ Grimm, p. 518,

prairie was their city. The stranger who passed through the march was not allowed to be drawn upon his plough, but was required to respect the soil and to lift the ploughshare.

These haughty and free tribes clung to their old notions and belief, from the hatred and jealousy which they entertained for the Franks. The missionaries, with whom the latter tormented them, were imprudent enough to threaten them with the arms of the great Empire.\* St. Libuin, who uttered such words, would have been torn to pieces, but for the intercession of some Saxon old men. But these did not prevent the young people from burning the church which the Franks had constructed at Davenport.† The latter, who perhaps wished for a pretext for promptly converting their barbarian neighbours by force of arms, marched straightway to the principal sanctuary of the Saxons, to the place where stood the chief idol of Germany, and round which its dearest recollections centred. The Hermansäul‡ was a mysterious symbol, which might be regarded as the image of the world or the fatherland, of a god or of a hero. It was a statue armed cap-à-piè, holding in the left hand a balance, and in the right a banner, on which was depicted a rose. Upon its buckler was a lion, commanding the other animals, and at its feet was a field of flowers. All the adjoining places were hallowed by the memory of the first grand victory of the Germans over the Empire.§

Had the Franks retained any recollection of their Germanic origin, they would have respected this sacred place. They violated it, and broke the national symbol. This easy victory was sanctified by a miracle. A spring burst forth expressly to quench the thirst of Charlemagne's soldiers.|| The Saxons, surprised in their forests, gave twelve hostages, one for each tribe; but they soon changed

\* S. Libuini Vita, apud Pagi crit. 772, sec. 5. Sismondi, ii. 234.

† Ibid. They tried to burn a church built by St. Boniface at Fritalar, in Hesse, but the saint had prophesied when he was building it, that it would never perish by fire. Two angels clad in white came to its defence, and a Saxon who had knelt down to blow the fire was found dead in the same attitude, with his cheeks still puffed up. Annals of Fulda, ap. Scr. Fr., v. 328.

‡ Column or statue of Germany or of Arminius.

§ Stapfer, art. *Arminius*, in the Biographie Universelle. "The vicinity of Dethmold is still full of tokens of this memorable event. The field at the foot of Teutberg is still called Wintfeld, or Field of Victory; it is traversed by the Rodenbach, or Stream of Blood, and the Knockenbach, or Stream of Bones, which calls to mind those bones found six years after the defeat of Varus, by the soldiers of Germanicus, when they came to pay them the last honours. Close by is Feldrom, the Camp of the Romans; a little further, in the environs of Pyrmont, the Herminsborg, or Mountain of Arminius, covered with the ruins of a castle bearing the name of Herminsburg; and on the banks of the Weser, in the same county of Lippe, is Varenholz, the Wood of Varus."

|| Eginhard, Annal., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 201. Ne diutius siti confectus laboraret exercitus, divinitus factum creditur ut quadam die, cum juxta morem tempore meridiano cuncti quiescerent, prope montem qui castris erat contiguus, tanta vis aquarum in concavitate cujusdam torrentis eruperit, ut exercitui cuncto sufficeret.—Poetæ Saxonicæ, annal., l. i.

their minds and ravaged Hesse. We should be wrong were we to accuse the Saxons of perfidy upon the strength of this fact, and many others of the same kind. Independently of the fickleness natural to barbarians, those who yielded may naturally be supposed to have been, for the most part, the part of the population bound to the soil by its weakness, such as the women and the old men. The young men, taking refuge in the marshes, the mountains, and the cantons of the North, returned and renewed the conflict. There was no possibility of curbing them, but by remaining among them. Accordingly Charles fixed his residence upon the Rhine at Aix-la-Chapelle, the thermal waters of which he liked, and he built and fortified the castle of Ehresburg\* in Saxony itself.

(A. D. 775.)—The next year he crossed the Weser. The Angarian Saxons submitted, as also did a portion of the Westphalians. The winter was employed in chastising the Lombard dukes, who recalled the son of Didier. In the spring the assembly, or council of Worms, made oath to prosecute the war until the Saxons should be converted. It is known that, under the Carolingians, bishops predominated in those assemblies. Charles made his way to the sources of the Lippe and built a fortress† there. The Saxons appeared to submit; all those who were found in their homes were baptized without difficulty. This ceremony, the meaning of which they, doubtless, hardly comprehended, seems never to have caused the heathen barbarians much repugnance. More haughty than fanatical, they, probably, clung less to their religion, than the nature of their resistance has given occasion to suppose. Under Louis le Debonnaire, the men of the North underwent baptism in shoals. The only difficulty was how to find a sufficient number of white garments. There were instances of men who underwent baptism three times, in order to earn three garments.‡

Thus, whilst Charlemagne supposed that all was ended, and whilst he was baptizing the Saxons by thousands at Paderborn, the Westphalian chief, Wittikin, returned with his warriors, who had retreated into the North, and with other men, too, of those regions, who, for the first time, stood face to face with the Franks. Wittikin

\* *Annal. Franc.*, ib. 27.—*Reedificavit ipsum castellum, et basilicam ibidem construxit.* *Annal. Fuld.*, ibid. 328. *Eresburgum reedificat.*

† *Annal. Franc.*, ib. 29. *Et fecit castellum super fluvium Lyppia.*

‡ One day they were baptizing some Northmans; there was a scarcity of linen garments, and one of them was given a bad and ill-made shirt. He surveyed it for some time with indignation, and then said to the emperor, "I have been washed here twenty times, and always dressed in handsome linen as white as snow. Is such a sack as that made for a warrior, or only for a swineherd? If I were not ashamed of going stark naked, not having my own clothes and refusing thine, I would have nothing to do with thy mantle and thy Christ." *Monachus S. Galli*, l. ii., c. 29, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, v. 134.—The Avari, Charlemagne's allies, seeing that he made their Christian countrymen sit down to eat in the hall and the others outside, underwent baptism in crowds, that they, too, might be privileged to sit down at the imperial table. *Pagi Critica ad ann. 304.*



being defeated in Hesse, fell back into his forests, and returned among the Danes to make his appearance again soon after.

It was precisely the year 778 when Charlemagne's arms received so memorable a check at Roncesvalles. The enfeeblement of the Saracens, the friendship of the petty Christian kings, and the prayers of the revolted emirs of the north of Spain, had favoured the progress of the Franks. They had pushed on as far as to the Ebro, and they called their encampments in Spain, a new province; designating them by the names of March of Gascony, and March of Gothia. Upon the eastern side, where the Franks were supported by the Goths, every thing went on well; but on the west the Basques, Hunald's and Guaifer's old soldiers, and the kings of Navarre and of the Asturias, who beheld Charlemagne taking possession of the country and putting all the strongholds into the hands of the Franks, had taken up arms under Lope, the son of Guaifer.\* The Franks, attacked, on their return, by these mountaineers, lost many men in those difficult passes, in those gigantic flights of stairs, which can only be climbed in single file on foot, or upon the backs of mules. The rocks impend over your head, and seem ready of themselves to crush those who violate this solemn boundary between two worlds.†

The defeat of Roncesvalles we are assured was only an affair of the rear-guard; nevertheless, Eginhard avows that the Franks lost many men there; among others, several of their most distinguished leaders, and the famous Roland. Perhaps the Saracens were aiding in this affair; perhaps the defeat, begun by them upon the Ebro, was completed by the Basques in the mountains. The name of the famous Roland is given in Eginhard without any other explanation, *Rotlandus præfectus Britannici limitis*.‡ The huge breach in the Pyrenees under the towers of Marboré, whence a keen eye may see in either direction Toulouse or Saragossa, is notoriously nothing more than the effect of a stroke of Roland's sword. His horn was for a long time kept at Blaye upon the Garonne; that horn, on which he blew so fiercely, says the poet, when, having broken his durandal, he shouted till the veins of his neck burst, calling on the heedless Charlemagne and the traitor Ganelon of Mayence. The traitor in this eminently national poem is a German.

The following year (779) was more glorious for the King of the Franks. He marched among the still insurgent Saxons, found them assembled at Buckholz, and defeated them. Having thus reached the Elbe, the boundary between the Saxons and the Slaves, he set about establishing order in the country he supposed he had con-

\* Sismondi confounds him with Lope, son of Hatton, 261.

† See book iii., chap. 1.

‡ Eginhard, *Vita Karoli*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 93. See also Eginhard, *Annal.*, ib. 303. *Poet. Sax.*, l. i., ib. 143. *Chroniques de Saint Denis*, l. i., c. 6. The other chronicles do not speak of this defeat. Respecting the Carolingian poems see M. Fauriel's lectures, and the excellent thesis of M. Monin, professor in the faculty of Toulouse, *Sur le Roman de Roncevaux*, 1832.

quered. He received, once more, the oaths of the Saxons at Ohrheim, baptised them by thousands, and enjoined the Abbot of Fulda to lay down a regular system of conversion and religious conquest.\* An army of priests followed the army of soldiers; the whole country, say the chronicles, was parcelled out between the abbots and the bishops.† Eight great and powerful bishoprics were successively created; Minden, Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Münster, Hildesheim, Osnabruck, and Paderborn (780-802). These were foundations at once ecclesiastical and military, in which the most docile chiefs were to take the title of counts, and execute the orders of the bishops against their brethren. Tribunals, established throughout the whole country, were to prosecute the backsliders, and to make them feel to their cost, how serious were the vows they made and violated so often. To these tribunals has been traced the origin of the famous courts of the Holy Vehm, which, in reality, were not formed till between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.‡ We have already seen, that the Germanic nations were fond of tracing back their institutions to Charlemagne. Perhaps the terrible and secret proceedings of those courts may have vaguely recalled to the imagination of the people, the inquisitorial measures employed of old against their ancestors by the priests of Charlemagne. Or, if the Vehm courts are rather to be considered a relic of ancient Germanic institutions, it is more probable that those tribunals of freemen, that smote in the dark a criminal stronger than the law, made it their first object to punish the traitor who passed over to the party of the stranger, who sacrificed to him their country and their gods, and braved under his protection the old laws of the land. But they did not brave the arrow that whistled in their ears, shot by no apparent hand; and many a one turned pale in the morning when he saw nailed against his door the fatal sign that summoned him to appear before the invisible tribunal.

\* He took for hostages fifteen of the most illustrious persons, and committed them to the safekeeping of Vulfar, Archbishop of Rheims, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. Vulfar had previously discharged the functions of *Missus domini* in Champagne. Frodoard, *Hist. Remens.*, l. ii., c. 18. "The most wise and most able Charles," says the biographer of Louis le Débonnaire, "knew how to attach the bishops to him. He established throughout all Aquitaine counts and abbots and many others besides, named *Vassi*, of the race of the Franks; and to them he committed the care of the realm, the defence of the frontiers, and the government of the royal farms." Astronom. *Vita Ludov. Pii*, c. 3, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, vi. 88. The abbots in this instance perform military services. Charlemagne wrote to an abbot of Saxony, ordering him to come with men well armed, and with provisions for three months. *Caroli M. epist.* 21, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 638.

† *Vita S. Sturmi Abbatis Fulden.* ap. *Scr. Fr.*, v. 447. *Karolus... assumptis universis sacerdotibus, abbatibus, presbyteris... totam illam provinciam in parochias episcopales divisit... Tunc pars maxima beato Sturmio populi et terræ illius ad procurandum committitur.* *Annal. Franc.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 25. *Divisitque ipsam patriam inter presbyteros et episcopos seu abbates, ut in eis baptizarent et prædicarent.*—Item *Chron. Moissiac.*, *ibid.* 71.

‡ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*.

(A. D. 782.)—Whilst the priests are reigning, converting, and judging, whilst they are following up in security this murderous education of the barbarians, Wittikin descends once more from the North to overthrow all their proceedings. A host of Saxons join him. This intrepid band defeats Charlemagne's lieutenants near Sonnenthal (valley of the sun), and when the heavy army of the Franks comes up to aid, they have disappeared. Some of them, however, remained; four thousand five hundred namely, who, perhaps, had families to support in Saxony, could not follow Wittikin in his rapid retreat. The King of the Franks burned and ravaged the country until they were given up to him. Charlemagne's counsellors were churchmen imbued with the notions of the Empire; a government of priests and jurists, coldly cruel, without generosity, without comprehension of the genius of the barbarians. They beheld in their captives only criminals guilty of lese majesty, and they applied the law of the case to them. These 4500 men were beheaded in one day at Verden.\* Those who attempted to avenge them were themselves defeated and massacred at Dethmold, near Osnabruck. The victor, frequently stopped in those humid regions by rain, inundations, and deep mud, persisted in following up the war in the winter season. Then there were no longer any leaves to conceal the outlaw; the marshes, rendered solid by the frosts, no longer defended him. The soldier caught him in his lonely cabin by his fireside, with his wife and his children, like the beast tracked to its lair.

(A. D. 785.)—Saxony remained quiet for eight years; Wittikin, himself had surrendered, but still the Franks had no lack of enemies; the dependent nations were any thing but resigned. The Thuringians, it appears, drew the sword in the very palace against the Franks, who wanted to subject them to the salique laws upon the occasion of the marriage of one of their chiefs.† This cause, and others besides, scarcely known to us, occasioned a conspiracy of the grandees against Charlemagne. They detested, above all, it is said, the pride and cruelty of his young wife, Fastrade,‡ whom her husband of fifty could refuse nothing. The conspirators being discovered, did not deny the fact; one of them had the audacity to say, "Had my

---

\* Eginhard, Ann., v. 206. Cæterorum, qui, persuasioni ejus Vitikindi morem gerentes, tantum facinus peregerunt usque ad m m m m traditi, jussu regis omnes una die decollati sunt. Hujusmodi vindicta perpetrata, rex in hiberna concessit. Annal. Fuld., p. 329. Annal. Met., p. 344.

† Secundum legem Francorum. Annal. Nazar. ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 11.

‡ Eginhard, Kar. M., c. 20, ibid. 97. Harum conjurationum Fastrade crudelitas causa et origo extitisse creditur; et idcirco in ambabus (conjurationibus) contra regem conspiratum est, quia uxoris crudelitati consentiens a sue nature benignitate ac solita mansuetudine immaniter exorbitasse videbatur—Eginh., Annal., ib. 210. Facta est contra regem conjuratio a filio suo majore, nomine Pipino, et quibusdam Francis qui se crudelitatem Frastrade reginæ ferre non posse asseverabant.... quæ cum per Fardulfum Langobardum detecta fuisset, ipse ob meritum fidei servatæ monasterio S. Dionysii donatus est.

advice been taken, thou shouldst never have crossed the Rhine alive." The gracious sovereign sentenced them to no other penalty than some remote pilgrimage to tombs of saints, but he had them killed upon the road.\* Some years afterwards a natural son of Charlemagne joined the grandees to overthrow his father.†

(A. D. 788.)—There was another conspiracy abroad among the tributary princes. The Bavarians and Lombards were two kindred peoples; the former had long given kings to the latter. Tassillon, Duke of Bavaria, had married a daughter of Didier, and sister of her whom Charlemagne married and sent back with insult to her father. Tassillon was thus the brother-in-law of the Lombard Duke of Benevento. The latter was in good intelligence with the Greeks, who were masters of the sea. Tassillon called the Slaves and the Avars to his aid. The movements of the Bretons and of the Saracens encouraged them;‡ but the Franks surrounded Tassillon with three armies. Defeated without a blow, he was accused of treason, in the assembly of Ingelheim, like an ordinary criminal, convicted, and condemned to death, then tonsured, and shut up in the monastery of Jumièges. Bavaria perished as a nation; the kingdom of the Lombards had likewise perished; there remained of it the duchy of Benevento in the mountains of the south, which Charlemagne could never vanquish by force, but which he weakened and troubled by setting up a competitor against Didier's son, whom the Greeks brought back.

(A. D. 789.)—Charlemagne had one tributary more, and another war. It was the same in Germany. On arriving on the Elbe and coming face to face with the Slaves, he found himself compelled to interfere in their quarrels, and to second the Abodrites against the Wiltzi (or Weletabi). The Slaves gave hostages. The empire appeared to have gained all that lies between the Elbe and the Oder. It spread continually, and continually lost in strength.

(A. D. 789.)—Between the Slaves of the Baltic and those of the Adriatic; beyond Bavaria, now become a mere province, Charlemagne encountered the Avars, indefatigable riders, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary, whence they sallied out at their choice, either upon the Slaves, or upon the Greek empire. Every winter, says the historian, they went to sleep with the women of the Slaves. Their camp, or *ring*, was a prodigious wooden village covering a whole province, inclosed with hedges and interlacing trees. The plunder of many centuries was collected there, the spoils of the Byzantines; a strange medley of things the most brilliant, and the most useless to barbarians, a whimsical freebooter's museum. This camp, according to an old soldier of Charlemagne, was from twelve to fifteen

\* *Annal. Nazar.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 12.

† *Annal. Franc.*, *ibid.* 65. *Filius regis Pippinus, ex concubina Himildrada, cum aliquibus comitibus Francorum consiliatur.....*

‡ *Egiah.*, *Kar. M.*, c. 10. *Domuit (an. 786) et Brittones qui.....dicto audientes non erant.*

leagues in circumference,\* like the cities of the East, Nineveh and Babylon. Such is the genius of the Tartars; the people gathered into a single camp, all the rest of the land a wilderness of pasture. He who visited the chagan of the Turks in the sixteenth century, found the barbarian seated upon a golden throne in the middle of a desert. The chagan of the Avars, in his wooden village, made the Emperor of Constantinople send him bedsteads of solid gold.†

(A. D. 791.)—These barbarians, having become the neighbours of the Franks, thought to levy tribute upon them as upon the Greeks. Charlemagne attacked them with three armies and advanced to the Raab, burning the few habitations he fell in with. But what signified to the Avars the conflagration of those cabins? Meanwhile, Charlemagne's cavalry wore itself out in those desert regions, hunting an enemy it knew not how to find; but what it did find in every direction was wet plains, marshes, and rivers overflowing their banks. The army of the Franks lost all its horses.‡

(A. D. 793.)—We always say, the army of the Franks; but this people of the Franks is like the vessel of Theseus: renovated bit by bit, there scarcely remains any thing of its original composition. At this period, Charlemagne's armies were recruited in Friesland and in Saxony quite as much as in Ostrasia. It was upon the inhabitants of those countries that the disasters of the Franks really reverted. It was not enough that they had to bear the yoke of the priests at home, but, what was intolerable to barbarians, they were forced to abandon the customs, and habits, and the language of their fathers, to enter the battalions of the Franks, their enemies, and to vanquish and die for them; for hardly did they ever again behold their country, being sent away to a distance of three or four hundred leagues against the Saracens of Spain, or the Lombards of Benevento. If they were to die, the Saxons preferred dying at home. They massacred Charlemagne's lieutenants, burned the churches, drove out and slaughtered the priests, and passionately returned to the worship of their ancient gods. They made common cause with the Avars, instead of furnishing an army against them. The same year the army of the Caliph Hixem, finding Aquitaine unfurnished with troops, passed the Ebro, crossed the marches and the Pyrenees, burned the suburbs of Narbonne, and defeated, with great slaughter,

\* Monachi S. Galli, l. ii., c. 2. Terra Hunnorum novem circulis cingebatur ..... Tam latus fuit unus circulus.... quantum est spatium de castro Turonico ad Constantiam.....Ita vici et villæ erant locatæ, ut de aliis ad alias vox humana posset audiri. Contra eadem quoque ædificia, inter inexpugnabiles illos muros, portæ non satis latæ erant constitutæ.....Item de secundo circulo, qui similiter ut primus erat extructus, viginti milliaria Teutonica, quæ sunt quadraginta Italica, ad tertium usque tendebantur; similiter usque ad nonum; quamvis ipsi circuli alius alio multo contractiores fuerunt.... Ad has ergo munitiones per ducentos et eo amplius annos, qualescumque omnium occidentaliû divitias congregantes.... orbem occiduû pene vacuum dimiserunt.

† Exc. Menandri, p. 106-164. Theophilact., lib. ii., c. 16, 17. Gibbon, ch. 42, 46.

‡ Poet. Sax., iii., ap. Scr. Iter. Fr., v. 155.

the troops that had been collected by William the Shortnosed, Count of Toulouse, and regent of Aquitaine. They then retraced their route to Spain, carrying away a whole people of captives, and loaded with rich spoils wherewith the caliph adorned the magnificent mosque of Cordova.\* Every thing combined against Charlemagne; nature herself was in arms against him. When this disastrous news reached him he was in Suabia, urging the execution of a canal which should have joined the Rhine with the Danube, and facilitated the defence of the empire in case of invasion. But the moisture of the soil, and the continual rains, prevented the execution of this great work.† He fared no better with the great bridge of Mayence, which secured a passage between France and Germany, and which was burned by the boatmen of both banks.

(A. D. 796.)—Despite of all these disasters, Charlemagne soon resumed the ascendant over his scattered enemies. He set about depopulating Saxony, since he could not tame it. He sat himself down with an army by the Weser, and, perhaps for the purpose of convincing the Saxons that he would not let go his grasp, he called his camp *Heerstall*, the name given to the patrimonial castle of the Carolingians upon the Meuse. Extending his incursions thence in every direction, he caused as much as a third of the inhabitants to be given up to him in many cantons. These flocks of captives were then driven towards the south, or the west, and settled upon new lands in the midst of populations wholly hostile to them, all Christian and speaking a different language. It was thus the kings of the Babylonians and of the Persians transported the Jews to the Tigris, and the Chalcidians to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Thus, Probus had transplanted colonies of Franks and Frieses to the borders of the Euxine.

At the same time, one of Charlemagne's sons, taking advantage of a civil war among the Avars, entered their territory upon the south with an army of Bavarians and Lombards. He crossed the Danube and the Teiss; and, at last, laid hands upon that precious *ring*

\* Chronic. Moissiac., v. 74. Hist. du Languedoc, l. ix., c. 26. Conde, History of the Dominion of the Arabs and Moors in Spain (translated from the Arabic into Spanish), vol. ii.

† Eginh., Annal., ad ann. 793. "It had been urged upon the king, that if a canal large enough to carry vessels, were cut between the Rednitz and the Altmul, it would be easy to navigate from the Rhine to the Danube, because one of those rivers falls into the Danube, and the other into the Maine. He immediately proceeded to that place with all his court, assembled a great multitude there, and spent the whole autumn upon that work. The canal was, therefore, dug for 2000 feet in length, and 300 feet in breadth, but in vain; for the work could not be effected through a marshy soil naturally impregnated with water, and furthermore inundated by continual rain. As fast as the workmen carried away the soil during the day, it fell in again during the night. While this work was going on, two very disagreeable pieces of intelligence were brought him. The Saxons had revolted upon all sides; the Saracens had invaded Septimania, given battle to the counts and guards of that frontier, killed many Franks, and returned home victorious."

with its hoarded heaps of wealth. The booty was so great, says the annalist, that the Franks were poor before in comparison to what they became thenceforth. It seems as though this treasure-gathering people lost its soul with the gold over which it brooded, like the dragon of Scandinavian poetry. It fell, thenceforth, into a condition of extreme debility. The chagan became a Christian; such of them as remained heathen ate out of wooden platters with the dogs, at the gate of the bishops who were sent to convert them.\* Some years afterwards, we find them humbly requesting of Charlemagne a retreat in Bavaria; they could no longer, they said, resist the Slaves over whom they formerly lorded.

Now, at length, Charlemagne began to hope for a little rest. To judge by the extent of his sway, if not by its real strength, he was then the greatest sovereign in the world. Why should he not accomplish what Theodoric had been unable to effect?—viz., the resurrection of the Roman empire. Such must have been the thought of all those ecclesiastical counsellors by whom he was surrounded. Charlemagne repaired to Rome in the year 800, under pretext of re-establishing the pope, who had been expelled thence.† During the celebration of Christmas, whilst he was absorbed in prayer, the pope placed the imperial crown upon his head, and proclaimed him Augustus. The emperor was astounded, and humbly expressed his affliction at having a burden imposed upon him too great for his strength;‡ but he soon belied this puerile hypocrisy, by adopting the titles and the ceremonial usages of the court of Byzantium. One thing only remained to be done in order to re-establish the Empire; and that was, to marry old Charlemagne to old Irene, who was reigning in Constantinople, after having put her son to death. This was the pope's notion,§ but not Irene's, who had no idea of giving herself a master.||

A multitude of petty kings adorned the court of the King of the Franks, and helped him to exhibit this weak and pale representa-

\* Pagi Critica, ad ann. 804, p. 238. Sismondi, ii. 403.

† He had also a strong affection for Leo's predecessor, Pope Adrian. Eginh. Kar. M., c. 19. Nuntiatio Adriani obitu, quem amicum præcipuum habebat, sic flevit ac si fratrem aut carissimum filium amisisset. C. 17: Nec ille toto regni sui tempore quicquam duxit antiquius, quam ut urbs Roma sua opera suoque labore veteri polleret auctoritate.... "He went four times to Rome to fulfil his vows and offer up his prayers." See Adrian's letters to Charlemagne, Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 403, 544, 545, 546, &c.

‡ Eginh., Annal., p. 215. Coram altari ubi ad orationem se inclinaverat, Leo papa coronam capiti ejus imposuit.—Eginh., Vita Kar. M., ib. 100. Quod primo in tantum adversatus est, ut affirmaret se eo die, quamvis præcipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum fuisse, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset.

§ Chronogr. Theophanis, ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 189. Ἐφθέσαν δὲ οἱ ἀποστολ-  
έντες παρὰ Καρούλλου Ἀποκριτάριοι καὶ τοῦ Πάπα Διόσκου πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην, αἰτεῖ-  
μενοι συνελθεῖν αὐτὴν ἐν Καρούλλῳ πρὸς γάμον.

|| It was a Greek proverb, Have the Frank for a friend but not for a neigh-  
bour. Τὸν Φράγκον φίλον ἔχης, γείτονα οὐκ ἔχης. Eginh., in Kar. M., c. 16.

tion of the Empire. Young Egbert, King of Sussex, and Eardulf, King of Northumberland, came to acquire the polish of the Franks.\* Both of them were restored to their dominions by Charlemagne. Lope, Duke of the Basques, was also brought up at his court. The Christian kings and emirs of Spain went in search of him, even into the forests of Bavaria, imploring his aid against the Caliph of Cordova. Alphonso, King of Galicia, displayed rich tapestries he had taken in the pillage of Lisbon, and offered them to the emperor. The Edrisites of Fez likewise sent him an embassy; but none was so brilliant as that of Haroun al Raschid, Caliph of Bagdad, who thought it right to keep up some relations with the enemy of his foe, the schismatic Caliph of Spain. He sent to offer Charlemagne, it is said, among other things, the keys of the holy sepulchre, a very honourable present, which the King of the Franks assuredly could not abuse. It was reported that the chief of the infidels had transferred the sovereignty of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. A clock that struck the hours, an ape, and an elephant, greatly astonished the men of the West.† We may, if we please, believe that the gigantic horn shown at Aix-la-Chapelle is one of that elephant's tusks.

It was in his palace at Aix that Charlemagne should have been beheld. That restorer of the empire of the West had despoiled Ravenna of its most precious marbles to adorn his barbarian Rome. Active, even in his leisure, he studied there under Peter of Pisa, and the Saxon Alcuin, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy. He learned to write,‡ a thing very rare in those days. He piqued himself upon

\* Eginh., *Annal.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.* "The King of the Northumbrians in the island of Britain, being driven out of his country and his realm, repaired to the emperor, who was then at Nimeguen, set before him the cause of his journey, and departed for Rome. On his return from Rome, through the interference of the legate of the Roman pontiff and of the emperor, he was re-established in his kingdom."

† "What the poet declared impossible,

Aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim, seemed," says the Monk of St. Gall, "in those days quite an easy thing, by reason of the relations of Charles with Haroun. In testimony of this fact I will appeal to all Germany, which in the time of your glorious father Louis" (he is addressing Charles the Bald) "was constrained to pay one denier for each head of oxen, and for each manse depending on the royal domain, for the ransom of Christians dwelling in the Holy Land. In their distress they implored their deliverance at the hands of your father, as old subjects of your great grandfather Charles, and of your grandfather Louis." *Monach. Sangall.*, l. ii., c. 14.

‡ He chose Aix to build his palace there, says Eginhard, on account of the thermal waters. "He was fond of that mild warmth, and frequently swam there. He invited thither the grandees, his friends, and his guards, and sometimes more than a hundred persons bathed with him." Eginh., in *Kar. M.*, c. 22. He spent the autumn in the chase.

§ Eginh., in *Kar. M.*, c. 25. "He learned grammar under the Deacon Peter of Pisa, and had for master in his other studies Albinus, surnamed Alcuin, likewise a deacon, born in Britain, and of Saxon race; a man of universal knowledge, and under whose guidance he devoted much time and labour to rhetoric and dialectics, but above all to astronomy. He learned also the art of reckoning, and studied the course of the stars with inquisitive and ardent sagacity. He



chaunting well in the choir, and was a merciless critic of the clerks who acquitted themselves badly in that way.\* He found time, too, to watch those who went in or out of the imperial residence.† Lattice works were formed for that purpose, in the lofty galleries of the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He rose with great regularity, at night for matins.‡ A tall stature, a round head, a thick neck, a long nose, a belly rather prominent, a thin voice; such is the portrait given of Charles by a contemporaneous historian.§ His wife,

essayed also to write, and habitually kept tablets under the head of his bed, so that he might in his leisure moments exercise his hand in tracing letters; but in this task he was hardly successful; he had begun it too late." "In his latter years his only occupation was prayer, almsgiving, and the correction of books. The day before his death he carefully corrected, with some Greeks and Syrians, the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John." Thegan. *de Gestis Ludov. Pii*, c. 7, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, vi. 76. He sent also to "his best friend," Pope Adrian, a Latin psalter, written in letters of gold, with a dedication in verse. Eginh., ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 402. Accordingly he was buried with a golden gospel in his hand. *Monach. Engolism.* in *Kar. M.*, ib. 186.

\* Eginh., in *Kar. M.*, c. 26. "He sedulously improved the reading and singing in divine service, for he understood them remarkably well, though he himself never read in public, and sung only in a low tone and in chorus."—*Mon. Sangall.*, i. 7. "Never in the basilica of the learned Charles was it necessary to point out to each the passage he was to read, or to mark the end of it with wax or with the nail; all knew so well what they had to read, that had they been desired unexpectedly to begin they would never have been found at fault. He himself raised his finger or his stick, or sent some one to the clerks who sat far from him, to point out the one he wished should read. He marked the end by a guttural sound, which all watched for in suspense, so that whether he made sign at the close of a sense, or at a rest in the middle of a phrase, or even before the rest, no one struck in either too high or too low, however strange a commencement that might occasion. In such sort that although all did not understand, it was in his palace that the best readers were found, and no one dared to enter among his choristers (were he even otherwise known) who could not read well and sing well."—C. 21. "On a certain festival, when a young man, the king's relation, sang the Hallelujah very well, the king said to a bishop who was present: 'He has sung well, our clerk!' The other fool taking this for a joke, and not knowing that the clerk was the emperor's relation, replied: 'The country fellows sing as well to their oxen.' Upon this impertinent answer the emperor shot a terrible glance at him, whereat he fell thunder stricken."

† *Mon. Sangall.*, i. i., c. 32. *Quæ (mansiones) ita circa palatium peritissimi Caroli ejus dispositione constructæ sunt, ut ipse per cancellos solarii sui cuncta posset videre, quæcumque ab intrantibus vel exeuntibus quasi latenter fierent. Sed et ita omnia procerum habitacula a terra erant in sublime suspensa, ut sub eis non solum militum milites et eorum servitores, sed omne genus hominum ab injuriis imbrum et nivium, vel gelu, caminis possent defendi, et nequaquam tamen ab oculis acutissimi Caroli valerent abscondi.*

‡ Eginh., in *Kar. M.*, c. 26. *Ecclesiam mane et vespere, item nocturnis horis et sacrificii tempore, quoad eum valetudo permiserat, impigre frequentabat.* *Mon. Sangall.*, i. i., c. 33. *Gloriosissimus Carolus ad nocturnas laudes pendulo et profundissimo pallio utebatur. He fasted all through Lent until the eighth hour of the day.*

§ *Ibid.*, c. 22. *Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura eminenti, quæ tamen justum non excederet.... apice corporis rotundo, oculis prægrandibus ac vegetis, naso paululum mediocritatem excedente.... Cervix obesa et brevior, venterque projectior.... Voce clara quidem, sed quæ minus corporis formæ conveniret.—Medicos pene exosos habebat, quod ei in cibis assas quibus assuetus erat, di-*

Hildegarde, on the contrary, had a strong voice. Fastrade, whom he afterwards married, exercised a masculine sway over him. Nevertheless, he had many mistresses, and was married five times; but upon the death of his fifth wife he did not marry again, but chose him four concubines, with whom he contented himself thenceforth.\* The Solomon of the Franks had six sons and eight daughters; the latter very beautiful, and very volatile. We are assured that he loved them very much, and would never consent to their being married. It was a pleasure to see them cavalcading after him in his wars and journeys.†

The literary and religious glory of the reign of Charlemagne belongs, as we have said, to three strangers. The Saxon Alcuin, and Clement the Scotchman, founded the palatine school, the model of all the others that rose after it. The Goth, Benedict of Aniane, the son of the Count de Maguelone, reformed the monasteries, and put an end to the discrepancies introduced by St. Colomb and the Irish missionaries of the seventh century. He imposed the rule of St. Benedict on all the monks of the empire.‡ M. Guizot has very well pointed out how inferior this minute and pedantic reform was to the first institution.§ Not less pedantic and barren was the attempted literary reform directed chiefly by Alcuin. It is known that Charlemagne's chief councillors formed a sort of academy, in which he himself took his seat, under the name of King David. The others were designated Homer, Horace, &c. Notwithstanding these pompous names, some poems of the Italian Goth, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, and some letters of Leidrade, Archbishop of Lyons, are, perhaps, the only things they produced that deserved any attention. With respect to all the rest, it is the will we must praise; it is the effort to re-establish unity in the system of teaching throughout the Empire. The endeavour, alone, to establish the Roman liturgy and the Gregorian chaunt throughout his dominions, cost Charlemagne a

---

*mittere, et elixis adulescere suadebant.*—Be it allowed the great chronicles of St. Denis, written so long afterwards, to say that he cleft a horseman in two with a stroke of his sword, and that he could carry an armed man standing on his hand. The emperor was made proportional to the Empire, and it was concluded that he who reigned from the Elbe to the Ebro must have been a giant.

\* Eginh., in Kar. M., c. 18. *Post cujus (Luitgardis) mortem, quatuor habuit concubinas.*

† *Ib., c. 19. . . . Nunquam iter sine illis faceret. Adequitabant ei filii, filię vero pone sequebantur. . . . Quę cum pulcherrimę essent, et ab eo plurimum diligerentur, mirum dictu quod nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit. Sed omnes secum usque ad obitum suum in domo suā retinuit, dicens se earum contubernio carere non posse. Ac propter hoc, alias felix, adversę fortunę malignitatem expertus est. Quod tamen ita dissimulavit, ac si de eis nunquam alicujus probri suspicio exorta, vel fama dispersa fuisset.*

‡ *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., sæc. iv., p. 194. Ex Getarum genere, partibus Gotię, oriundus fuit. . . . Pater ejus comitatem Magdalonensem tenuit.*—See also Guizot (1829), 26e leçon.

§ 26me leçon, p. 42, sqq.

great deal. Having to deal with so many languages, and so many peoples, his efforts were all in vain, the dissonance always re-appeared.\* Drogon, the emperor's brother, personally directed the school of Metz.

With this taste for the literature and the traditions of Rome, we need not wonder that Charlemagne and his son, Louis, were fond of being surrounded with strangers and literary men of low condition. "It came to pass that there landed upon the coast of Gaul, in company with Breton merchants, two Scots of Hibernia, men of incomparable learning in sacred and profane writings. They offered no goods for sale, but cried out every day to the crowd that came to buy, 'If any one desires wisdom let him come to us and receive it; we have it for sale.' At last, they cried out so long that the people who heard them, struck with amazement, or taking them for fools, conveyed the intelligence to the ears of King Charles, who was always passionately fond of wisdom. He summoned them to him in all haste; and asked them was it true, as fame had reported to him, that they had wisdom with them? They said, 'We have it, and, in the name of the Lord, we give it to all those who seek it worthily.' Upon his asking them what they desired in return, they replied, 'A convenient place, intelligent creatures, and, what is indispensable for the accomplishment of man's pilgrimage here below, food and raiment.' The king, greatly delighted, kept them with him, at first, for some little time; then, being obliged to undertake military expeditions, he ordered one of them, named Clement, to remain in Gaul, put under his charge a considerable number of children of high, middle, and low condition, and appointed them to receive victuals according to their need, and a commodious habitation. The other (John Mailros, a disciple of Bede) he sent into Italy, and gave him the monastery of St. Augustine, near the town of Pavia, that he might open a school there. Albinus, of the nation of the Angles, a disciple of the learned Bede, hearing this news, and seeing what a good reception Charles, the most religious of kings, bestowed upon the sages, embarked and came to him. Charles gave him the abbey of St. Martin, near the city of Tours, in order that, in the king's absence, he might repose there and teach those who flocked to hear him.† His science bore such fruit, that

\* See a curious passage in a life of St. Gregory, *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 445; also a life of Charlemagne by a monk of Angoulême, *ib.* 185.—*Mon. Sangall.*, i. 10. "Seeing with pain that the mode of chaunting varied in the several provinces, he asked of the pope twelve clerks instructed in psalmody. But when these men had been dispersed in different directions, they all mischievously took to teaching different methods. Incensed at this, Charles complained to the pope, and the pope put them in prison."

† *Eginh.*, in *Kar. M.*, c. 25. "Albinus, surnamed Alcuin, a deacon of Britain of the Saxon race." Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne, "Send me from France some learned treatises, as excellent as those which I have here under my care (in the library of York), and which were collected by my master Ecbert, and I will send you some of my young people, who will carry the flowers of Britain into France in such sort, that there shall no longer be an enclosed garden at York alone, but that some scions of paradise may also germinate in Tours." *Epist.* i.

the modern Gauls, or Franks, had the reputation of equalling the Romans or the Athenians of antiquity.

"When the victorious Charles returned to Gaul after a long absence, he sent for the children he had put under Clement's care, and desired them to show him their letters and their verses. Those of middle and base condition presented works surpassing all hope, confectioned with all the sweet savours of wisdom. The nobles produced nothing but insipid nonsense. Thereupon the sage king, imitating the justice of the eternal judge, made those who had done well stand upon his right hand, and spoke to them in these terms: 'A thousand thanks, my sons, for that you have applied yourselves with all your might to labour according to my orders, and for your own good. Now strive to attain perfection, and I will give you magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall be evermore honourable in my eyes.' Then he turned an incensed countenance upon those on his left hand, and perturbing their consciences with a fiery glance, he addressed them with irony in this terrible apostrophe, which he thundered out rather than spoke: 'You nobles, you sons of grandees, delicate and fair minions, proud of your birth and of your riches, you have neglected my orders and your own glory, and the study of letters; you have given yourselves up to carnal indulgence, to play and sloth, or to frivolous exercises.' After this preamble, lifting up his august head and his invincible arm towards heaven, he swore his usual oath, 'By the God of heaven, I care not for your nobility and your beauty, whatever admiration others may feel for you; and take this for certain, that if you do not, by vigilant zeal, make amends for your past negligence, you shall never obtain any thing of Charles.'

"One of the poor youths, of whom I have spoken, very able in speech and writing, was placed by him in the chapel. This is the name which the kings of the Franks give to their oratory, because of the chape of St. Martin, which they always carried in the fight for their own defence, and for the defeat of the enemy. One day, when the death of a certain bishop was announced to the prudent Charles, he asked had the prelate sent before him into the other world any part of his property, and of the fruit of his labours; and, upon the messenger replying, 'My liege, not more than two pounds of silver,'—our young clerk sighed, and, unable to smother his vivacity, allowed this exclamation to escape in the king's presence,—'A poor viaticum for so long a journey.' Charles, the most moderate of men, after reflecting for some minutes, said to him, 'What thinkest thou?

---

Being invited to France he became the master of the Scot Rabanus Morus, founder of the great school of Fulda. Eginhard says (c. 16) that Charlemagne bestowed honours and magistracies upon the Scots, whose fidelity and worth he esteemed, and the kings of Scotland were greatly devoted to him. Hericus says, in his life of St. Cæsarius, dedicated to Charlemagne: "Almost the whole nation of the Scots, scorning the dangers of the sea, comes and settles in our country with a numerous suite of philosophers."

if thou hadst this bishopric, wouldst thou make larger provision for this long route ? The clerk, his mouth gaping at these words, as at grapes of prime, ready to drop into it of their own accord, threw himself at his feet, and exclaimed, ' My liege, I commit myself, thereupon, to God's will, and to your power,'—and the king said to him, ' Hide thyself under the curtain that hangs behind me ; thou shalt soon hear how many protectors thou hast.' Now, upon the noise of the death of the bishop, the people of the palace, always following up the scent of other's misfortunes or death, strove, with mutual impatience and envy, to obtain the vacant place for themselves, through the instrumentality of those most about the person of the emperor. But he, firm in his resolution, refused every body, saying that he would not break his word to the young man. At last, Queen Hildegard sent the grandees of the kingdom, in the first place, and then came in person to the king, to ask for the bishopric for her own clerk. As he entertained her request with the most gracious air, saying that he would not and could not refuse her any thing, but that he could not pardon himself for deceiving the young clerk, she did, as all wives do when they wish to bend their husbands' will to their caprice. Dissembling her anger, and softening her coarse voice, she tried to bend the inflexible soul of the emperor by her cajoleries, saying, ' Dear prince, my lord, why throw away the bishopric upon this boy ? I beseech you, most sweet lord, my glory and my stay, give it rather to my clerk, your faithful servant.' Thereupon, the young man whom Charles had placed behind the curtain near his chair to hear the solicitations of all the suppliants, embracing the king himself along with the curtain, cried out in a lamentable tone, ' Hold fast, lord king, and let not the power that God has confided to thee be snatched from thy hands.' Then that courageous friend of truth ordered him to show himself, and said to him, ' Receive this bishopric, and take good care to send, both before me and before thyself, into the other world, larger alms and a better viaticum for that long journey whence no man returns.'\*

Nevertheless, with all Charlemagne's preference for strangers and lettered men of low condition, he had too much need of the men of the Germanic race in his interminable wars, to become wholly Roman. He spoke German habitually. He even wished, like Chilperic, to make a grammar of that language, and he caused the old national songs of Germany to be collected.† Perhaps he sought

\* Monach. Sangall., i. 2, sqq.—See also in chapter v. the amusing story of a poor man similarly elevated by Charles to a rich bishopric.

† Eginh., in Kar. M., c. 29. *Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur, scripsit, memorieque mandavit. Inchoavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis.*—According to Eginhard (c. 14) Charlemagne imposed on the months names significant in the German tongue (winter-month, mud-month, &c.); but, as M. Guizot remarks, we find such names in use among various Germanic nations before the time of Charlemagne.

thereby a means of reanimating the patriotism of his soldiers. It was thus that in 1813 Germany, not recognising herself on her awaking, sought her own image in the Nibelungen. The Germanic costume was always that of Charlemagne.\* I imagine that it would have been impolitic of him to present himself otherwise to his soldiers.

Behold him, then, doing his best to play the Roman emperor, frequently speaking the Latin language,† and arranging the gradations of his officers after the model of the imperial ministers. Nothing can be more imposing than the picture left us by Hincmar. The general assembly of the nation met regularly twice a year to deliberate, the ecclesiastics on one side, the laymen on the other, on matters proposed to them by the king. Then both divisions coming together, they conferred with a master, whose only wish was to obtain clear information. Four times a year the provincial assemblies met under the presidents of the *missi dominici*. These were the emperor's eyes, the prompt and faithful messengers, who, incessantly transversing the whole Empire, reformed and denounced all abuses. Under the *missi* were the counts, who presided over the inferior assemblies, in which they administered justice, being assisted by the *boni homines*, or jurymen; selected from among the proprietors. Under these, again, there were other assemblies, such as those of the *vicarii* and of the hundred-men; nay, the lowest beneficiaries and the stewards of the royal farms held courts like the counts.

Assuredly, there is here no lack of apparent order, no defect of forms. It is impossible to conceive a more regular government. Nevertheless, it was evident, that the general assemblies were not general. We cannot suppose, that the *missi*, the counts, and the bishops ran twice a year after the emperor in the distant expeditions whence he dates his capitularies, and that these legislators took horse and galloped about all their lives from the Ebro to the Elbe, now crossing the Alps and now the Pyrenees. Still less, can we suppose, that

---

\* "When the Franks who fought amongst the Gauls saw the latter clad in brilliant sagums of various colours, fascinated by the novelty of the thing, they left off their usual dress and began to adopt that of those peoples. The grave emperor, finding the latter garment more commodious for war, did not oppose the change; nevertheless, when he saw the Frieses abusing this facility, and selling these short garments at as high a price as the long ones had formerly cost, he ordered that only very long and wide mantles should be bought of them at the ordinary price. 'What's the use,' he said, 'of these short mantles? In bed, I cannot cover myself with them; on horseback, they do not defend from rain or wind, and when I satisfy the wants of nature, my legs are frozen.'" Monach. San. Gall., l. i., c. 26.

† Eginh., in Kar, M., c. 25. Latinam ita didicit, ut æque illâ ac patriâ linguâ orare esset solitus; græcam vero melius intelligere quam pronunciare poterat.—Poeta Saxon., l. v., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 176.

...Solitus linguâ sæpe est orare latinâ

Nec Græcæ prorsus necius exstiterat.

"Such was his gift of speech that he resembled a pedagogue therein." (Ut disculus appareret; alibi dicaculus, a prattler.)

the people did so. In the swamps of Saxony, and in the marches of Spain, Italy, and Bavaria, there were none but vanquished or hostile populations. If the word people be not here a fallacy, it signifies the army, or else some persons of note who followed the *grandees*, bishops, &c., and represented the great nation of the Franks, as the thirty lictors in Rome represented the thirty *curiæ* in the *comitia curiata*. As for the assemblies of the counts, the *boni homines*, and the *scabini* (*schæffen*\*), who composed them, were elected by the counts with the consent of the people. The count could dismiss them. Here we have, no longer, the old Germans judging their peers; these men more resembled poor *decuriones* presided over and directed by an imperial agent. The melancholy image of the Roman Empire reappears, in this precocious decrepitude of the barbarian Empire. Yes; the Empire is restored, but too fully restored. The count takes the place of the *duumvirs*, the bishop represents the *defender of the cities*, and those *herimans* (men of the army), who abandon their estates to escape the overwhelming obligations they impose upon them, stand for the Roman *curiales*,† those free proprietors who found their safety in quitting their property, in betaking themselves to flight, and becoming soldiers, or priests, and whom the law knew not how to keep fast hold on.

The desolation was the same in this case as in that of the Roman Empire. The enormous price of wheat, and the low price of cattle, sufficiently indicate that the land was left in pasture.‡ Slavery, mitigated, it is true, spread with rapid strides. Charlemagne bestowed upon his master, Alcuin, a farm containing 20,000 slaves.§ Every day the *grandees* forced the poor to give themselves up body and goods. Servitude was an asylum in which the freeman took refuge every day.

No legislative genius could have checked the downward progress of society, on the rapid slope it was then descending. Charlemagne did but confirm the barbarian laws. "When he had assumed the name of emperor," says Eginhard, "he thought of filling up the defects and omissions in the laws, and correcting them, and bringing them into order and harmony; but all he did was to add a few articles to them, and these, even, imperfect."||

---

\* See Conf. Savigny, and Grimm.

† The *curialis* was to have at least twenty-five acres of land, the *heriman* from thirty-six to forty-eight.

‡ An ox, or six bushels of corn were worth two sous;

Five oxen, a plain gown, or thirty bushels, ten sous;

Six oxen, or a cuirass, or thirty-six bushels, twelve sous.

(M. Desmuhels, *Hist. du Moyen Age*, ii.)

I adopt these valuations on the credit of this exact and conscientious historian. But he is wrong in referring to the canons of the council of Frankfort.

§ Præf., ad Elipand., Epist., 37, ap. Fleury, *Hist. Ecclési.*, l. xiv., c. 17.

|| Eginh., in Kar. M., c. 29. Post susceptum imperiale nomen, cum adverteret multa legibus populi sui deesse (nam Franci duas habent leges plurimis in locis valde diversas) cogitavit quæ deerant addere, et discrepantia unire, prava quoque ac perperam prolata corrigere sed de his nihil aliud ab eo factum est, quam quod pauca capitula, et ea imperfecta, legibus addidit.

The capitularies were, in general, administrative laws, civil and ecclesiastical ordinances. We find in them, it is true, a tolerably considerable legislative portion, destined, apparently, to supply those deficiencies of which Eginhard speaks; but, perhaps, these acts, which all bear the name of Charlemagne, are but repetitions of the capitularies of the old Frank kings. It is not very probable that the Pepins, that Clotaire II., and Dagobert, should have left so few capitularies, and that Brunehaut, Fredegonde, and Ebroin should have left none at all.\* It is probable, that it was with Charlemagne, as it would have been with Justinian, had all the records of Roman law previous to his day perished. The compiler, in that case, would have passed for the legislator. The striking discordance of language and of forms in the capitularies tends to strengthen this conjecture.

The original portion of the capitularies is that which relates to administration, and to the various wants occasioned by circumstances. It is impossible not to admire in them the activity, the powerless activity, it is true, of that government which strove to introduce a little order into the immense disorder of such an empire, and to retain some unity in a heterogeneous mass, the parts of which tended to isolation, and recoiled, so to speak, from each other. The enormous space occupied by the canonical legislation† would prove to us, if we were not otherwise aware of the fact, that the priests had the principal share in all this matter. This is still more manifested by the moral and religious counsels scattered through this legislation. It is full of the same pedantry‡ as the Visigoth laws, which, as we know, were made by the bishops.

Charlemagne, like the kings of the Visigoths, bestowed an inquisitorial power upon the bishops, by granting them the right of prosecuting criminals within their own dioceses. Some passages of the capitularies, which condemn the abuses of the episcopal authority, are not enough to make us doubt the unlimited power of the clergy in this reign. They may have been dictated by the court priests, the chaplains and the central clergy, who were naturally jealous of the local power of the bishops. Charlemagne, the friend of Rome, and surrounded by priests like Leidrade and many others, who assumed episcopal rank only as a means of retreat, must have granted much to that untitled clergy which formed his habitual council.

\* See le Recueil de Baluze.

† See Guizot, 21me leçon.

‡ It would be easy to accumulate examples. Capitul., anni, 802, ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., v. 649. *Placuit ut unusquisque ex propria persona se in sancto Dei servitio secundum Dei præceptum et secundum sponsonem suam pleniter conservare studeat secundum intellectum et vires suas; quia ipse dominus imperator non omnibus singulariter necessariam potest exhibere curam.* Capitul., ann. 806, ib. 677. *Cupiditas in bonam partem potest accipi et in malam. In bonam juxta apostolum, etc.—Avaritia est alienas res appetere, et adeptas nulli largiri. Et juxta apostolum, hæc est radix omnium malorum. Turpe lucrum exercent qui per varias circumventiones lucrando causa inhoneste res quaslibet congregare decertant*



This spirit of Byzantine and Gothic pedantry, which we have remarked in the capitularies, was strikingly displayed in Charlemagne's conduct with regard to doctrinal matters. He had a long letter written in his name to the heretic Felix d'Urgel, who maintained with the church of Spain, that Jesus, as man, was merely the adopted son of God. In his name appeared, likewise, the famous *Caroline* books against the adoration of images.\* Three hundred bishops condemned at Frankfort what three hundred and fifty bishops had just approved of at Nice. It was natural that the men of the West, who were struggling in the North against heathen idolatry, should reprobate images; and that those of the East should honour them in their hatred of the Arabs who broke them. The pope, who agreed in opinion with the Orientals, nevertheless, durst not declare his opinion against Charlemagne. He showed the same prudence when the church of France, in imitation of that of Spain, added to the Nicene creed, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son (*Filioque*).

Whilst Charlemagne was dissertating upon theology, dreaming of the Roman Empire, and studying grammar, the dominion of the Franks was quietly crumbling down. Charlemagne's young son having, either through weakness, or a sense of justice, given away or restored all the spoiliations of Pepin† in his kingdom of Aquitaine, his father found fault with this; but the son had only voluntarily accomplished what was already taking place of its own accord. The natural course of things undid the work of conquest; men and lands gradually escaped from the royal power to fall into the hands of the grandees, and, above all, of the bishops. That is to say, into the hands of those local authorities who were about to constitute the feudal republic.

Abroad, the strength of the Empire was dwindling away in the same manner. In Italy it had striven in vain against Benevento and Venice. In Germany it had retreated from the Oder to the Elbe, and shared its conquests with the Slaves. How, indeed, was it possible for it always to fight and struggle against new enemies? Behind the Saxons and the Bavarians, Charlemagne had found the Slaves, then the Avars. Behind the Lombards, he had found the

\* Caroli., libri. ii., c. 21. Solus igitur Deus colendus, solus adorandus, solus glorificandus est, de quo per prophetam dicitur: exaltatum est nomen ejus solius, etc.

† I believe it is thus we are to understand that dilapidation of the domain, with which Charlemagne reproached his son. That domain must have been made up of all the violent extortions of conquest. The scrupulous character of Louis, and the reparations he afterwards made to other nations maltreated by the Franks, authorise our thus interpreting his conduct in Aquitaine. Here is the text of the contemporary historian: In tantum largus ut antea nec in antiquis libris nec in modernis temporibus auditum est, ut villas regias quæ erant et avi et tritavi (Pepin and Charles Martel), fidelibus suis tradidit eas in possessiones sempiternas...Fecit enim hoc diu tempore. Theganus de gestis Ludov. Pii., c. 19, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 78.

Greeks; behind Aquitaine and the Ebro, the caliph of Cordova. That girdle of barbarians which he thought single, and which he broke through at first, doubled and tripled before him; and when his arms fell wearied by his side, then appeared with the Danish fleets that restless and fantastical image of the northern world which had been too much forgotten. Those men of the North, the true Germans, came to call to a reckoning those bastard Germans who had become Romans, and who had decked themselves with the name of Empire.

One day, when Charlemagne had halted in a city of Narbonnese Gaul, some Scandinavian pirate barks entered the very port. Some thought the new comers were Jewish or African merchants, others that they were Britons, but Charles knew them by the light build of their crafts; "They are not merchants," he said, "but cruel enemies." They were pursued and escaped out of sight, but the emperor, rising from the table, placed himself, says the chronicler, at the window looking towards the east, and remained a very long time with his face bathed in tears. As no one dared to question him, he said to the grandes about him, "Know you, my lieges, why I weep thus bitterly? Certes, I fear not that they can hurt me by these miserable piracies, but I am deeply grieved for that while I live they have been near touching this shore; and I am tormented with violent sorrow when I foresee all the evils they will inflict upon my posterity and upon their subjects."\*

(A. D. 810)—Thus the Danish, Greek, and Saracen fleets already hover round the Empire, like the vulture over the dying animal that will soon be a corpse. On one occasion two hundred armed barks made a descent upon Friesland, and disappeared loaded with booty. Charlemagne, however, "assembled men" to repel them. Another invasion took place; "He assembled men in Gaul and Germany,"† and built the city of Esselfeld in Friesland; like an unhappy athlete he applied his slow hand to his wounds, to parry blows already received.

"Godfried, King of the Northmans, promised himself the empire of Germany; Friesland and Saxony he regarded as his own. He had already subjugated his neighbours the Abotrites, and rendered them tributary. He even boasted that he would soon arrive with numbers at Aix-la-Chapelle where the king held his court. However idle and light were these threats, still they were not alto-

\* Mon. Sangall., ii. 22. Scitis, o fideles mei, quid tantopere ploraverim? Non hoc timeo quod isti nugis mihi aliquid nocere prævaleant: nimium contristor quod, me vivente, ausi sunt littus istud attingere; et maximo dolore torqueor, quia prævideo quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subjectis.

† Annal. Franc., ad ann., 810, ap. Scr. Fr., v. 59. Nuntium accepit classem cc. navium de Nortmannia Frisiam appulisse...Missis in onines circumquaque regiones ad congregandum exercitum nuntiis...Ibid., ad ann., 809: Cumque ad hoc per Galliam atque Germaniam homines congregasset...

gether disregarded. It was thought that he would have attempted something of the kind had he not been prevented by a premature death."\*

The old Empire put itself upon its guard; armed barks blockaded the mouths of the rivers; but how were all the coasts to be fortified? That same sovereign who had dreamed of unity, was obliged, like Diocletian, to divide his dominions in order to defend them. One of his sons was to keep Italy, another Germany, a third Aquitaine, but every thing turned out against Charlemagne. His two elder sons died, and he was forced to leave that huge and feeble Empire to the pacific hands of a saint.

---

### CHAPTER III.

#### Dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire.

It was under Louis le Débonnaire, or, to translate his name more exactly, St. Louis, that the heterogeneous portions of which the Empire was composed were to be rent asunder and divorced. All these portions suffered from being combined together. The great evil of the case was the common pressure of a vast war, which made the disasters of Ostrasia felt upon the banks of the Loire; it was the tyrannical effort of a premature centralisation. The more Charlemagne had approached this consummation, the more oppressive his yoke had been. Doubtless Pepin, and his father, the *sledge-hammerer*, had rudely beaten the nations; but, at any rate, they had not undertaken to reduce them, discordant and hostile as they still were, to this intolerable unity, a unity which was administrative at first, but to which Charlemagne designed to add unity of legislation. His son consummated religious unity by naming Benedict of Aniane reformer of the monasteries of the Empire, and by subjecting them all to the rule of St. Benedict.

It is a law of history, that an expiring world closes with and is atoned for by a saint. The purest of the race bears the faults of all, the innocent is punished; the crime of that innocent being only the continuing of an order doomed to perish; the throwing the shield of his own virtue over an inveterate and intolerable injustice. Social injustice is stricken in and through the virtue of one man. The means are odious; against Louis le Débonnaire they were parricide. His children lent the protection of their names to the various nations that desired to revolt from the Empire.

---

\* Eginh., in Kar. M., c. 14. Godefridus adeo vana spe inflatus erat, ut totius sibi Germaniæ promitteret potestatem, etc. See also Annal. Franc., ap. Scr. Fr., v. 57. Hermann. Contract. Ibid., 366.

The unfortunate man whose life is thus immolated on behalf of the social world, whether he be called Louis le Débonnaire, Charles I., or Louis XVI., is, nevertheless, not always wholly exempt from blame; his disastrous fate would affect us less if he were more than man. No; he is a man of flesh and blood like ourselves; a gentle soul, a weak mind, desiring good, at times doing evil, unmeasured in his repentance, given up to the influence of those around him, and sold by his own kindred.

(A. D. 814.)—The St. Louis of the ninth century,\* like him of the thirteenth, was reared in thoughts of a crusade. Whilst still young he led several expeditions against the Saracens of Spain, and recovered from them the great city of Barcelona, after a siege of two years. Brought up by St. William of Toulouse, as St. Louis was by Blanche of Castile, like him he displayed in his religion the fervour of the South and the simplicity of the North. The priests who had moulded his mind did more than they wished; their pupil was found to be more a priest than themselves, and he began, in his intractable virtue, by reforming his masters. The bishops were reformed; they had to give up their arms, their horses, and their spurs.† The monasteries were reformed; Louis subjected them to the inquisition of the most rigid of monks, St. Benedict of Aniane, who deemed that the Benedictine rule itself had been granted for the weak and for children.‡ This new king sent back into their monastery Adalhard and Wala,§ two intriguing and able monks,

---

\* There is a singular resemblance between the portraits of Louis le Débonnaire and of St. Louis bequeathed to us by history. "Imperator erat...manibus longis, digitis rectis, tibiis longis et ad mensuram gracilibus, pedibus longis." Thegan de gest Ludov. Pii., c. 19, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 78. Ludovicus (St. Louis) erat subtilis et gracilis, macilentus, convenienter et longus, habens vultum anglicum (angelicum?) et faciem gratosam. Salimbeni, 302, ap. Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, iv. 271. Both carefully avoided loud laughter. "Nunquam in risu imperator exaltavit vocem suam nec quando in festivitibus ad lætitiā populi procedebant themelici, scurræ et mimi cum choraulis et citharistis ad mensam coram eo: tunc ad mensuram coram eo ridebat populus; ille nunquam vel dentes candidos suos in risu ostendit." Thegan., *ibid.* Respecting the gravity of St. Louis and his abhorrence of buffoons and musicians, see the following book. Lastly, the two saints showed the same desire to make amends by restitution for the unjust acts of their fathers.

† Astronomi vita Lud. Pii., c. 28, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 101. Tunc cœperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis cingula balteis aureis et gemmeis culturis onerata, exquisitæque vestes, sed et calcaria talos onerantia relinqui.

‡ Acta SS. ord. S. Ben., sec. iv., p. 195. Regulam B. Benedicti tironibus seu infirmis positam fore contestans, ad beati Basilii dicta necnon Pachomii regulam scandere nitens.—Astron., c. 28, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 100. Ludovicus...fecit componi ordinarique librum, canonicæ vitæ normam gestantem; misit...qui transcribi facerent...itidemque constituit Benedictum abbatem, et cum eo monachos strenuæ vitæ per omnia, qui per omnia monachorum euntes redeunt quos monasteria, uniformem cunctis traderent monasteriis, tam viris quam feminis, vivendi secundum regulam S. Benedicti incommutabilem morem.

§ S. Adhalardi vita, *ibid.*, 377. Invidiâ...pulsus præsentibus bonis, dignitate exaltus, vulgi existimatione fœdatus...exilium tulit. Acta SS. ord. S. Bened., Sec. iv., p. 464; Wala...cujus Augustus, efficaciam auspiciatus ingenii, licet con

grandsons of Charles Martel, who had governed Charlemagne in his latter years. The imperial palace, too, underwent its reform. Louis turned out his father's concubines, his sisters' lovers, and his sisters themselves.\*

The nations, oppressed by Charlemagne, found in his son an upright judge ready to decide against himself. As King of Aquitaine, he had listened to the remonstrances of the Aquitanians, and had reduced himself to such poverty, says the historian, that he could hardly give any thing away; scarcely, even, his blessing.† As emperor he hearkened to the complaints of the Saxons and restored to them the right of inheriting;‡ thus taking away from the bishops and from the governors of districts the tyrannical power of causing inheritances to devolve upon whomsoever they pleased. The Christians of Spain, who had taken refuge in the Marches were robbed, by the grandes and the imperial lieutenants, of the lands bestowed upon them by Charlemagne. Louis issued an edict confirming their rights.§ He respected the principle of episcopal election, constantly

sobrinus ipsius esset, patui ejus filius, decrevit humiliari, cujuslibet instinctu, et redigi inter infimos.—P. 492. One day he said to Louis le Débonnaire, Velim, reverendissime imperator Auguste, dicas nobis tuis quid est quod tantum propriis interdum relictis officiis ad divina te transmittis.—Astron., c. 21. Timebatur quam maxime Wala, summum apud imperatorem Carolum habitus loci, ne forte aliquid sinistri contra imperatorem moliretur.

\* Astron., c. 21. Moverat ejus animum jamdudum, quanquam natura mitissimum, illud quod a sororibus illius in contubernio exercebatur paterno; quo solo domus paterna inurebatur nævo... Misit... qui... aliquos stupri immanitate et superbiæ fastu, reos majestatis caute ad adventum usque suum adservarent.—C. 23: Omnem coetum femineum, qui permaximus erat, palatio excludi judicavit præter paucissimas. Sororum autem quæque in sua, quæ a patre acceperat, concessit.

† Ibid., c. vii. "King Louis soon gave a proof of his wisdom, and manifested the tender compassion that was natural to him. He made it a rule, that he would pass the winters in four different places. After the lapse of three years, a new abode was to receive him for the fourth winter. These dwellings were Doué, Chasseneuil, Audiac, and Ebreuil. Thus, each, when its turn came, was able to sustain the cost of the royal service. After this wise arrangement he forbade that for the future the military supplies, vulgarly called *foderum*, should be exacted of the people. The military were dissatisfied, but this man of mercy, considering the wretchedness of those who paid that tax, and the cruelty of those who collected it, and the perdition of both, chose rather to maintain his men upon his own property, than to continue an impost so oppressive to his subjects. At the same period his liberality freed the Albigeois from a contribution of wine and corn. All this, it is said, so pleased the king, his father, that, in imitation of his example, he suppressed the tax of military supplies in France, and ordained many other reforms besides, congratulating his son upon his happy progress." See also Thegan. de gestis, &c.

‡ Ibid., c. 24. Saxonibus atque Frisonibus jus paternæ hæreditatis, quod sub patre ob perfidiam legaliter perdiderant, imperatoria restituit clementia.. Post hæc easdem gentes semper sibi devotissimas habuit.

§ Diplomata Ludov. Imper., ann. 816; ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 486, 487. Jubemus ut hi, qui vel nostrum vel domini et genitoris nostri præceptum accipere meruerunt, hoc quod ipsi cum suis hominibus de deserto excoluerunt, per nostram concessionem habeant. Hi vero qui postea venerunt, et se aut comitibus aut

violated by his father. He allowed the Romans to elect, without his own authorisation, Pope Stephen IV. and Pascal I.\*

Thus this heritage of conquest and violence had fallen into the hands of a simple and just man, whose most earnest desire it was to repair every thing. The barbarians recognised his sanctity and submitted to his arbitrement.† He sat among the nations like an indulgent and trusting father; he went about repairing, comforting, making restitution; it seemed as though he would willingly have made restitution of the very Empire.

In this day of restitution, Italy also asserted her claims; she demanded nothing less than liberty.‡ The towns, the bishops, and the peoples, leagued together; they did so under a Frank prince, but what of that? Charlemagne had made Bernhard, the son of his eldest son, Pepin, King of Italy. Bernhard, the pupil of Adalhard and Wala, and long governed by them in his Italian monarchy, believed himself entitled to the Empire as the heir of the eldest son.

The right of the younger son prevails, however, among barbarians over that of the nephew.§ Charlemagne, moreover, had designated Louis to succeed him. He had consulted the *grandeess*, one by one, and had obtained their voices.|| Lastly, Bernhard himself had recognised his uncle.¶ The latter had in his favour, usage, his father's wishes, and, lastly, election.

Accordingly Bernhard, abandoned by a large part of his own followers, was obliged to rely upon the promises of the Empress Hermengarde, who offered him her mediation. He surrendered

---

*vassis nostris aut paribus suis se commendaverunt, et ab eis terras ad habitandum acceperunt, sub quali convenientia atque conditione acceperunt, tali eas in futurum et ipsi possideant, et suæ posteritati derelinquant, etc.*

\* Astron., c. 26. Thegan., c. 18, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 77. Baronii Annal., p. 650.

† He was accepted as umpire by several Danish chiefs who disputed the inheritance of Godfried, and he decided in favour of Harold.

‡ Bernhard's attempt against his uncle was the first endeavour of Italy to free itself from the *barbarians*. *Omnes civitates regni et principes Italiæ in hæc verba conjuraverunt, sed et omnes aditus, quibus in Italiam intratur, positis obicibus et custodiis obserarunt.* Astronon., c. 29. See also Eginh., Annal., ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 177.

§ They desired for king a man rather than a child; and usually, the uncle is a man, is *useful*, as they used to say in those days, long before the nephew.

|| Thegan., c. 6. *Cum intellexisset appropinquare sibi diem obitus sui, vocavit filium suum Ludovicum ad se cum omni exercitu, episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, loco positus—interrogans si eis placuisset ut nomen suum, id est imperatoris, filio suo Ludovico tradidisset. Illi omnes responderunt Dei esse admonitionem illius rei. He had also consulted Alcuin at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours: Quo in loco tenens manum Albini, ait secrete: Domine magister, quem de his filiis meis videtur tibi in isto honore quem, indigno quamquam dedit mihi Deus, habere me successorum? At ille vultum in Ludovicum dirigens, novissimum illoꝝum, sed humilitate clarissimum, ob quam a multis despicibilis notabatur, ait; Habebis Ludovicum humilem successorem eximium.* Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv., p. 156.

¶ Thegan., c. 12. *Venit Bernhardus...et fidelitatem ei cum juramento promisit.*

himself at Châlons-sur-Saône, and denounced all his accomplices, one of whom had in former times conspired against the life of Charlemagne.\* Bernard, and all the others were condemned to death; but the emperor could not consent to their execution.† Hermengarde obtained permission from him that Bernhard should at least be deprived of sight; but she had the operation performed in such a manner that he died of it in three days.

(A. D. 819—20.)—Italy was not alone astir. All the tributary nations had taken up arms; the Slaves of the North were backed by the Danes, those of Pannonia counted upon the Bulgarians. The Basques of Navarre invoked the assistance of the Saracens;‡ the Bretons relied upon themselves. All were put down. The Bretons saw their country completely overrun; perhaps for the first time; the Basques were defeated, and the Saracens repulsed. The vanquished Slaves aided against the Danes; a king of the latter, even embraced Christianity. The Archbishopric of Hamburg was founded;§ Sweden had a bishop dependent on the Archbishop of Rheims. It is true, that these first conquests of Christianity did not hold good; the Christian King of the Danes was expelled by his subjects.

Up to this point, the reign of Louis, it must be owned, was conspicuous for strength and justice; he had maintained the integrity of the Empire and extended its influence. The barbarians feared his arms and venerated his sanctity. In the midst of his prosperity the soul of the saint became softened, and confessed the weakness of humanity. His wife having died, he is said to have made the daughters of his grandees appear before him, and he chose the most beautiful.|| In the veins of Judith, daughter of Count Welf, was combined the blood of the nations most odious to the Franks. Her mother was Saxon, her father Welf of Bavaria, of that nation allied to the Lombards, through which the Slaves and the Avars had been called into the

\* Eginh., *Annal.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vi. 177. *Hujus conjurationis principes..et Reginharius Meginharii comitis filius, cujus maternus avus Hardradus olim in Germania cum multis ex ea provincia nobilibus contra Karolum imperatorem conjuravit.*

† Astron., c. 30. *Cum lege judicioque Francorum deberent capitali invectione feriri, suppressa tristiori sententia, luminibus orbari consensit, licet multis obnitentibus, et animadverti in eos tota severitate legali cupientibus. Thegan., ibid. 79. Judicium mortale imperator exercere noluit; sed consilarii Bernardum luminibus privarunt.... Bernhardus obiit. Quod audiens imperator, magno cum dolore flevit multo tempore.*

‡ Astron., c. 37. Eginh., *Annal.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vi. 185.

§ S. Anseharii *vita*, ibid. 305. *In civitate Hammaburg sedem constituit archiepiscopalem. Ibid. 306. Ebo (archiep. Remensis) quemdam... pontificali insignitum honore, ad partes direxit Sueconum, etc.*

|| Astronom., c. 80. *Undecumque adductas procerum filias aspiciens, Judith.... Thegan., c. 26: Accepit filiam Welfi ducis, qui erat de nobilissima stirpe Bavarorum, et nomen virginis Judith, quæ erat ex parte matris nobilissimi generis Saxonici, eamque reginam constituit. Erat enim pulchra valde. Bishop Friculfe wrote to her: Si agitur de venustate corporis, pulchritudine superas omnes, quas visus vel auditus nostræ parvitatæ comperit reginas. Scr. Fr., vi. 355.*

Empire.\* Learned,† says history, and that more than was desirable, she subjected her husband to the influence of the elegant and polished men of the South. Louis was already favourable to the Aquitanians, among whom he had been brought up. Bernard, the son of his former tutor, St. William of Toulouse, became his favourite, and still more so that of the empress; a beautiful and dangerous Eve, she degraded and ruined her husband.

(A.D. 822.)—Since this fall, Louis, weaker, because he had ceased to be pure; more human and more sensitive, because he was no longer a saint, opened his heart to fears and scruples. He felt himself diminished, a virtue had gone out of him. He began to repent of his severity towards his nephew Bernhard, and towards the monks Wala and Adalhard, whom, however, he had merely sent back to the duties of their order. His heart needed some solace; he requested, and was permitted, to undergo a public penance. This was the first time, since the days of Theodosius, in which the great spectacle of the voluntary humiliation of an all-powerful man had been beheld. The Merovingian kings contented themselves with founding convents after their greatest crimes. The penance of Louis is, as it were, the new era of morality, the accession of conscience.

(A.D. 824—30.)—The brutal pride of the men of that time blushed, however, for royalty, and revolted at the humble admission it made of its weakness and of its humanity. It seemed to them, that he, who had once bent the head before the priest, could no longer command warriors. The Empire, too, appeared degraded and disarmed by the act. The first misfortunes, which were the beginning of an inevitable dissolution, were imputed to the weakness of a penitent king. In 820 thirteen Norman vessels swept three hundred leagues of the coast, and carried off so much booty that they were obliged to release the prisoners they had made.‡ In 824 the army of the Franks, having invaded Navarre, was beaten as at Roncesvalles. In 829 it was feared that these Normans, whose least barks were so formidable, would make a descent upon the land, and the nations were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march *en masse*.§

\* See *supra*. Furthermore they had been allies of Hunald of Aquitaine.

† See the epistles dedicatory of the celebrated Raban of Fulda, and of Bishop Friculfe. The latter writes to her: In divinis et liberalibus studiis, ut tuæ eruditionis cognovi facundiam, obstupui. Scr. Fr., vi. 355, 356.—Walafridi versus, *ibid.* 268.

Organa dulcisono percurrit pectine Judith.  
O si Sappho loquax, vel nos inviseret Holda,  
Ludere jam pedibus. . . . .  
Quidquid enim tibimet sexus subtraxit egestas,  
Reddidit ingeniis culta atque exercita vita.

Asnal Net., *ibid.* 212. Pulchra nimis et sapientiæ floribus optime instructa.

‡ Astronom., c. 33. Eginh., *Annal.*, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 180.

§ Eginh., *Annal.*, *ibid.* 189. Quo nuncio commotus, misit in omnes Franciæ regiones et jussit ut summa festinatione tota populi sui multitudo in Saxoniam veniret.



Thus, the public discontent accumulated on every side; the *grandees* and the bishops fomented it; they accused the emperor, they accused Bernard the Aquitanian. The central authority was irksome to them; they were impatient of the unity of the Empire; they wished to reign, each in his own domain.

But leaders were requisite against the emperor, and they were found in the persons of his own sons. He had given them in the beginning of his reign, along with the title of king, two frontier provinces to govern and to defend; Bavaria to Louis, to Pepin Aquitaine, the two barriers of the Empire.\* His eldest son, Lothaire, was to be emperor with the monarchy of Italy. When Louis had a son by Judith, he gave that child, named Charles, the title of King of Alamania (Suabia and Switzerland). This grant made no change in the possessions of the princes, but a great one in their expectations; they lent their names to a conspiracy of the *grandees*. The latter refused to march their men against the Bretons, whose ravages Louis wished to suppress. The emperor found himself alone. A Frank by birth, but governed by an Aquitanian, he was supported neither by the South, nor by the North. We have already seen Brunehaut fall, in a similar equivocal position. His eldest son, Lothaire, believed himself already emperor. He expelled Bernard, shut up Judith, and cast his father into a monastery; and, among all his children, that poor old Lear found no Cordelia.

But neither the *grandees* nor the brothers of Lothaire were disposed to submit to him. Weighing emperor against emperor they preferred Louis. The monks, whose captive he was, laboured to restore him. The Franks perceived that the triumph of the child of Louis deprived them of the Empire. The Saxons and the Frisians, who owed him their liberty, exerted themselves on his behalf. A diet was assembled at Nimeguen amidst the nations that supported him. "All Germany flocked thither to the emperor's succour."† Lothaire, in his turn, found himself solitary, and at his father's mercy. Wala, and all the heads of the faction were condemned to death. The good emperor chose to spare them.‡

(A.D. 833).—Bernard the Aquitanian, however, being supplanted in the favour of Louis by the Monk Gondebaud, one of his liberators, rekindled the war in the South, and excited Pepin to action. The

\* *Chronic. Moissiac.*, *ibid.* 177. *Unum Bajoariæ, alterum Aquitanicæ.*

† *Astronom.*, c. 45. "Hi qui imperatori contraria sentiebant, alicubi in Francia conventum fieri generalem volebant. Imperator autem clanculo obnitebatur, diffidens quidem Francis, magisque se credens Germanis. Obtinuit tamen sententia imperatoris ut in Neomago populi convenirent. . . . Omnique Germania eo confluit, imperatori auxilio futura." Louis became reconciled to his son; the people bursting into fury threatened to massacre both the emperor and Lothaire. The mutineers were seized. "Quos postea ad iudicium adductos, cum omnes juris censores filique imperatoris iudicio legali, tanquam reos majestatis, decernerent capitali sententia feriri, nullum ex eis permisit occidi." See also *Annal. Bertineau.*, *ibid.* 193.

‡ *Astron.*, c. 46. *Cunctis dijudicatis ad mortem, vitam concessit.*

three brothers plotted together anew. Lothaire brought with him the Italian Gregory IV., who excommunicated all those who should disobey the King of Italy. The armies of the father and of the sons met in Alsace. The latter made the pope speak, and exerted some unknown means by night. In the morning, the emperor, seeing himself abandoned by a part of his followers, said to the rest, "I will not have any one die for me."\* The theatre of this shameful scene was called the Field of Falsehood.

Lothaire, having become again the master of the person of Louis, determined to put an end to the matter at once, and to finish his father. This Lothaire was a man who did not recoil from bloodshed. He caused one of the Bernard's brothers to be butchered, and he had his sister thrown into the Saône,† but he dreaded public execration if he laid parricidal hands upon Louis. He conceived the design of degrading him by imposing on him a public penance so humiliating that he never afterwards could raise his head. Lothaire's bishops laid before the prisoner a list of crimes of which he was to avow himself guilty. First upon the list was the death of Bernhard (he was innocent of it); then the perjuries to which he had exposed the people by the new divisions of the Empire; then his having waged war in Lent; then his having been too severe towards the partisans of his sons (he had saved them from death); then his having allowed Judith and others to justify themselves by oaths; sixthly, his having exposed the state to murders, pillages, and sacrilege, by exciting general war; seventhly, his having excited those civil wars by arbitrary divisions of the Empire; lastly, his having ruined the state, which it was his duty to defend.‡

When the absurd confession was read in the church of St. Médard de Soissons, poor Louis disputed nothing. He signed the whole, humbled himself as much as they pleased, confessed himself thrice guilty, wept, and demanded permission to do public penance in reparation of the scandals he had caused.§ He put off his military baldric, donned the haircloth, and in this miserable, humbled, degraded, plight, his son led him away to the capital of the Empire, to Aix-la-Chapelle, the same city in which Charlemagne had formerly caused him to assume the crown upon the altar.||

(A. D. 834.)—The parricide thought that he had killed Louis, but a huge pity arose in the Empire. That people itself so wretched

\* Thegan., c. 42. Dicens : *Ite ad filios meos. Nolo ut nllus propter me vitam ut membra dimittat. Illi infusi lacrymis recedebant ab eo.*

† Ibid., c. 52. *Jussit in vase vinatico claudere et projicere in flumen Ararim.*

‡ *Acta exaurationis Lud. Pii.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, vi. 245. Of all these charges the seventh is weighty. It reveals the feeling of the times. It is the reclamation of the local spirit, which desires thenceforth to follow the physical and fated movement of races, countries, and tongues, and which sees nothing but violence and tyranny in every purely political division.

§ Ibid., 246. *Pœnitentiam publicam expetiit, quatenus Ecclesiæ, quam peccando scandalizaverat, pœnitendo satisfaceret.*

|| *Chron. Moissiac.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v. 83.

found tears for its old emperor. Men told each other with horror, how the son had kept him at the altar weeping, and sweeping the dust with his white hairs; how that second Ham, exposing his father's nakedness to the scoffs of the multitude, had searched out his father's sins; how he had drawn up his confession—and what a confession! filled from end to end with calumnies and lies. It was the Archbishop of Ebbon, the fellow-student of Louis and his foster-brother, one of those sons of serfs whom he loved so much,\* who had plucked off his baldric and had clothed him in haircloth. But, in taking from him the girdle and the sword, in divesting him of the costume of the tyrants and the nobles, they had made him appear to the people as one of the people, as a saint and as a man, and his history was none other than that of Adam in the Bible. His Eve had ruined him, or, if you will, one of those daughters of the giants who in Genesis seduced the children of God. Again, in this marvellous example of suffering and patience, in this man insulted and spat upon and blessing all those who heaped him with outrages, the people thought they beheld the antitype of Job's patience, or rather an image of the Saviour. No detail had been lacking, neither the vinegar nor the wormwood.

Thus the old emperor found himself raised up again by the very depth of his degradation; every body recoiled from the parricide. Abandoned by the *grandeers* (834—5), and now no longer able to seduce his father's partisans,† Lothaire fled to Italy. Himself in ill

\* Thegan., c. 44. Hebo Remensis episcopus, qui erat ex originalium servorum stirpe.... O qualem remunerationem reddidisti ei. Vestivit te purpura et pallio, et tu eum induisti cilicio.... Patres tui erant pastores captarum, non consiliarii principum!.... Sed tentatio piissimi principis.... sicut et patientia beati Job. Qui beato Job insultabant, reges fuisse leguntur, qui istum vero affligebant, legales servi ejus erant ac patrum suorum.—Omnes enim episcopi molesti fuerunt ei, et maxime hi quos ex servili conditione honoratos habebat, cum his qui ex barbaris nationibus ad hoc fastigium perducti sunt.—Id., c. 20. Jamdudum illa pessima consuetudo erat, ut ex vilissimis servis summi pontifices fierent et hoc non prohibuit.... Then follows a long invective against upstarts.—Several facts betoken the predilection of Louis for the serfs, the poor, the vanquished. One day he gave all the garments he had on to a serf, glazier of the convent of Saint Gall. Mon. Sangal. ad calc. We have seen his affection for the Saxons and the Aquitanians; in his youth he had worn the garb of the latter. "Young Louis, obeying his father's orders with all his heart and might, repaired to him at Paderborn, followed by a troop of young men of his own age, and dressed in the Gascon costume, that is to say, wearing the little round surtout, the shirt with long sleeves hanging down to the knee, spurs laced on his short boots, and a javelin in his hand. Such had been the king's will and pleasure." Astronom., c. 4.—Mon. S. Gall., iv. 31. "Moreover, being absent, King Louis was minded that suits between the poor should be so ruled that one of them, who, though totally infirm, appeared to possess more energy and intelligence than the rest, should take cognizance of their offences, prescribe restitution of thefts, retaliation for injuries and acts of violence, and even in graver cases pass sentence of amputation of the limbs, loss of the head, and even death upon the gibbet. This man appointed dukes, tribunes, and centurions, assigned them deputies, and accomplished with firmness the task committed to him."

† Nithardi Historiæ, i. 4, ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 12. Occurrebat universæ plebi verecundia et pœnitudo, quod bis imperatorem dimiserant.—C. 5: Franci eo

health, he saw all the heads of his party die in the course of one summer (836). The Bishops of Amiens and Troyes, his father-in-law Hugues, Counts Matfried and Lambert, Agimbert de Perche, Godfreid and his son Borgarit, prefect of his chases, and a multitude of others.\* Ebbon, deposed from the see of Rheims, passed the rest of his days in obscurity and exile. Wala retired to the monastery of Bobbio, near the tomb of St. Colomban. A brother of St. Arnulf of Metz, the ancestor of the Carlovingians, had been abbot of that monastery. He died there the very year in which so many of his party perished, exclaiming every moment, "Why was I born a man of quarrel, a man of discord?"† This grandson of Charles Martel, this political monk, this factious saint, this harsh,‡ fiery, passionate man, shut up by Charlemagne in a monastery, then become his counsellor, and afterwards almost King of Italy under Pepin and Bernhard, had the misfortune to associate a name till then unblemished, with the parri- cidal revolts of the sons of Louis.

(A.D. 840.)—Le Débonnaire, however, swayed by the same counsels, did just what was likely to renew the revolt, and to cause his fall again. On the one hand, he summoned his grantees to restore to the churches§ the estates they had usurped. On the other hand, he diminished the portion of his eldest sons, who, it is true, had very well deserved this, and he endowed at their expense the son of his choice, the son of Judith, Charles the Bald. The sons of Pepin who had just died, were despoiled. Louis the German, was reduced to the possession of Bavaria alone; every thing was divided between Lothaire and Charles. The old emperor is reported to have said to the former, "Here, my son, is the whole realm before thine eyes; divide it, and Charles shall choose; or if thou wilt choose, we will divide."||

*quod imperatorem his reliquerant, pœnitundine correpti, ad defectionem impelli designati sunt.*—All the nations returned to Louis. "Gregatim populi tam Franciæ quam Burgundiæ necnon Aquitanix sed et Germaniæ coeuntes, calamitatis querelis de imperatoris infortunio querebantur," etc. Astronom., c. 49. All were of one mind, from dissatisfaction doubtless, against Lothaire, that is to say, against the unity of the Empire. Bernard seems to have been for the emperor against his sons; but for Pepin, that is for Aquitaine, even against the emperor.

\* Astronom., c. 56. Quanta lues mortalis populum qui Lotharium secutus est, invaserit, mirabile est dictu, etc. Non post multum et ipse moritur.

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., sec. 4, p. 463. Virum rixæ, vivumque discordiæ se progenitum frequenter ingemuerit.—Paschase Radbert, author of the life of Wala, who wrote under Louis le Débonnaire and his son, Charles the Bald, thought it prudent to disguise his personages under fictitious names. Wala is called *Arsenius*; Adalhard, *Antonius*; Louis le Débonnaire, *Justitianus*; Judith, *Justina*; Lothaire, *Honorius*; Louis the German, *Gratianus*; Pepin, *Melanus*; and Bernard of Septimania, *Naso* and *Amisarius*.

‡ Acta SS. ord. S. Bened., *passim*. A monk having sought to leave his convent to escape a punishment, Wala had soldiers posted at the gates, p. 485.

§ Annal. Bertiniani, ann. 837, ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 198. Astronom., c. 53. Mandavit Pippino . . . res ecclesiasticas restitui. See also c. 56.

|| "Ecce, fili, ut promiseram, regnum omne eorum te est: divide illud prout buerit. Quod si tu divideris, partium electio Caroli erit. Si autem nos illud

Lothaire took the east, and Charles was to have the west. Louis of Bavaria took up arms to hinder the execution of this treaty, and, by a strange mutation, the father, on this occasion, had France upon his side, and the son had Germany. But old Louis sank under the sorrow and distresses of this new war. "I pardon Louis," he said, "but let him look to himself, he, who despising God's law has brought down his father's white hairs to the grave." The emperor died at Ingelheim, in an island of the Rhine, near Mayence,† in the centre of the Empire; and the unity of the Empire died with him.

(A.D. 841).—It was a bootless enterprise to attempt its resurrection as Lothaire did, and with what forces? With Italy, with the Lombards, who had so ill defended Didier against Charlemagne, and Bernhard against Louis le Débonnaire. Young Pepin, who joined him out of opposition to Charles the Bald, brought, as his contingent, the army of Aquitaine, so often defeated by Pepin le Bref and Charlemagne. Strange to say, it was the men of the South, the vanquished men of the Latin tongue who wished to sustain the unity of the Empire against Germany and Neustria. The Germans desired only independence.

Nevertheless, the title of eldest son of the sons of Charlemagne, the title of emperor, of king of Italy, and the fact of being backed by Rome and the pope, all this had still an imposing effect. It was, therefore, humbly, in the name of peace, of the Church,‡ of the poor, and the orphan, that the kings of Germany and Neustria addressed themselves to Lothaire when the armies stood face to face at Fontenai, or Fontenaille, near Auxerre. "They offered to bestow upon him all they had in their army, except the horses and weapons. If this was not enough for him, they consented to yield him each a portion of the realm, one as far as Ardennes, the other as far as the Rhine. If he still refused, they would divide all France into equal portions, and give him his choice of them. Lothaire replied to them according to his custom, that he would make known to them, through his messengers, what was his pleasure, and then, sending Drogon, Hugues, and Heribert, he announced to them, that they had not before made him any such proposition, and that he desired to have time to reflect; but the fact was, Pepin had not arrived, and Lothaire wished to wait for him."§

---

*diviserimus, similiter partium electio tua erit."* Quod idem cum per triduum dividere vellet, sed minime posset, Josippum atque Richardum ad patrem direxit, deprecans ut ille et sui regnum dividerent, partiumque electio sibi concederetur. . . . Testati quod pro nulla re alia, nisi sola ignorantia regionum id peragere differret. Quamobrem pater ut ægrius valuit, regnum omnem absque Bajoaria cum suis divisit: et a Mosa partem Australem Lodharius cum suis elegit. Occiduum vero, ut Carolo conferretur, consensit.

\* Astron., 64.

† Nithard., i. 8.—Astron., 64.—Wandalbertus, in Martyrol., ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 71.

‡ Nithard., ii. 9. "Memor sit Dei omnipotentis, et concedat pacem fratribus suis, universæque ecclesiæ Dei."

§ Nithard., ii. 10.

The next day, at the hour they had themselves announced to Lothaire, the two brothers attacked and defeated him. If the historians are to be believed, the battle was obstinate and bloody; so bloody, that it exhausted the military population of the Empire, and left it open without defence to the ravages of the barbarians.\* Such a massacre, not very credible at any time, is least of all so in this period of languor† and of ecclesiastical influence.

We have already seen, and we shall have still clearer proof of it yet, that the reign of Charlemagne, and of his first successors, became, for the men of the deplorable times that ensued, a heroic epoch, the glory of which they loved to exalt, by means of fables as patriotic as they were insipid. It was, moreover, impossible for the men of that age to explain, by political causes, the depopulation of the West, and the decay of the military spirit. It was more easy, and, at the same time, more poetical, to suppose that all the valiant men had perished in a single battle, and that nothing had been left but cowards.

(A. D. 842.)—The battle was so far from being decisive, that the victors were not able to pursue Lothaire; on the contrary, it was he who, in the ensuing campaign, closely beset Charles the Bald. Charles and Louis, still constantly in peril, formed a new alliance at Strasburg, in which they endeavoured to engage the nations by addressing them, not in the language of the Church, the only one, until then, employed in treaties and in councils, but in the popular language current in Gaul and in Germany. The King of the Allemanns made oath in the Roman, or French tongue; the King of the French (we may henceforth employ that name) swore in the German tongue. These solemn words, pronounced upon the banks of the Rhine, upon the boundary between the two peoples, are the first monument of their nationality.

Louis, as the elder, was the first to make oath: "*Pro Don amur,*

\* Annal. Met., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 184. In qua pugna ita Francorum vires attenuatæ sunt. . . . ut nec ad tuendos proprios fines in posterum sufficerent. "In this battle," says another chronicle written in the time of Philip Augustus, "almost all the warriors of France, Aquitaine, Italy, Germany, and Burgundy, slew each other." Hist. Reg. Franc., 259.

† An idea of this may be formed by the extraordinary moderation of the military games exhibited at Worms by Charles and Louis. "The multitude stood all round, and first of all, in equal number, the Saxons, the Gascons, the Ostrasians, and the Bretons of either party rushed on each other, charging rapidly as though in mutual combat. The men of one of the two parties fled, covering themselves with their bucklers, and feigning to wish to escape from the pursuit of the enemy, but wheeling round, they in turn pursued those from whom they had just fled, until at last the two kings, with all the young men, raising a great shout, spurring their horses and brandishing their lances, charged and pursued, sometimes the one party, sometimes the other, in their flight. It was a fine spectacle, by reason of all that grand nobility, and by reason of the moderation that prevailed in it. In so great a multitude, and amongst so many people of various origins, no instance was seen of what often occurs among persons of no great number, and who are known to each other, no one dared to wound or insult any one." Nithard, l. iii., c. 6.

*et pro Christiano populo, et nostro communis salvamento, dist dā in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvareio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha, et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi altre si fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle, in damno sit.*" When Louis had taken the oath, Charles swore the same thing in the German language: "*In Godes minna indum tes Christianes folches, ind unser bedhero gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizei indi madh fergibit so hald in tesan minan bruodher soso man mit rehtu sinan bruder seal, inthiu thaz er mig soso ma duo; indi mit Luhteren inno kleinnin thing ne geganga zhe minan vwillon imo ce scadhen vverhen.*"\* The oath which the two peoples swore runs thus in the *langue Romaine*: "*Si Lodhuwigs sacrament que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io returnar non lint pois, ne io ne nuels cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla adjudha contra Lodhuwig nun lin iver.*"†

In German: "*Oba Karl then eid then er sineno bruodher Ludhuwige gessuor geleistit, ind Ludhuwig min herro then er imo gessuor forbrihchit, ob ina ih nes irrwenden ne mag, nah ih, nah thero, noh hein then ih es irrwenden mag, vwindhar Karle imo ce follusti ne wirdhit.*"

"The bishops declared," continues Nithard,‡ "that the just judgment of God had rejected Lothaire, and transferred the kingdom to the most worthy; but they did not authorise Louis and Charles to take possession until they had demanded of them where they were minded to reign after the example of their dethroned brother, or in accordance with the will of God. The kings having replied, that as far as God would give them the power and the knowledge to do so, they would govern themselves and their subjects according to His will; the bishops said, in the name of the divine authority, take the realm, and govern it according to the will of God; this we counsel you, this we exhort you and command you to do. The two brothers

\* Nithard, iii., c. 5, ap. Scr. Fr., viii. 27, 35. I adopt the translation of M. Aug. Thierry (*Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*), but not his restitutions. It is too hazardous to change the Latin words found on the monuments of such an epoch. Latin must have been mixed up in different proportions with the rising languages of Europe. See in the Illustrations the barbarous poem composed on the captivity of Louis II.

"For the love of God, and for the Christian people, and our common salvation, from this day forward, and as long as God shall grant me knowledge and power, I will support my brother Karl here present, with aid and in every thing, as it is right that one should support his brother, whilst he shall do the same for me. And never with Lothar will I make any pact which with my will shall be to the damage of my brother."

† "If Lodewig keeps the oath he has sworn to his brother Karl, and if Karl, my lord, on his part does not keep it, if I can not bring him back thereto, neither I nor any other will give him aid against Lodewig."—The Germans repeated the same thing in their own language, only changing the order of the names. Nithard, iii. 5.

‡ Ibid., iv. 1.

chose each twelve of their own followers (I was of the number), to whose decision they left the partition of the kingdom between them."

(A. D. 843.)—What secured Charles and Louis the superiority was, that Lothaire and Pepin, having endeavoured to obtain support from the Saxons and the Saracens, the Church declared against them. Lothaire was forced to content himself with the title of emperor without exercising its authority. "The bishops having all been of opinion that peace ought to prevail between the three brothers, the kings sent for Lothaire's deputies and granted him what he demanded. They spent four days and more in dividing the realm. Finally, it was determined, that the whole country lying between the Rhine and the Meuse,\* as far as to the source of the Meuse, and from thence to the source of the Saône, along the Saône to its confluence with the Rhone, and along the Rhone to the sea, should be given to Lothaire as the third of the realm, and that he should possess all the bishoprics, all the abbeys, all the counties, and all the royal domains of the region this side of the Alps, with the exception of \* \* \*† (Treaty of Verdun, 843).

"The commissioners of Louis and Charles having made various complaints respecting the proposed partition, they were asked did any of them possess a clear knowledge of the whole realm. As none was found who could reply to this question, they were asked why, during the time that had already elapsed, they had not sent messengers through all the provinces to draw up a description of them? It was discovered that it was Lothaire who had prevented this, and they were told that it was impossible to divide equally a thing which was not understood. The question was then examined, could they have honestly sworn to divide the kingdom equally and to the best of their power, when they knew that not one amongst them was acquainted with it? This question was referred to the decision of the bishops."‡

The odious support which Lothaire had asked of the paynims,§

---

\* The countries watered by the Meuse had openly declared for Charles. All those who dwelt between the Meuse and the Seine sent messengers to Charles (840) inviting him to come to them before Lothaire seized their country, and promising to wait his arrival. Charles hastily set out, accompanied by a small body of men, and arrived from Aquitaine at Quiersy. There he graciously received those who came to him from the forest of Ardennes, and from the countries situated below it. As for those who dwelt beyond that forest, Herenfried, Gislebert, Bovon and others, beguiled by Odulf, broke the faith they had pledged." Nithard, l. ii., c. 2.

† Nithard, iv. 3.

‡ Ibid., c. 4.

§ Nith., l. iv., c. 2. "He sent messengers into Saxony promising the free-men and the serfs (*frilingi et lazzi*), whose numbers are immense, that if they would join his party he would restore them the laws which their ancestors had enjoyed in the times when they adored idols. The Saxons, eagerly desiring this, assumed the new name of *Stellinga*, leagued together, almost expelled their lords from the country, and began, according to the ancient custom, each to live under the law that pleased him. Lothaire had, furthermore, applied for the help of



and of which his ally, Pepin, had also made use subsequently in Aquitaine, seemed to entail mischief upon his family. Charles the Bald, and Louis the German, supported by the bishops of their kingdom, perpetuated the name of Charlemagne, and established at last the royal institution which, long eclipsed beneath feudalism, was one day to become so potent. Lothaire and Pepin could establish nothing. This Charles the Bald, who was believed to be the son of Bernard of Languedoc, the favourite of Louis le Débonnaire and of Judith, and who resembled Bernard,\* seems, indeed, to have inherited all the dexterity of his southern father. In the first place, he was the man of the bishops, the man of Hincmar, the great Archbishop of Rheims. It was in some sort in the name of the Church that he made war on Lothaire and Pepin, the allies of the pagans. The latter, guided by the counsels of the son of Bernard, had not hesitated to call the Saracens and the Normans† into Aquitaine. The marriage of the daughter of Eudes with an emir, has shown us that the Christianity of the men of the South did not shrink from such alliances with the infidels. The Saracens invaded Septimania in the name of Pepin: the Normans took Toulouse. It is said that he went so far as to renounce Christianity, and that he made oath upon a horse in the name of Woden. But such aid was destined to be more fatal to him than useful. The nations detested the friend of the barbarians, and imputed their ravages to him. Given up to Charles the Bald by the chief of the Gascons, frequently a prisoner, frequently a fugitive, he established nothing but anarchy.

Lothaire's family was scarcely more fortunate. Upon his death (855), his eldest son, Louis II., became emperor; the two others, Lothaire II. and Charles, king of Lorraine (the provinces between the Meuse and the Rhine), and king of Provence. Charles soon died. Louis, harassed by the Saracens, imprisoned by the Lombards, was always unfortunate, notwithstanding his courage. As for Lothaire II., his reign seems marked by the establishment of the papal supremacy over kings.‡ He had put away his wife, Teutberge, to live with a sister of the Archbishop of Cologne,

the Northmans, had subjected some tribes of Christians to them, and had even permitted them to pillage the rest of the people of Christ. Louis feared that the Northmans, as well as the Esclavons, would unite by reason of affinity with the Saxons, who had taken the name of Stellinga, that they would invade his dominions and abolish the Christian religion there." See also the *Annals of St. Bertin*, anno 841; the *Annals of Fulda*, anno 842; and the *Chronicle of Hermann Contract*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 232, &c.

\* *Thegan*, c. 36. *Impii...dixerunt Judith reginam violatam esse a duce Bernhardo*.—*Vita venerab. Walæ*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vi. 289. *Agobardi Apolog.*, ibid., 248.—*Ariberti narratio*, ibid., vii. 286. *Et os ejus mire ferebat, natura adulterium maternum prodente*.

† *Annal. Bertin.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 66.—*Chronic. S. Benigni Divion*, ibid, 229. *Translat. S. Vincent*, 353. *Northmanni...a Pippino conducti mercimoniis, pariter cum eo ad obsidendam Tolosam adventaverant*.

‡ *Nicolai*, i., *epist. ap. Mansi*, xv., p. 373.

and niece of the Archbishop of Treves, and he accused Teutberge of adultery and incest. She denied the charge for a long time, but afterwards confessed it, no doubt under the influence of intimidation. Pope Nicholas, one to whom she had applied in the first instance, refused to believe this confession, and forced Lothaire to take her back. Lothaire went to Rome to justify himself, and there he received the communion from the hands of Adrian II. But that pope threatened him at the same time with the chastisement of heaven, if he did not change his conduct. Lothaire died that same week, and most of his kindred in the course of the year.\* Charles the Bald and Louis the German took advantage of this judgment of God, and divided Lothaire's dominions between them.

The King of France, on the contrary, was the man of the Church, at least in the beginning. Since that country had escaped from the Germanic influence, the Church alone was potent there. Its power was no longer counterpoised by that of the laity. The Germans, the Aquitanians, even the Irish and the Lombards, seem to have been upon a better footing than the Neustrians in the Carolingian court. Neustria, governed and defended by strangers, had long possessed no strength, no life but in her clergy. It seems, too, that her population consisted of little more than slaves, dispersed over the vast uncultivated estates of the *grandees*. The first and richest of the *grandees* were the bishops and the abbots. The towns were nothing, with the exception of the episcopal cities; but a town, or, at least, a borough, † spread around every abbey. The richest were St. Medard de Soissons, and St. Denis, founded by Dagobert, the cradle of the monarchy, and the tomb of our kings; and, over the whole country ruled, through the dignity of the see, and by force of doctrine and miracles, the great metropolitan see of Rheims, which was as great in the North, as Lyons was in the South. St. Martin de Tours and St. Hilaire de Poitiers had fallen greatly through the ravages of long continued war. Rheims succeeded to their influence under the second race, and extended its possessions into the most distant provinces, into the Vosges and Aquitaine.‡ It was the episcopal city *par ex-*

\* Annal. Met., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 196.

† An abbey, as M. de Chateaubriand very well remarks, was nothing else than the dwelling of a rich Roman patrician, with the various classes of slaves and artisans employed upon the property, and in the service of the proprietor, with the towns and villages depending upon them. The father abbot was the master; the monks, as that master's freedmen, cultivated the sciences, letters, and the arts. The abbey of St. Riquier possessed the town of that name, 180 towns, 80 villages, and a countless number of farms. The offerings in money made at the tomb of St. Riquier alone amounted to nearly 2,000,000 francs of modern currency per annum. Acta SS. Ord. S. Beded., sec. iv., p. 104. The monastery of St. Martin d'Autun, though not so rich, possessed under the Merovingians 100,000 manses. Etudes Historiques, iii. 271, sqq.

‡ Frodoard, Hist. Eccles. Rem., ii. 18; iii. 26.

*cellence.* Laon, seated upon its inaccessible summit, was the royal city, and had the melancholy honour of defending the last Carlovingians. It was necessary that the ravages of the Normans should have passed away, before our kings of the third race could venture to descend into the plain and settle themselves in Paris, in the island of the Cité, near St. Denis, as the Carlovingians had chosen Laon, near Rheims, for their last asylum.

Charles the Bald was, at first, but a humble client of the bishops. Before and after the battle of Fontenai, and in his negotiations with Lothaire, his grand complaint is, that the latter does not respect the Church.\* Accordingly, he is protected by Heaven. When Lothaire arrives upon the banks of the Seine with his barbarian and pagan army, of which the Saxons formed a part, the river becomes miraculously swollen, and protects Charles the Bald. The monks, before delivering Louis le Débonnaire, had demanded of him, "Would he establish and uphold divine worship?"† The bishops put the same question to Charles the Bald‡ and Louis the German, and then conferred the kingdom upon them.§ Subsequently, the bishops are of opinion, that peace should reign between the three brothers.|| After the battle of Fontenai, the bishops assemble, declare that Charles and Louis have fought for equity and justice, and ordain a fast for three days.¶ "The Franks, like the Aquitanians," says his partisan Nithard, "despised the small number of those who followed Charles; but the monks of St. Medard de Soissons came to meet him, and entreated him to carry upon his shoulders the relics of St. Medard, and of fifteen other saints, which were upon their way to their new basilica. He did carry them with all veneration upon his shoulders, and then repaired to Rheims."\*\*\*

Being the creature of the bishops and of the monks, it was natural that he should transfer to them the greater part of his authority. Nothing was more just; they alone had still the knowledge and the power to enable them in some degree to remedy the absolute disor-

\* *Cesset a persecutione sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ; misereatur pauperum, viduarum, orphanorumque.* Nithard, iii. 3.

† *Ibid.* Sequana, mirabile dictu !.....repente aere sereno tumescere cæpit.

‡ *Ibid.*, i. 3. *Percontari....si respublica ei restitueretur, an eam erigere ac fovere vellet, maximeque cultum divinum.*

§ *Ibid.*, iv. 1. *Palam illos percontati sunt....an secundum Dei voluntatem regere voluissent. Respondentibus....se velle....aiunt: "Et auctoritate divina ut illud suscipiatis, et secundum Dei voluntatem illud regatis monemus, hortamur atque præcipimus."*

|| *Ibid.*, c. 3. *Solito more ad episcopos sacerdotesque rem referunt. Quibus cum undique ut pax inter illos fieret melius videretur, consentiunt, legatos convocant, postulata concedunt.*

¶ *Ibid.*, iii. 1.

\*\* *Ibid.*, c. 2. Before quitting Angers (873) Charles the Bald wished to be present at the ceremonies performed by the Angevins on their return into the town, to replace the bodies of St. Aubin and St. Lezin in the silver shrines they had carried away. *Annal. Bertin., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 117.*

der prevailing in the country Accordingly, the capitulary of Epernay (846) confirms the division of the privileges of the royal commissioners\* between the bishops and the laity. That of Kiersy (857) confers on the curés a right of inquisition against all malefactors.† This exclusively ecclesiastical legislation enacts, by way of remedy for the disturbances and freebooting atrocities that desolated the kingdom, oaths upon the relics to be taken by the freemen and the hundredmen. It commends the brigands to the scrutiny of the bishops, and threatens, if they persist in their evil courses, to smite them with the spiritual sword of excommunication.‡

The bishops, then, were the masters of the country; the real King, the real Pope of France, was the famous Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. He was born in the north of Gaul, but was of Aquitanian descent, and related to St. William of Toulouse, and to that Bernard, Judith's favourite, whose son Charles was supposed to be. No one contributed more to the elevation of Charles, or exercised more authority in his name in the early years of that king's reign. It was Hincmar who, at the head of the clergy of France, seems to have hindered Louis the German from settling in Neustria and Aquitaine, whither he was invited by the *grandees*. Louis having invaded Charles's kingdom, in 859, the council of Metz sent three deputies to offer him the indulgence of the Church, provided he would redeem, by a suitable penance, the sin he had committed in invading his brother's realm, and exposing it to the ravages of his army. Hincmar was at the head of that deputation. "King Louis," said the bishops, upon their return to the council, "gave us audience at Worms on the 4th of June, and said to us, 'I desire to intreat you, if I have offended you in any thing, to be pleased to pardon me, that I may then speak securely with you.' To this, Hincmar, who was next to him upon his left, replied, 'Our business will then be soon ended, for we are come precisely to offer you the pardon that you demand.' Grimoald, the king's chaplain, and Bishop Theodoric having made some remark to Hincmar, he replied. 'You have done nothing against me which has left blameable rancour in my heart; were it otherwise, I would not dare to approach the altar to offer the sacrifice to the Lord.' Grimoald, and bishops Theodoric and Salomon further addressed some words to Hincmar, and Theo-

\* A recent historian errs in saying that this power had been transferred to the bishops exclusively. Baluz., ii. 31. Capitul. Sparnac., ann. 846, art. 20. *Missos ex utroque ordine....mittatis.*

† Capitul. Car. Calvi, ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 630. *Ut unusquisque presbyter imbreviet in sua parochia omnes malefactores, etc., et eos extra ecclesiam faciat.... Si se emendare noluerint, ad episcopi præsentiam perducantur.*

In 831: "Treaty of alliance and of mutual assistance between the three sons of Louis le Débonnaire, and to cause those to be pursued who should fly from one realm to another to escape the excommunication of the bishops, or should bring in an incestuous female relation, or a nun, or a married woman."

‡ Ibid. *Si quis hoc transgressus fuerit, ecclesiastico anathemate feriat.* See also the preceding note.

doric said to him, 'Do what the lord king entreats you, pardon him.' To which Hincmar responded, 'As far as regards myself, I have pardoned, and I do pardon you, but as to offences against the Church, which is committed to my care, and against my people, I can only give you my amicable advice, and offer you the assistance of God, that you may obtain absolution if you will.' Thereupon, the bishops cried out, 'Certainly, he says well.' All our brethren having been unanimous in this respect, and having never wavered upon the subject, this was all the indulgence that was granted him, and nothing more—for we waited for him to ask our advice as to the salvation that was offered him, and then we would have counselled him according to the writing of which we were the bearers; but he answered us from his throne, that he would not attend to that writing before he had consulted with his bishops."

A short time afterwards another, and more numerous council was assembled at Savonnières, near Toul, to re-establish peace between the kings of the Franks. Charles the Bald applied to the fathers of that council, in 859, and demanded justice at their hands against Wenelon, a clerk of his chapel, whom he had made Archbishop of Sens, and who, nevertheless, had abandoned him and gone over to the party of Louis the German. The memorial of the King of the French is remarkable for the humility of its tone. After recapitulating all the favours he had granted Wenelon, all the personal engagements entered into by the latter, and all the proofs of his ingratitude and want of faith, he goes on to say, "Of his own choice, and that of the other bishops and liegemen of our realm, who expressed their will and consent by their exclamations, Wenelon, in his own diocese, in the church of Sainte-Croix d'Orleans, consecrated me king, according to ecclesiastical custom, in presence of the other archbishops and bishops. He anointed me with the holy oil, he gave me the diadem and the royal sceptre, and made me ascend the throne. After this consecration, I ought not to have been driven from the throne, or supplanted by any one, without, at least, having been heard and judged by the bishops, by whose ministry I have been consecrated king. It is they who are named the thrones of the deity. God rests upon them, and by them he gives his judgments. In all times I have been prompt to submit myself to their paternal corrections, to their chastening judgments, and I am still so at present."\*

The kingdom of Neustria was in reality a theocratic republic. The bishops fostered and supported the king they had made; they permitted him to raise soldiers from amongst their men; they directed the affairs of war, as well as those of peace. "Charles," says the annalist of St. Bertin, had announced that he would go and succour

\* Baluz, Capitul., ann. 859, p. 127. Hincmar subsequently says expressly, that he has *elected* Louis III. Hincmari ad Ludov., iii. epist., (ap. Hincm. opp. ii. 198). Ego cum collegis meis et cæteris Dei ac progenitorum vestrorum fidelibus, vos elegi ad regimen regni, sub conditione debitas leges servandi.

Louis with an army, such as he had been able to collect, for the most part through the instrumentality of the bishops."\* "The king," says the historian of the Church of Rheims, "committed all matters to Archbishop Hincmar, and, moreover, when it was necessary to enrol the people against the enemy he was always the person employed in that matter, whereupon he immediately, by the king's order, convoked the bishops and the counts."†

The temporal and the spiritual powers were, therefore, combined in the same hands; bishops, magistrates, and great proprietors, commanded by this threefold title. This is enough to show that the episcopal office was about to become mundane and political, and that the state would be neither governed nor defended. Two events broke down this feeble and lethargic government, under which the wearied world might have gone to sleep. On the one hand the human mind made various and contrary reclamations against the spiritual despotism of the church; on the other hand, the incursions of the Normans obliged the bishops to resign the temporal power, in part at least, to hands more capable of defending the country. Feudalism became firmly established, and the way was at least paved for scholastic philosophy.

The first dispute was that about the Eucharist; the second, that concerning grace and liberty. First came the divine question, and then the human question; this was the necessary order. Thus Arius precedes Pelagius, and Berenger Abailard. Pascale Ratbert, Abbot of Corbie, and the panegyrist of Wala, was the first who, in the ninth century, taught explicitly the marvellous poetry of a god inclosed in a morsel of bread, spirit inclosed in matter, the indefinite in an atom. The old fathers had had a glimpse of this doctrine, but the time was not yet come. It was not until the ninth century, upon the eve of the last trials of barbarian invasion, that God deigned to descend in order to strengthen the hearts of the human race in their extreme of wretchedness, and suffered himself to be seen, touched, and tasted. It was in vain that the Irish church remonstrated in the name of logic; the triumphant dogma did not the less pursue its route through the middle ages.

The question of liberty gave occasion to a still more lively controversy. A German monk, the Saxon‡ Gotteschalk (glory of God,) had professed the doctrine of predestination, that religious fatalism which immolates human liberty to divine prescience. Thus Germany accepted the bequest of St. Augustine and entered upon that field of mysticism whence it has hardly ever since escaped. The

\* Annal. Bertin., ann. 865, ap. Scr. Fr., vii.

† Frodoard., Hist. Eccles. Remensis, ib. 214. Sed et de populo in hostem convocando.

‡ See on this affair the texts collected by Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, ii. 101, sqq. In his profession of faith Gotteschalk offered to prove his doctrine by immersion in four tubs containing boiling water, oil, and pitch, and by passing through a great fire.

Saxon Gotteschalk foreboded the Saxon Luther. Like Luther, Gotteschalk went to Rome and returned thence in nowise more docile; like him, he threw off his monastic vows.

Having taken refuge in northern France he was ill received there. German doctrines could not prove welcome in a country that was separating from Germany. A new Pelagius rose against the new doctrine of predestination.

First of all Hincmar of Aquitaine, Archbishop of Rheims, remonstrated in favour of free will and of jeopardised morality. That violent and tyrannical defender of liberty caused Gotteschalk, who had taken refuge in his diocese, to be seized, to be judged by a council, condemned, beaten, and imprisoned. But Lyons, always mystic, and, moreover, the rival of Rheims, against which she would fain have asserted her title to be the metropolitan see of Gaul, Lyons took part with Gotteschalk. Men of eminence in the Church of Gaul; Prudence, Bishop of Troyes; Loup, Abbot of Ferrieres; Ratramne, a monk of Corbie, whom Gotteschalk called his master, endeavoured to justify him by putting a favourable interpretation upon his words. There were saints against saints, councils against councils. Hincmar, who had not foreseen this storm, first sought the aid of the learned Raban, Abbot of Fulda,\* in whose monastery Gotteschalk had been a monk, and who had been the first to denounce his errors. As Raban hesitated, Hincmar applied to an Irishman who had disputed with Pascale Ratbert upon the question of the Eucharist, and who was then in great credit with Charles the Bald. Ireland was still the school of the West, the mother of the monks, and as the saying was, the *Island of Saints*. Her influence over the continent had diminished, it is true, since the Carlovingians had everywhere made the rule of St. Benedict supersede that of St. Coloman; nevertheless, the school of the palace had been confided under Charlemagne himself, to an Irishman, Clement. Dungal and St. Virgil had come with him. Under Charles the Bald, the Irish were welcomed with still more favour. That prince, a friend to letters like his mother, Judith, intrusted the school of the palace to John the Irishman (otherwise called the *Scot*, or *Erigena*). He attended his lectures, and accorded him the privilege of an extreme familiarity. The phrase was no longer, the *School of Palace*, but the *Palace of the School*.

This John, who knew Greek, and perhaps Hebrew, was then celebrated for having translated, at the request of Charles the Bald, the

---

\* According to some authorities Raban and his master, Alcuin, were Scots. Low, p. 404.

William of Malmesbury relates the following anecdote: "John was seated at table facing the king, and upon the other side of the table. The meats having been removed, and the cups going round, Charles, in a merry mood, and after some other pleasantries, seeing John do something which shocked the Gaulish politeness, rallied him gently, saying: 'What is the distance between a sot and a Scot (quid distat inter sottum et Scotum)?' 'Only the breadth of the table,' replied John."

writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, the MS. of which had lately been presented by the Emperor of Constantinople to the King of France. It was fancied, that those writings, the purport of which was to reconcile the neoplatinism of Alexandria with Christianity, were the work of Dionysius the Areopagite, of whom St. Paul speaks; and it was a favourite idea, that he was identical with Dionysius, or Denis, the Apostle of Gaul.

The Irishman did what Hincmar desired. He wrote against Gotteschalk, in favour of free will, but he did not remain within the limits which the Archbishop of Rheims would doubtless have been desirous to keep him. Like Pelagius, whose follower he was, like Origen, their common master, he appealed less to authority than to reason. He admitted faith, but he admitted it as the beginning of knowledge. For him, scripture is merely a text subjected to interpretation; religion and philosophy are the same word.\* It is true that he defended free will against Gotteschalk's predestinarianism only to absorb it and smother it in Alexandrian pantheism. Nevertheless, the violence with which Rome attacked Johannes Scotus sufficiently proves how much his doctrine dismayed authority. This Irishman, the disciple of the Briton Pelagius, and the predecessor of the Breton Abailard, this Irishman marks at once the revival of philosophy, and the renovation of the free Celtic genius against the mysticism of Germany.

At the same time in which philosophy was endeavouring to emancipate itself, the theological despotism, the temporal government of the bishops, was convicted of impotence. France was escaping from their grasp; she had need of stronger and more martial hands to defend her from the new barbarian invasions. But just relieved from the Germans, who had so long governed her, she found herself weak, inefficient, administered and defended by priests; and meanwhile, other Germans, far more savage than those from whom she had been delivered, were arriving by all her rivers and by all her coasts.

The incursions of these freebooters of the north (Northmen) were very different from the great Germanic migrations which had taken place from the fourth to the sixth century. The barbarians of that first epoch, who occupied the left bank of the Rhine, or who settled in England, left their language there. The little Saxon colony of Bayeux retained its own tongue at least five hundred years.† The Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries, on the contrary, adopted

\* J. Erig. de Div. prædestin., c. 1 (Guizot, 29me leçon). "True philosophy is true religion, and reciprocally true religion is true philosophy." De nat. div. i. 66 (ibid.). "We are not to suppose that in order to convey the divine nature into us, holy scripture always uses proper and precise words and signs; it uses similitudes, indirect and figurative expressions, condescends to our weakness, and by a simple manner of teaching, elevates our still gross and childish understanding." In the Treatise *Περὶ φύσεως μερισμοῦ*, authority is derived from reason, and by no means reason from authority. All authority which is not sanctioned by reason appears of no avail. See Guizot, *ibid.*, 164, sqq.

† See the following books.



the language of the peoples among whom they settled. Their kings (Rou) of Russia and of France (Ru-Rik, Rollo) were unable to introduce the Germanic idiom into their new country. This essential difference between the two epochs of invasion would lead me to believe, that the first invasions, which took place by land, were made by families, by warriors accompanied by their wives and children. Being less mingled with the vanquished by marriages, they could better preserve the purity of their race and of their language. The pirates of the epoch at which we are now arrived, seem to have been most usually exiles and outlaws, who made themselves *kings of the sea* because land was lacking to them. Furious wolves,\* whom famine had driven from their paternal lair,† they landed alone and without families;‡ and when they were satiated with pillage, when by dint of returning every year they had found a home and a country in the land they ravaged, these new Romuli needed their Sabines. They took wives, and the children, as a matter of course, spoke the language of their mothers. Some writers conjecture that these bands may have been recruited by the fugitive Saxons in the time of Charlemagne. For my part, I have no difficulty in believing, that not only the Saxons, but that every fugitive, every bandit, every courageous serf, was received by these pirates, whose numbers were usually small, and who must have been glad to strengthen their bands by the accession of a robust and hardy comrade. Tradition asserts that Hastings, the most terrible of the sea kings, was originally a peasant of Troyes.§ These fugitives must

\* *Wargr*, wolf, *wargus*, banished. See Grimm.

† Famine was the genius of these sea kings. A famine which desolated Jutland caused the enactment of a law, condemning younger sons to exile every five years. Odo Cluniac., ap. Scr. Fr., vi. 318. Dodo de mor. Duc. Normann., l. i. Guill. Gemetic., l. i., c. 4, 5. An Icelandic saga says, that parents had their gold and silver, &c., burned with them, in order to force their children to seek their fortune on the sea. Vaetzdæla ap. Barthol., 438.

"Oliver Barnakall, a bold pirate, was the first who forbade his companions to pitch children at each other, and catch them on the points of their pikes, as had been their custom. Hence he obtained the name of Barnakall, saviour of children." Bartholin, p. 457. When the warlike enthusiasm of the chief's companions rose to frenzy, they were called *Berzekir* (raging madmen). The place of the *bezekir* was at the prow. The ancient sagas make this designation a title of honour for their heroes. (See the *Sæmundar Edda*, the *Hervarar Saga*, and several of Snorro's Sagas.) But in the *Vaetzdæla Saga* the name of *Berzekir* becomes a reproach. Barthol., 345: "*Furore bersekico si quis grassetur, relegatione puniatur.*" Ann. Kristni Saga. Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 463, sqq.

‡ The poetical form of the tradition which assigns them as companions the *virgins with bucklers*, sufficiently indicates that this was an exception, and that they rarely had women amongst them. See Depping, Expeditions of the Normans.

§ Rad. Glaber., l. i., c. 5, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 9. "In the course of time was born, near Troyes, a man of the lowest class of peasants named Hastings. He was of the village called Tranquille, three miles from the town. He was robust of body and of perverse spirit. Pride inspired him in his youth with contempt for the poverty of his parents, and harkening to his ambition, he became a volum-

have been very valuable to them as interpreters and guides. Frequently, perhaps, the fury of the Northmans, and the atrocities of their ravages were prompted, not so much by Odinic fanaticism, as by the vengeance of the serf and the rage of the apostate.

Far from continuing the equipment of the barks, with which Charlemagne had proposed to protect the mouths of the rivers, his successors called in the barbarians and took them for auxiliaries. Young Pepin made use of them against Charles the Bald, and thought, it is said, to secure their aid by worshiping their gods. They took the suburbs of Toulouse thrice, pillaged Bordeaux,\* sacked Bayonne and other towns at the foot of the Pyrenees. Nevertheless, the mountains and torrents of the South soon discouraged them (864). The rivers of Aquitaine did not readily allow of their ascending them, as they did the Loire, the Seine, the Scheldt, and the Elbe.

(A. D. 826—58.)—They succeeded better in the North. Since their king, Harold, had obtained a province for a baptism from the pious Louis (826†), they all flocked to this quarry. At first they underwent baptism to obtain garments; enough could not be found for all the neophytes who presented themselves. In proportion as they were refused the sacrament, of which they made a lucrative sport, they showed themselves more and more furious. So soon as their *dragons* and their *serpents*‡ sped up the rivers, so soon as the ivory horn§ resounded along the banks, no man looked behind him, all fled to the city, or the neighbouring abbey, driving away the flocks in headlong haste. The people themselves, mere dastard

---

tary exile from his country. He succeeded in escaping to the Normans. Among them, he began by entering into the service of those who devoted themselves to continual piracy to procure victuals for the rest of the nation, and who were called the fleet (*flotta*).

\* *Fragm. Hist. Armoric.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii., ad. ann. 843. *Annal. Bertin.*, *ibid.*, ad. ann. 848, 855.

† *Thegan.*, c. 33, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vi. 80. *Quem imperator elevavit de fonte baptismatis.....Tunc magnam partem Frisonum dedit ei.* *Astronom.*, c. 40, *ibid.*, 107. *Egenli.*, *Annal.*, *ibid.*, 187. *Annal. Bertin.*, ann. 870. "Baptised, however, were some Normans, brought for that purpose to the emperor, by Hugh abbot and marquis: having received presents they returned to their own people; and after baptism they behaved as before, like Normans and pagans."

‡ So they called their vessels, *drakar*, *mekkar*.

§ The ivory horn plays a conspicuous part in the legends relating to the Normans, for instance in the Breton legend of St. Florent. "The monk Guallon was sent to St. Florent.... When he had entered the convent he drove out of the crypts the wild swine that had taken up their abode there with their little ones.... He then went in search of Hastings, the Norman chief, who was still residing at Nantes.... When the chief saw him approach with presents, he instantly rose from his seat, and laid his own lips to his; for he professed Christianity, it is said, after a fashion.... He gave the monk an ivory horn, called the horn of thunder, telling him that when his men should land to plunder, he, the monk, should sound that horn and fear nothing for his property, so long as the sound could be heard by the pirates." *D. Morice, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 119.

flocks, without strength, without unity, without guidance, huddled round the altars under the relics of the saints; but the relics did not stop the barbarians. They seemed, on the contrary, to be rancorously bent on violating the most revered sanctuaries. They stormed St. Martin de Tours, St. Germain des Prés, at Paris, and a multitude of other monasteries. So great was the dismay, that none durst gather in the harvest. Men were seen mingling earth with their flour. The forest between the Seine and the Loire grew denser; a flock of three hundred wolves\* overran Aquitaine, and no one was able to check it. The wild deer seemed to take possession of France.

Meanwhile, what were the sovereigns of the country doing, the abbots and the bishops? They were flying, carrying with them the bones of the saints. Powerless themselves, as their relics, they deserted the people and left them without guidance or refuge. At the very most they sent a few armed serfs to Charles the Bald to make a timid reconnoissance of the march of the barbarians, to negotiate with them, but from a distance, and to ask them for how many pounds of silver they would quit such a province, or release such a captive abbot. A million and a half of francs, of modern currency, were paid for the ransom of the Abbot of St. Denis.†

These barbarians desolated the North-west; the Saracens were infesting the South.‡ I will not here enter upon the monotonous history of their incursions; it will be enough to distinguish their three principal periods: that of the incursions, properly so called; that of the stations; and that of the fixed establishments. The stations of the Northmen were generally in the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, the Seine, and the Loire; those of the Saracens, at Fraixinet (la Garde Fraismet), in Provence, and at Saint-Maurice in Valais. Such was the audacity of these pirates, that they had thus ventured to quit the sea and settle in the very heart of the Alps, in the defiles through which the principal routes of Europe cross each other. The Saracens had no important establishments, except in Sicily. The Northmans, more capable of discipline, ended by adopting Christianity, and established themselves on several points of the French territory, particularly in the country called by their name, Normandy.

A few extracts from the annals of St. Bertin will be enough to exemplify the audacity of the Northmen, the impotence and humiliation of the king and of the bishops, and their ineffectual efforts to resist those barbarians, or to set them one against the other.

\* Annal. Bertin., ann. 846.

† Note of the editors of the *Historiens de France*, t. vii., p. 73. The convent frequently ransomed itself, and at last was burned to ashes. Annal. Bertin., *ibid.*, 72. *Chronic. Nortmanniæ*, *ibid.*, 33.

‡ The incursions of the Saracens into the south of France have nowhere been enumerated and described with more learning and talent than in the *Histoire de Moyen Age*, of M. Desmichelles, t. ii. (1831).

"In 866 it was agreed, that all the serfs taken by the Normans who should escape from their hands should be returned to them, or ransomed at the price they should be pleased to impose upon them; and that, if any of the Normans was killed, a sum should be paid for the price of his life. In 861 the Danes, who had lately set fire to the city of Terouanne, returning under their chief, Weland, from the country of the Angles, ascended the course of the Seine with more than two hundred vessels, and besieged the Northmans in a castle they had built upon the island of Oissel. Charles ordered five thousand pounds of silver to be raised, in order to give them to the besiegers under the title of rent, with a considerable quantity of cattle and corn to be taken from his kingdom, in order that it might not be laid waste. Then, crossing the Seine, he repaired to Melun-sur-Loire, and there received Count Robert with the honours agreed upon. Guntrid and Gozfrid, by whose advice Charles had received Robert, nevertheless abandoned him along with their companions, with the usual inconstancy of their race and of their native habits, and they joined Salomon, Duke of the Bretons. Another party of Danes entered the river of Hières by the Seine, with sixty vessels, proceeded thence to those who were besieging the castle, and joined them. The besieged, overcome by hunger and the most frightful wretchedness, gave the besiegers six thousand pounds of gold and silver, and joined them."

"In 869, Louis, the son of Louis, King of Germany, engaging in war with the Saxons against the Wenedes, who are in the country of the Saxons, achieved a sort of victory, with a great slaughter to both parties. Returning thence, Roland, Archbishop of Arles, who (not with empty hands) had obtained the abbey of St. Césaire from the Emperor Louis and from Ingelberge, he erected in the island of La Camargue, which is, on all sides, extremely rich, and where the greater part of the property of that abbey is situated, and in which the Saracens had been accustomed to have a port, a fortress of earth only, and hastily constructed. Hearing of the arrival of the Saracens, he, imprudently enough, entered it. The Saracens, disembarking at this castle, killed there more than three hundred of his men, and he himself was taken, conveyed to their vessel, and put in chains. To the said Saracens were given for ransom 150 pounds of silver, 150 mantles, 150 great swords, and 150 slaves, without reckoning what was given by private arrangement. While these things were in hand, the said bishop died on board. The Saracens had ingeniously hastened his ransom saying, that he could not remain longer with them, and that if his friends wished to have him back, they must promptly produce his ransom, which was done, and the Saracens having received the whole, seated the bishop in a chair, clad in the sacerdotal garments, in which they had taken him, and, as if by way of honour, they carried him from the vessel to land. But when those who had ransomed him thought to speak to him and congratulate him, they found that he was dead. They

carried him away with great mourning, and buried him on the 22d of September in the sepulchre which he had prepared for himself."

Thus was demonstrated the impotence of the episcopal power to defend and govern France. In 870, the head of the Gallican Church, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, wrote this painful avowal to the pope: "Here are the complaints which the people raises against us. 'Cease to burden yourself with our defence, content yourself with aiding it by your prayers if you wish our aid towards the common defence. Pray the apostolic lord not to impose upon us a king, who cannot, from such a distance, aid us against the frequent and sudden incursions of the heathen.'"

These grave words were alike condemnatory of the local power of the bishops and of the central power of the king; that king, who was nothing in the Church, could only become weaker by separating from it. He might dispose of some bishoprics, humble the bishops,† and set up the Pope of Rome against the Pope of Rheims. He might accumulate idle titles, cause himself to be crowned King of Lor-

\* Et vos ergo solis orationibus vestris regnum contra Normannos et alios impetentes defendite, et nostram defensionem nolite querere; et si vultis ad defensionem habere nostrum auxilium, sicut volumus de vestris orationibus habere adiutorium, nolite querere nostrum dispendium, et petite domum Apostolicum . . . ut non præcipiat nobis habere regem qui nos in longinquis partibus adjuvare non possit contra subitaneos et frequentes paganorum incursus, etc. Epist., Hincm., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 540.

† Annal. Bertin., ann. 859. Charles bestowed on laymen certain abbeys which had never been given but to clerks. Ann. 862. "The Abbey of St. Martin, which he had unreasonably given to his son Hludowic, he gave with no more reason to Hubert, a married clerk." He had long left the abbot's place vacant, and kept it to his own profit. In 861 he did the same by the abbeys of St. Quentin and St. Waast. Ann. 876. He rewarded the deserters to his own party by bestowing abbeys upon them. Ann. 865. "He nominated Vulfade to the archbishopric of Bourges of his own sole authority, before the cause had been judged," &c. Frodoard, ii. 17. The Synod of Troyes, which had disapproved of the nomination of Vulfade, sent the pope the report of its proceedings. Charles insisted that the letter should be sent to him, and broke the archbishop's seals to read it, &c. See also in the Annals of St. Bertin. ann. 876, his harsh and haughty conduct towards the bishops assembled at the council of Ponthion. In 867 he exacted from the bishops and abbots a statement of their possessions, that he might know how many serfs he could force them to furnish to be employed in public works. Ten years afterwards he made the whole clergy contribute towards the payment of a tribute to the Normans. Annal. Bertin.—He made little scruple of pillaging the churches in his military expeditions. Ibid., ann. 851. People went so far as even to doubt the purity of his faith (*Lotharius adversus Karolum occasione suspectæ fidei queritur. . . . Multa catholicæ fidei contraria in regno Karoli, ipso quoque non nescio, concitantur.* Ibid., ann. 855). We find him even humbling the Archbishop of Rheims to whom he owed every thing, by giving the primacy to the Archbishop of Sens.—Hincmar had many weak and vulnerable points. He had succeeded Archbishop Ebbon, whose deposition many disapproved of. Again he had compromised himself in Gotteschalk's affair, both by illegal proceedings against the heretic, and by his alliance with Johannes Scotus. He was also reproached for his violent proceedings with regard to his nephew, Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, a young and learned prelate, whom he did not think submissive enough to the primacy of Rheims.

rairie, and share the kingdom of his nephew, Lothaire, II., with the Germans; but all this did not make him stronger; his weakness was at the height when he became emperor. In 875, the death of his other nephew, Louis II., left Italy vacant as well as the imperial dignity. He anticipated the sons of Louis the German at Rome, outstripped them in speed,\* and thus filched, so to speak, the title of emperor. But, on the very Christmas-day in which he enjoyed his triumph in Rome, arrayed in the Greek dalmatica,† his brother, for a moment master of Neustria, had likewise his triumph in Charles's own palace. The poor emperor fled from Italy at the approach of one of his nephews, and died of disease in a village of the Alps (877).‡

His son, Louis le Bègue, could not even preserve the shadow of power which Charles the Bald had had. Italy, Lorraine, Bretagne, and Gascony, would not hear of him. Even in the north of France, he was forced to avow to the prelates and grandees, that he held the crown only by election.§ He lived but a short while, and his sons still shorter. Under one of them, young Louis, the annalist casually lets fall this terrible expression, which enables us to measure the depth to which France had sunk: "He built a castle of wood, but it served rather to strengthen the heathen than to defend the Christians; for the said king could find no one to whom he could commit the guard of it."||

Louis, nevertheless, obtained one success over the Northmans of the Scheldt in 881. Historians have been at a loss how to celebrate this rare event. There still exists, in the German language, a song which was composed upon the occasion.¶ But this disaster

\* Annal. Fuld., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 181. *Quanta potuit velocitate Romam profectus est.*

† Ibid. De Italia in Germaniam rediens, novos et insolentes habitus assumpsisse perhibetur: nam talari dalmatica indutus, et balteo desuper accinctus pendente usque ad pedes, necnon capite involuto serico velamine, ac diademate desuper imposito, dominicis et festis diebus ad ecclesiam procedere solebat.... Graecas glorias optimas arbitrabatur.

‡ Annal. Fuld., ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 183.—According to the annalist of St. Bertin (Ibid., 124) he was poisoned by a Jewish physician. See also the Annals of Metz, *ibid.*, 203.

§ Annal. Bertin., ap. Fr., viii. 27. *Ego Ludovicus, misericordia Domini dei nostri et electione populi rex constitutus... polliceor servaturum leges et statuta populo, &c.*

|| Annal. Bertin., ann. 881, *ibid.*, 35. *Castellum materia lignea... quod magis ad munimen paganorum quam ad auxilium christianorum factum fuit, quoniam invenire non potuit cui illud castellum ad custodiendum committere posset.*

¶ Scr. Fr., ix. 99.

Einen Kuning weiz ich  
Heisset er Ludwig  
Der gerne Gott dienet, etc.

A chronicler, later by two centuries, does not hesitate to affirm that Eudes who made war for Louis, killed a hundred thousand men of the Normans. *Marianus Scotus*, ap. Scr. Fr., viii.

only made the Northmans more terrible. Their chief, Gotfried married Gizla, the daughter of Lothaire II., obtained a forced grant of Friesland, and when Charles le Gros, the new king of Germany consented to this, Gotfried further demanded an establishment upon the Rhine, in the very heart of the Empire. Friesland, he said, yielded no wine; he must have Coblentz and Andernach. He had an interview with the emperor in an island of the Rhine, and there he put forth new pretensions in the name of his brother-in-law, Hugues. The imperialists lost patience and assassinated him. Whether to avenge this murder, or in concert with Charles le Gros, Siegfried, the new chief, went and joined the Northmans of the Seine and invaded northern France, which ill submitted to the yoke of the King of Germany, Charles le Gros, now become King of France by the extinction of the French branch of the Carolingians.

But the humiliation was not complete until the accession of the German prince (884). He united in his grasp the whole empire of Charlemagne. He was Emperor, King of Germany, of Italy, and of France: magnificent mockery! Under him the Northmans no longer contented themselves with plundering the empire; they began to covet the possession of fortresses, and they besieged Paris with prodigious pertinacity. That city, though frequently attacked, had never been captured. It would have been so then, had not Count Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong, Bishop Gozlin, and the Abbot of St. Germain des Prés, thrown themselves into it, and defended it with great courage. Eudes ventured, even, to make a sortie to implore the succour of Charles le Gros. The emperor did actually come; but he contented himself with observing the barbarians, and he induced them to leave Paris to ravage Bourgogne, which still disowned his authority (885—86). This base and perfidious connivance dishonoured Charles le Gros.

It is a thing at once melancholy and ludicrous to behold the efforts made by the monk of St. Gall to revive the emperor's courage. The good monk sticks at no exaggerations. He tells him how his ancestor, Pepin, cut off a lion's head at a single blow; how Charlemagne, like Clotaire II. before him, killed every thing in Saxony that was higher than his sword;\* how the *débonnaire* son of Charlemagne amazed the envoys of the Northmans by his strength, and made a sport of snapping their swords with his hands;† and he makes one of Charlemagne's soldiers talk of carrying seven, eight, or nine barbarians, spitted upon his lance like little birds.‡ He urges the king to imitate his fathers, to act like a

\* Mon. S. Gall., ii. 17.

† Ibid., c. 28. In like manner Haroun al Raschid cuts to pieces the arms brought up by the ambassadors from Constantinople. Every one knows the story of the bow of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*, and that of the King of Ethiopia's bow in Herodotus, &c.

‡ Ibid., c. 20. *Is cum Behemanos, Wilzos et Avaros in modum prati secaret.*

man, and to keep no terms with the *grande*es and the bishops. "Charlemagne, having sent to ask the advice of one of his sons, who had become a monk, as to the manner in which the *grande*es ought to be treated, he was found plucking nettles and bad herbs. 'Tell my father,' he said, 'what you have seen me doing.' This monastery was destroyed. For what cause it was destroyed is not doubtful; but I will not say why until I have seen your little Bernard girded with a sword."<sup>\*</sup>

This little Bernard passed for a natural son of the emperor's. Charles himself, however, rendered the matter doubtful, when, in accusing his wife before the diet of 887, he seemed to assert that he was impotent. He affirmed that he had not known the empress, although she had been united to him ten years in lawful marriage.<sup>†</sup> It seemed but too apparent that the emperor was impotent like the Empire. The barrenness of eight queens, the premature death of six kings,<sup>‡</sup> sufficiently prove the degeneracy of this race. It perished from exhaustion, like that of the Merovingians. The French branch was extinct; France disdained longer to obey the German branch. Charles le Gros was deposed at the diet of Tribur in 887. The various kingdoms that composed the Empire of Charlemagne were again separated; and, not only the kingdoms, but, presently, the duchies, the counties, and the simple seignories.

The very year of his death (877), Charles the Bald had signed an act establishing the hereditary tenure of counties; that of the fiefs existed already. The counts, who, till then, had been removable magistrates, became hereditary sovereigns, each in the country which he administered. This concession was brought about by the force of circumstances. Charles the Bald had, on the contrary, first forbidden the lords to build castles; an idle and culpable prohibition amid the ravages of the Northmans. But, at last, he yielded to necessity, and recognised the hereditary tenure of counties (877).<sup>§</sup> This was tantamount to resigning the sovereignty. The counts and the lords, these were the true heirs of Charles the Bald. He had already married his daughters to the most valiant amongst them, namely, those of Bretagne and Flanders.

(A.D. 887—98.)—These liberators of the country now begin to

---

et in avicularum modum suspenderet. . . . siebat: "Quid mihi ranunculi isti? Septem vel octo, vel certe novem de illis hasta mea perforatos et nescio quid murmurantes, huc illucque portare solebam."

\* Ibid., 20. Quam antea non solvam, quam Bernadulum vestrum spata femur accinctum conspiciam.

† Annal. Metens., ann. 887, ap. Scr. Fr., viii.—Gesta Reg. Franc., ibid., ix. 47.

‡ I find this observation in the *Histoire du Moyen Age*, de M. Desmichels (ii. 372). I cannot too highly praise all this part of his book.

§ Capitul. Caroli Calvi, ann. 877, ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 708. Si comes de isto regno obierit. . . . filium illius de honoribus illius honoremus. He insures the inheritance to the son, even when he is yet a child, at his father's death. If there is no son the sovereign will dispose of the country.—See on all this matter the mistake of the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 471.



occupy the defiles of the mountains, and the fords of the rivers, where they erect their fortresses and keep their ground both against the barbarians and against the prince, when, from time to time, the latter attempts to recover the power he unwillingly parts with. But the people no longer entertain any feeling but hatred and contempt for a king who cannot defend them; they rally round their lords, round the seigneurs, and the counts. Nothing can be more popular than was feudalism at its birth. A confused reminiscence of that popularity has remained in the romances, wherein Gerard de Roussillon, Renaud, and the other sons of Aymon, maintain a heroic struggle against Charlemagne. The name of Charlemagne is here a common designation of the Carolingians.

The first and most potent of these founders of feudalism was the very brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, Boson, who took the title of King of Provence, or Cisjuran Burgundy\* (879). Nearly at the same time, (888,) Rodolph Welf possessed himself of Transjuran Burgundy, which he also erected into a kingdom.† This was the boundary of France on the south-east. It was the ground of many a fight between the Saracens and Boson, and Gerard and Roussillon, the celebrated hero of romance, and the Bishop of Grenoble and the Viscount of Marseilles.

The duchy of Gascony at the foot of the Pyrenees was re-established by that family of Hunald and of Guaifer,‡ so roughly treated by the Carolingians who owed to it the disaster of Roncesvalles. In Aquitaine arose the potent families of Gothia (Narbonne, Roussillon, Barcelona), Poitiers, and Toulouse. The two former pretended to derive their descent from St. William, the great saint of the South, the vanquisher of the Saracens. In like manner all the kings of Germany and of Italy descend from Charlemagne, and the heroic families of Greece, the kings of Macedon and Sparta, the Aleuades of Thessaly, and the Bacchides of Corinth descend from Hercules.

On the East, Reinier, Count of Hainault, disputes Lorraine with the Germans, with the fierce Swintebald, son of the King of Ger-

\* He was elected at the council of Mantaille by twenty-three bishops of the south and east of Gaul. See the Acts of the Council, ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 304.

† Annal. Met., ap. Scr. Fr., viii. 68. *Provinciam iuter Juram et Alpes pen-ninas occupat, regemque se appellavit.*

‡ See the charter of 845, by which Charles the Bald refuses to confiscate the enormous gifts which Vandregisile, Count of the Gascons, and his family (counts of Bigorre, &c.) had bestowed on the church of Alahon (diocese of Urgel). *Hist. du Lang.*, i. note, p. 688, and 'Preuves,' p. 85. He bestowed no less than the whole ancient patrimony of his ancestors in France, all the property and *rights* they had possessed in le Toulousan, l'Agénois, le Quiercy, le Pays d'Arles, le Perigueux, la Saintonge, and le Poitou. The Benedictines see no reason, either in the physical condition or the form of this document, to doubt its authenticity. It were equivalent to the last will and testament of the ancient Aquitanic dynasty in its retirement among the Basques, bequeathing to the Spanish church all it had ever possessed in France. The gift is reduced by Charles the Bald from a third of France to some estates in Spain, to which he had no very strong pretensions.

many. Reinier, *Renard*, remains among the people the type and the popular name of cunning, struggling successfully against brute force.

On the north France takes, as a two-fold defence against the Belgians and the Germans, the *foresters* of Flanders\* and the counts of Vermandois, relations and friends, more or less faithful, of the Carolingians.

But the great struggle is upon the west towards Normandy and Bretagne; on the coasts of those regions the men of the North disembark annually. The Breton Nomenoe puts himself at the head of the people, beats Charles the Bald, beats the Normans, defends the independence of the Breton church against Tours, and desires to make Bretagne a kingdom.† After his day, the Northmen return in greater number; the country is now but a desert, and when one of his successors, the heroic Allan Barbetorte, succeeds in recovering Nantes from them, he is obliged to cut his way, sword in hand, through the briars to reach the cathedral, whither he goes to offer thanks to God. But this time the country is delivered; the Northmen and the Germans, called in by the king against Bretagne, are both repulsed. Allan assembles the estates of the county for the first time, and the king at last recognises the principle, that every serf, who shall have taken refuge in Bretagne, becomes, by the mere fact, a free man.‡

In 859 the seigneurs had hindered the people from arming against the Northmen.§ In 864 Charles the Bald had forbidden the seigneurs from erecting castles. But a few years elapsed and a multitude of castles were erected; the seigneurs were arming their men in every direction. The barbarians began to encounter obstacles. Robert the Strong fell in fighting against the Northmen at Brisserte, in 866. His son, Eudes, with more success, defended Paris against them in 885. He sallied from the city, and returned back into it through the camp of the Northmen.|| They raised the siege, and went to sustain another defeat under the walls of Sens. In 891, Arnulf, the King of Germany, stormed their camp near Louvain, and threw them into the Dyle. In 933 and 955 the

\* The counts of Flanders at first bore this name, as well as the counts of Anjou. See further on.

† *Hist. Britann.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 49. In corde suo cogitavit ut se regem faceret.....Reperit ut episcopos totius suæ regionis manu Francorum regia factos, aliqua seductione e sedibus suis expelleret, et alios concessionem sua constitutis in locis illorum subrogaret, et si sic fieri posset, faciliter per hoc ad regiam dignitatem ascenderet.

‡ See the authors quoted by Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i.

§ *Annal. Bertin.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 74. Vulgus promiscuum inter Sequanam et Ligerim, inter se conjurans adversus Danos in Sequana consistentes fortiter resistit. Sed quia incaute suscepta est eorum conjuratio, a potentioribus nostris facile interficiuntur.

|| *Annal. Vedast.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, viii. 85. Nortmanni ejus reditum præscientes, accurrerunt ei ante portam Turris; sed ille, emissis equis, a dextris et sinistris adversarios cædens, civitatem ingressus.

Saxon emperors, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, achieved their famous victories of Merseburg and Augsburg over the Hungarians. About the same period Bishop Izarn drove the Saracens out of Dauphiné, and William, Viscount of Marseilles, cleared Provence of them (965—72).

By degrees, the barbarians became dispirited, and resigned themselves to repose; they gave up brigandage and sought for lands. The Northmans of the Loire, so terrible under old Hastings, who led them as far as Tuscany, were driven from England by King Alfred. They had no wish to die there, like their hero, Regnar Lodbrog, in a tub of vipers; they preferred establishing themselves in France, upon the beautiful Loire. They possessed Chartres, Tours, and Blois. Their chief, Theobald, a scion of the house of Blois and Champagne, closed the Loire against fresh invasions, as, shortly afterwards, Radholf, or Rollo, closed the Seine, on which he established himself in 911 by the consent of the King of France, Charles the Simple, or the Fool. It was not so foolish of him, however, to attach these Northmans to him, and to give them the onerous suzerainty of Bretagne, which was to wear out the Bretons and the Northmans one by the other. Rollo received baptism, and did homage, not in person, but by one of his followers, who contrived to perform the act in such a manner, that in kissing the king's foot, he threw him upon his back;\* such was the insolence of these barbarians.

Thus, then, the Northmans fix and establish themselves; the indigenous races strengthen themselves. France assumes consistency, and gradually closes her frontiers, all along which rise great feudal seignories, like so many towers. She finds some security in the formation of local powers, in the comminution of the Empire, and in the destruction of unity. But what! Is there no hope that the great and noble unity of the country, whereof the Roman and Frankish government afforded us at least an image, will one day return? Have we decidedly perished as a nation? Is there in the midst of France no centralising force which allows of the belief, that all the members will come together and again form one body?

If an idea of unity still subsists, it is in the great ecclesiastical sees, which maintain pretensions to the primacy. Tours is a centre upon the Loire; Rheims is one in the north, but in every direction the feudal power limits that of the bishops. At Troyes and at Soissons the count is paramount over the prelate; at Cambrai and at Lyons the power is shared between them. Hardly anywhere, but in the king's domain, do the bishops obtain, or preserve the lordship of their own city. Those of Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Langres, become peers of the realm. The same is the case with the metropolitans of Sens and Rheims; the former drives out the count, the latter resists him. The Archbishop of Rheims, the head of the Gallican Church is, for a long time, the trusty sup-

---

\* Guillelm. Gemetic., ii. 17.

porter of the Carolingians;\* he, alone, seems still to take any interest in the monarchy, in the dynasty.

That old dynasty, under tutelage to the bishops, can no longer rally France around it. Amidst the wars and ravages of the barbarians the title of king is destined to devolve on some one of the chiefs who have begun to arm the people; that chief must come from the central provinces, the idea of unity cannot be taken up and defended by the men of the frontier. That unity is hateful to them, they are fonder of independence.

The Church of Tours had been the centre of the Merovingian world; that of the Carolingian wars against the Northmans and the Bretons is also upon the Loire, but more to the west, that is to say, in Anjou, on the March of Bretagne. In that country two families arise, sprung from the Capets and Plantagenets, kings of France and of England. Both those races were descended from obscure leaders, who became illustrious in the defence of the country.

The second of them traced its origin to one Torthulf or Tertulle, a "simple peasant," says the chronicle, "living by the chase, and by what he found in the forest." Charles the Bald named him Forester of the forest of Nid-de-Merle;† his son of the same name received the title of Seneschal of Anjou; his grandson, Ingelger,‡ and the Foulques, his descendants, were terrible enemies for Normandy and Bretagne.

The Capets, too, were first of all settled in Anjou. It seems that they were Saxon chiefs in the service of Charles the Bald.§ He intrusted

\* When Charles the Simple convoked his vassals against the Hungarians, in 919, no one came at his bidding, except Herivée, Archbishop of Rheims, who brought him fifteen hundred men at arms. Frodoard, iv. 14. Louis d'Outremer confirmed in 953 all the ancient privileges of the church of Rheims; they were again confirmed by Lothaire in 955, and at a later period by the Othos.

† *Gesta consulum Andegav.*, c. 1, 2, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 256. *Torquatus.....seu Tortulfus.....habitor rusticanus fuit ex copia sylvestri et venatico exercitio victitans*, etc. See also (*ibid.*) *Pactius Lochiensis de orig. comitum Andegavensium*.

‡ The name of the first forester of Flanders is Ingelram.

§ *Aimoin de St. Fleury* who wrote in 1005, says expressly: "Rotbert.....homme de race Saxonne"..... He had for sons, Eudes and Robert. *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.*, p. ii., sec. iv., p. 357. Alberic des Trois Fontaines who wrote two centuries later, was not the first, as M. Sismondi supposed, to give this genealogy. "Kings Robert and Eudes were sons of Robert the Strong, a marquis of the race of the Saxons.... But historians do not give us any further information respecting this race." *Ibid.*, 285.—William of Jumièges: "Robert, Count of Anjou, a man of Saxon race, had two sons, Prince Eudes, and Robert, the brother of Eudes." *Item Chron. de Strozzi*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, x. 278.—The author of an anonymous life of Louis VIII.: "The kingdom passed from the race of Charles to that of the counts of Paris, who were of Saxon descent.—*Helgald*, Life of Robert, c. 1. "Robert's august family, as he himself averred in holy and humble words, had its stock in Ausonia" (perhaps we should read Saxonia?)—Some historians refer Robert's nativity to Neustria, whether to Sééz (Saxia, civitas Saxonomum), or to Saiseau (Saxiacum). See the preface to vol. x. of *Les Historiens de France*. All these opinions become reconciled and corroborate each other by their very discrepancy, if we admit that Robert was descended from the

their first known ancestor, Robert the Strong, with the defence of the country between the Seine and the Loire. Robert fell in battle at Brisserte, against the Northman leader, Hastings. His son, Eudes, was more successful, repulsed them at the siege of Paris (885), and achieved a great victory over them at Montfaucon.\* Upon the deposition of Charles le Gros he was elected King of France (889).

M. Augustin Thierry, in his *Letters upon the History of France*, has followed with much sagacity the alternations of that long struggle, which, after enduring a century, made the new dynasty paramount. I cannot forbear from borrowing some passages from his admirable narrative.† The question is treated there only under one point of view, but with singular clearness and precision:

"Corresponding in the most precise manner with the revolution of 888 was a movement of another kind, which advanced to the throne a man wholly foreign to the family of the Carlovingians. This king, the first to whom our history ought to give the title of King of France in contradistinction to the kings of the Franks, is Ode, or according to the Roman pronunciation which was beginning to prevail, Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou. Elected to the detriment of an heir, who boasted himself legitimate, Eudes was the national candidate of the mixed population which for fifty years had fought to form a state by itself, and his reign marks the opening of a second series of general wars, which ended, after a century, in the definitive exclusion of the race of Charles the Great. In fact, that purely German race, bound by memory and kindred affection to the lands of the Teutonic tongue, could only be regarded by the French as an obstacle to the separation on which their independent existence had just been founded.

"It was not from caprice, but from political motives that the lords of the north of Gaul, Franks by descent, but attached to the interests of the country, broke the oaths pledged by their ancestors to the family of Pepin, and caused a man of Saxon descent to be crowned King of Compiègne. The heir dispossessed by this election, Charles, surnamed the Simple, or the Dullard (*sot*),‡ soon justified his exclusion from the throne by placing himself under the patron-

---

Saxons settled in Neustria, and particularly at Bayeux. The whole coast was called *Littus Saronicum*. The names of *Siex*, *Saiteau*, the river *Sic*, &c., have evidently the same origin.

\* *Abbonis versus de Bellis Paris*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, viii. 24.

† I have merely permitted myself to change the German orthography, which M. Thierry adopts for all the proper names. The Germanic character is almost wholly effaced from among the later Carlovingians.

‡ *Chron. Ditmari*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, x. 119. *Fuit in occiduis partibus quidam rex ab incolis Karl Sot*, id est *Stolidus* ironice dictus. *Rad. Glaber*, i. 1, *ibid.* 4. *Carolus Hebetem* cognominatum. *Chron. Strozian.*, *ibid.*, 273. *Carolus Simplicem*.—*Chron. S. Maxent.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, ix. 8: *Karolus Polus*. *Richard. Pictav.*, *ibid.*, 22. *Karolus Simplex sive Stultus*.

age of Arnulf, King of Germany. Unable to make head, says the old historian, against the power of Eudes, he went as a suppliant, and claimed the protection of King Arnulf. A public assembly was convoked in the city of Worms. Charles repaired thither, and after offering great presents to Arnulf, he was invested by him with the royalty of which he had assumed the title. Orders were given to the counts and the bishops, who resided in the environs of the Moselle, to afford him aid, and to effect his return into his realm, that he might be crowned there; but all this availed him nothing.

"The party of the Carolingians, backed by the Germanic intervention, was not successful over the party which we may call French; it was several times beaten with its leader, who, after each defeat, placed himself in safety behind the Meuse, beyond the limits of the kingdom. Thanks, however, to the vicinity of Germany, Charles the Simple succeeded in obtaining some power between the Meuse and the Seine. A remnant of the old Germanic nation, which regarded the Welskes, or Wallons, as the natural subjects of the sons of the Franks, contributed to render that dynastic war popular in all the countries adjoining the Rhine. Under pretext of upholding the rights of legitimate royalty, Swintebald, the natural son of Arnulf, and King of Lorraine, invaded the French territory in the year 895. He made his way as far as Laon with an army composed of Lorrainians, Alsacians, and Flemings; but was soon forced to retreat before the army of King Eudes. This grand attempt having failed, a sort of political reaction took place in the court of Germany in favour of him who, until then, had been designated an usurper. Eudes was recognised as king,\* and a promise was given, that the pretender should receive no aid for the future. In fact, Charles obtained nothing as long as his adversary lived; but on the death of King Eudes, when a change of dynasty was again mooted, the Kaiser, or emperor, again took part with the descendant of the Frank kings.

"Charles the Simple, recognised as king, in 898, by a great part of those who had laboured to exclude him, reigned for twenty-two years without any opposition. It was during this space of time that he abandoned to the Northman chief, Rolf, all his rights to the territory adjoining the mouth of the Seine, and conferred upon him the title of duke (912). The duchy of Normandy afterwards served to flank the kingdom of France against the attacks of the Germanic Empire, and of its Lorrainian or Flemish vassals. The first duke was true to the treaty of alliance he had formed with Charles

---

\* We must not picture to ourselves this Eudes as established in peaceable possession, as were, after him, Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet. He had but a fluctuating kingdom, or rather an army. He is one of those leaders of partisans whom we see fighting by turns against the North and the South, against Flanders and Aquitaine.

the Simple, and supported him, though feebly, indeed, against Rodbert, or Robert, brother of King Eudes who was elected king in 922. His son, William I., at first adopted the same policy, and when the hereditary king was deposed and imprisoned in Laon, he declared for him against Radulf, or Raoul, the brother-in-law of Robert, who had been elected and crowned king out of hatred to the Frank dynasty. But changing his mind a few years afterwards, he abandoned the cause of Charles the Simple, and formed an alliance with King Raoul. In 936, hoping that a return to his first engagements would procure him more advantages, he vigorously supported the restoration of Louis, surnamed d'Outremer, the son of Charles.

"The new king, against whom the French party, whether from weariness, or from prudence, set up no competitor, impelled by hereditary feeling to seek friends beyond the Rhine, contracted a close alliance with Otho, the first of that name, King of Germany, the most puissant and ambitious prince of the epoch. That alliance vehemently displeased the lords, who entertained a great aversion for the Teutonic influence. The representative of this national feeling, and the most potent man between the Seine and the Loire, was Hugues, Count of Paris, who was surnamed the Great, by reason of his vast domains. When mutual jealousy had increased to such a pitch as to bring on, in 940, a new war between the two parties which had been opposed to each other for fifty years, Hugh the Great, though he did not assume the title of king, played the same part against Louis d'Outremer, as Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, had played against Charles the Simple. His first care was to deprive the opposite faction of the support of the Duke of Normandy. He succeeded in this, and, thanks to the Norman intervention, he contrived to neutralise the effects of the Germanic influence. The whole strength of King Louis and of the Frank party was broken, in 945, by the little duchy of Normandy. The king, defeated in a pitched battle, was taken prisoner with sixteen of his counts, and shut up in the town of Rouen, whence he came forth only to be delivered up to the leaders of the national party, who imprisoned him at Laon.

"To render the new alliance of that party with the Normans more durable, Hugh the Great promised to give his daughter in marriage to their duke, but this confederation between the Gaulish powers nearest to Germany, drew down upon it a coalition of the Teutonic powers, the chiefs of which were then King Otho and the Count of Flanders.

"The delivery of King Louis from prison was to be the pretext of the war, but the members of the coalition promised themselves results of another kind. Their object was to annihilate the Norman power by uniting that duchy to the crown of France after the restoration of the king their ally. In return, they were to receive a ces-

sion of territory which should aggrandise their dominions at the expense of the kingdom of France.\* The invasion, led by the King of Germany, took place in 946. Otho, say the historians of the time, advanced at the head of thirty-two legions as far as Rheims. The national party, which kept the king in prison, and had no king at its head, could not rally round it forces sufficient to repel the strangers. King Louis was restored to liberty, and the members of the coalition advanced under the walls of Rouen. But this brilliant campaign produced no decisive result; Normandy remained independent, and the liberated king had no more friends than before, on the contrary, the mischiefs of the invasion were imputed to him, and threats being soon held out of deposing him a second time, he returned beyond the Rhine to implore fresh aid.†

"The bishops of Germany assembled, in 948, by order of King Otho, in council at Ingelheim, to discuss, among other affairs, the griefs of Louis d'Outremer against the party of Hugh the Great. The King of France appeared as a suppliant before that foreign assembly. Seated by the side of the King of Germany, after the pope's legate had announced the objects of the synod, he rose, and spoke in these terms: 'None among you is ignorant that messengers from Count Hugh, and other lords of France, came to me to the country beyond sea, and invited me to return into the realm which is my paternal inheritance. I have been consecrated and crowned by the wish, and with the acclamations of the leaders, and of the army of France; but soon afterwards Count Hugh seized my person treacherously, deposed me, and imprisoned me for a whole year. At last, I obtained my deliverance only by giving up to him the town of Laon, the only town belonging to the crown, which was still occupied by my lieges. All these misfortunes which have befallen me since my accession, if there is any one who asserts that they happened to me through my own fault, I am ready to defend myself from this accusation, either by the judgment of the synod, or of the king here present, or by single combat.' As might be expected, no advocate, or champion of the opposition, appeared, in order to submit a national quarrel to the judgment of the emperor of the realm beyond the Rhine, and the council, after being transferred to Treves, at the request of Leudulf, the cæsar's chaplain, the delegate pronounced the following sentence, by virtue of the apostolic authority: 'We excommunicate Count Hugh, the enemy of King Louis, because of the evils of every kind which he has done him, until the said count come to recapitance and give full satisfaction before the legate of the sovereign pontiff. If he refuse to submit, he must make a journey to Rome to receive his absolution.'

"Upon the death of Louis d'Outremer, in the year 954, his son Lothaire succeeded him without apparent opposition. Two years afterwards Count Hugh died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom,

\* Scr. Fr., viii. 226.

† Ibid., 208.



named like himself, inherited the county of Paris, which was also called the duchy of France. His father had recommended him before his death to Rikard, or Richard, Duke of Normandy, as to the natural defender of his family and of his party.\* That party seemed to slumber until the year 980."

This slumber, which M. Thierry does not explain, was nothing else than the minority of King Lothaire and of Hugh Capet, Duke of France, under the guardianship of their mothers, Hedwige and Gerberge, both of them sisters to Otho the Saxon, King of Germany.† That potent monarch seems to have then governed France through the instrumentality of his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, and Duke of Lorraine, and of the Low Countries.‡ These relations sufficiently explain the Germanic character, which M. Thierry remarks in the last Carolingians. It was natural that Louis d'Outremer, brought up among the Anglo-Saxons, and that Lothaire, the son of a Saxon princess, should speak the German language. The preponderance of Germany at that period, and the glory of Otho, the vanquisher of the Hungarians and master of Italy, would, moreover, justify the predilection of those princes for the language of the great king. Though related to the Othos, neither the last Carolingians, nor the first Capetians, were at all the more warlike. Hugh Capet and his son Robert, princes devoted to the Church, evinced little of the adventurous character of Robert the Strong and of Eudes, their ancestors, who made so light of warring against the bishops, particularly against the Archbishop of Rheims.§ But let us return to M. Thierry's narrative.

After the death of Otho, "King Lothaire, giving way to the impulse of the French spirit, broke with the Germanic powers, and attempted to extend the frontier of his kingdom to the Rhine. He made a sudden incursion into the territories of the Empire, and took up his abode, as victor, in the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But this adventurous expedition, which flattered the French vanity, served only to bring the Germans, to the number of 60,000, Allemanns, Lorrainians, Flemings, and Saxons, as far as to the heights of Mont-

\* *Richardo duci filium nomine Hugonem commendare studuit, ut ejus patrocinio tutus, inimicorum fraudibus non caperetur.* Scr. Fr., viii. 267.

† *Alberic. Tr. Font., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 66.* "Louis d'Outremer married Gerberge, the sister of the Emperor Otho; seeing which Duke Hugh the Great, in order to give him back blow for blow, and to counterbalance the credit which Louis had obtained with Otho, took to wife the other sister, Hedwige. From these two sisters sprang the imperial race of Germany, and the royal races of France and England."

‡ Hedwige and Gerberge jointly placed themselves under the protection of Bruno, and he re-established peace between his nephews. *Frodoard. Chron., ap. Scr. Fr., viii. 211. Vita S. Brunonis, ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 134.* The two sisters visited Otho when he came to Aix, in 965, and never, says the chronicle, were they so delighted. *Chron. Turon., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 54.*

§ *Frodoard., l. iv., ap. Scr. Fr., viii. 137.* Quod Odo civitatem Remensem obsederit, innumeras etiam cædes et depredationes exercuerit, et res ecclesiæ Remensis suis satellitibus dederit, hujus ecclesiæ insistentis rapinis.

martre, where that great army sang in chorus one of the verses of the *Te Deum*.<sup>\*</sup> The Emperor Otho, who led it, was more fortunate in the invasion than in the retreat, as often happens. He was beaten by the French at the passage of the Aisne; and it was only by means of a truce concluded with King Lothaire that he was able to regain his own frontiers. This treaty, concluded, as the chronicles tell us, against the will of the French army, revived the quarrel between the two parties, or rather furnished a new pretext to resentments that had not ceased to exist.<sup>†</sup>

"Menaced, like his father and his grandfather, by the implacable adversaries of the Carolingian race, Lothaire turned his eyes towards the Rhine to obtain support in case of extremity. He made a surrender to the imperial court of his conquests in Lorraine, and of all the pretensions of France to a part of that realm. This matter, says a cotemporary author, hugely afflicted the hearts of the lords of France; nevertheless, they did not openly display their dissatisfaction in a hostile manner. Taught by the ill success of the attempts made during a space of nearly a hundred years, they would not undertake any thing against the reigning dynasty without a perfect certainty of success. King Lothaire, more able and more active than his two predecessors,<sup>‡</sup> if we judge by his conduct, had a very clear perception of the difficulties of his position, and neglected no means of overcoming them. Taking advantage, in 983, of the death of Otho II., and the minority of his son, he suddenly broke the peace he had concluded with the Empire, and again invaded Lorraine; an aggression whence he expected some restoration of popularity. Accordingly, to the end of Lothaire's reign no open rebellion arose against him, but every day his power diminished more and more. The authority which withdrew from him, so to speak, passed wholly into the hands of the son of Hugh the Great, Hugh, Count of the isle of France and of Anjou, surnamed Capet, or Chaput, in the French language of the time. 'Lothaire is but king by name,' said

<sup>\*</sup> Accitis quam pluribus clericis, *alleluia te martyrum*, etc., in loco qui dicitur Mons Martyrum in tantum elatis vocibus decantari præcipit, ut attonitis auribus ipse Hugo et omnis Parisiorum plebs miraretur. Scr. Fr., viii. 282.

<sup>†</sup> Pacificatus est Lotharius rex eum Othone rege, Remis civitate, contra voluntatem Hugonis et Hainrici, fratris sui, et contra voluntatem exercitus sui. Scr. Fr., viii. 224.

<sup>‡</sup> We will remark in reference to this observation by M. Thierry, that the Carolingians did not fall so low in their degeneracy as the Merovingians. If Louis le Bègue was surnamed *Nihil fecit*, it must be remembered he reigned but eighteen months, and the Annals of Metz extol his mildness and equity. Louis III. and Carloman achieved a victory over the Northmans (878). Charles *le Sot* made a very advantageous treaty with them (911). He defeated his rival, king Robert, and killed him, it is said, with his own hand. (Chron. Tur., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 51.) Louis d'Outremer displayed a courage and activity that ought to have preserved him from the sarcasm, "Dominus in convivio, rex in cubiculo." (Mirac. S. Bened., ibid., ix., 140.) Lastly, according to the observation of D. Vaissette, the youth of Louis *le Fainéant* himself, the brevity of his reign, and the valour of which he gave proof at the siege of Rheims, did not deserve that surname of the last Merovingians.

one of the most distinguished personages of the tenth century, in one of his letters, 'Hugh does not wear the title, but he is king in fact and in deed.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The difficulties of every kind which stood in the way of a fourth restoration of the Carlovingians, in 987, dismayed the princes of Germany. They marched no army to the aid of the Pretender Charles, brother of the last king but one, and Duke of Lorraine under the suzerainty of the Empire. Reduced to the feeble aid of his partisans in the interior, Charles only succeeded in seizing the town of Laon, where he kept himself in a state of blockade, by reason of the strength of the place, until he was betrayed and delivered up by one of his own followers. Hugh Capet imprisoned him in the tower of Orleans, where he died. His two sons, Louis and Charles, born in prison, and banished from France after the death of their father, found an asylum in Germany, where the old sympathy of kindred still continued in their behalf.

"Though the new king was sprung from the Germanic family, the want of all relationship with the imperial dynasty, the very obscurity of his origin, no certain trace of which could be found beyond the third generation, marked him as the favourite candidate of the indigenous race, the restoration of which had, in a manner, been going on since the dismemberment of the Empire.

"The accession of the third race is a matter of far more importance in our national history than that of the second. It is, properly speaking, the end of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of a national royalty for a government founded by conquest. Thenceforth our history becomes simple. It is always the same people we follow and recognise, despite the changes supervening in manner and civilisation. The national identity is the basis upon which rests, for so many ages, the unity of the dynasty. A singular presentiment of this long succession of kings seems to have struck the people upon the accession of the third race. The rumour ran that, in 981, St. Valeri, whose relics Hugh Capet, then Count of Paris, had just caused to be transferred, appeared to him in a dream, and said to him, 'Because of what thou hast done, thou and thy descendants shall be kings to the seventh generation, that is to say for ever.'<sup>†</sup>

"This popular legend is repeated by all the chroniclers, without exception, even by the small number of those, who, disapproving of the change of dynasty, say that the cause of Hugh was a bad cause, and who accuse him of treason to his lord and of revolt against the decrees of the Church.<sup>‡</sup> It was an opinion current among the men of low condition, that the new reigning family was sprung from the plebeian class, and this opinion, which subsisted for many ages, was not injurious to its cause."<sup>§</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Gerberti Epistolæ, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 387.

<sup>†</sup> Chron. Sithiens, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 298.

<sup>‡</sup> Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., sec. v., p. 557.

<sup>§</sup> Raoul Glaber, a monk of Cluny, who died in 1048, says namely, "Hugh

The accession of a new dynasty was hardly noticed in the remote provinces.\* What mattered it to the lords of Gascony, Languedoc, or Provence, whether he who bore the title of king upon the banks of the Seine was called Charles or Hugh Capet?

For a long while after this we shall find the king possessed of little more importance than a duke or an ordinary count. It was something, however, that he was, at least, the equal of the great vassals; that royalty had come down from the mountain of Laon and escaped from the guardianship of the Archbishop of Rheims.† The last Carolingians had often been in sore straits to make head against the lowest barons, but the Capets were potent lords, capable, by their own strength, of confronting the Count of Anjou, or the Count of Poitiers. They united several counties in their own hands. Upon each accession to the crown they acquired some new title by way of indemnification for their complaisance in not yet seizing it. Hugh the Great obtained from Louis IV. the duchy of Burgundy, and from Lothaire the title of Duke of Aquitaine.

In the low state to which the last Carolingians had brought it down, royalty was but a name, an almost extinct reminiscence. When transferred to the Capets it became a hope, a living right, which slumbered, it is true, but which, when its time came, would gradually awaken. Royalty begins again with the third race as with the second by a family of great proprietors, friends to the Church. Property and the Church, the earth and God, such were once more

---

Capet was son of Hugh the Great, and grandson of Robert the Strong, but I have postponed relating his origin because it is very obscure, as we go further back." L. i., c. 2, ap. Scr. Fr., x. Dante has reproduced the popular opinion, according to which the Capets were descended from a butcher of Paris.

Di mi son nati i Filippi i Luigi  
Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.  
Figliuol fui d' un beccario di Parigi,  
Quando li regi antichi venner meno,  
Tutti fuor ch' un renduto in panni bigi.

Dante, *Purgatorio*, xx. 49.

\* A monk of Maillezais (Poitou) says in his *Chronicle* (ap. Scr. Fr., x. 182), *Regnare Francis rex Robertus ferebatur*. The Duke of Aquitaine (at that time, 1016, William of Poitiers) acknowledged the King of Arles for his suzerain. See *Ditmar's Chronicle*, vii., ap. Scr. Fr., x. 132-3.

† Already Charles the Bald in the first part of his reign saw only with the eyes of Hincmar. "Non solum de rebus ecclesiasticis," &c. (Frodoard, iii. 18.) Again it was Hincmar who directed Louis le Bègue (Hincm. epist., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 354), and who made Louis III. king, as he himself boasted. (See *supra*.) His successor, Foulques, was the protector of Charles the Simple in his minority. He crowned him in 893 at the age of fourteen, treated on his behalf with King Arnulf and Eudes, and finally made him king in 898. (*Chron. Sithiense* ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 72. Frodoard, iv. 3, 5.) After him Herivée brought back the revolted vassals of Charles the Simple to their allegiance in 920, and strengthened his tottering authority. (*Chron. Tur.*, ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 50. Frodoard, iv. 15.) He was the only one who came to his defence with his men against the Hungarians. (Frodoard, iv. 14.) Louis d'Outremer made war against Heribert with Archbishop Arnoul, and granted him the privilege of coining money. (Alberic., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 65. Frodoard, iv. 26, sqq.)

to be the profound bases whereon the monarchy was to fix itself for a new and vigorous existence.

Having now arrived at the conclusion of the Germanic sway, and to the accession of French nationality, we must pause for a moment. The year 1000 is at hand, that great and solemn epoch in which the middle ages expected the end of the world. A world, in fact, did end then. Let us look back; France has already passed through two ages in its life as a nation.

In the first of these the races succeeded each other, flood upon flood, to fertilise the Gaulish soil. The Romans placed themselves over the Celts, and then came the Germans, the last comers of the world. Such were the elements, the living materials of the social system of the land.

In the second age, the fusion of the races begins, and society strives to assume shape and consistence. France would fain become a social world, but the organisation of such a world infers fixedness and order. Fixedness, attachment to the soil, to property, a condition impossible to fulfil so long as immigrations of new races continued, could securely subsist under the Carolingians. Feudalism alone could fully effect it.

Order and unity, it appears, were obtained by the Romans and by Charlemagne, but why was that order of such brief duration? Because it was wholly material, wholly external; because it concealed beneath it intense disorder, the obstinate discord of heterogeneous elements united by force. Diversity of races, of tongues, and of minds, want of intercommunication, mutual ignorance, instinctive antipathies; these were the evils lurking under the magnificent and fallacious unity of the Roman administration, which Charlemagne more or less revived.

"Mortua quin etiam juagebat corpora vivis,  
Tormenti genus."

This tyrannical binding together of things, hostile in their very nature, was a torture: witness the promptitude and violence with which all these nations strove to rend themselves from the Empire.

Matter loves dispersion, mind desires unity; matter, essentially divisible, aspires after disunion, after discord; material unity is nonsense, in politics it is tyranny. Mind alone has a right to unite; alone, it *comprehends*, it embraces, and to sum up all in one word, it loves. As Christian metaphysics have so well said, Unity implies Power, Love, and Spirit.

Unity was to re-commence by the spirit, by the Church; but the Church herself had need to become one, in order to impart unity. The episcopal aristocracy had broken down in the attempt to organise the Carolingian world; it now behoved that impotent aristocracy to humble itself, to learn the lessons of subordination, to submit to the gradations of the hierarchy, and to be transmuted into the pontifical monarchy, in order to become efficacious. That being done, we shall see the invisible unity of intellect, real unity, that of

mind and of will, re-appearing in the midst of material dispersion. Then will the feudal world contain, under the appearance of chaos, a real and potent harmony; whilst the pompous fallacy of imperial unity comprised only anarchy.

Meanwhile, until the spirit come, and until God shall have breathed from on high, matter disperses itself to the four winds of heaven, division becomes subdivided, the grain of sand would fain become an atom. Men abjure and execrate each other, they will admit no mutual recognition. Every one says, "Who are my brethren?" and all fix themselves in lonely repulsiveness. One perches with the eagle, another intrenches himself behind the torrent. Ere long men know not if there exist a world beyond their own camp, or their own valley; they take root and become incorporated with the land:

"Pes, modo tam velox, pigris radicibus hæret."

But lately they formed themselves into classes, they judged themselves by the law proper to their respective races, Salique, or Bavarian, Burgundian, Lombard, or Gothic; men were persons, the law was personal. At the period before us men have become land, the law is territorial, jurisprudence becomes an affair of geography.

At this period Nature takes upon her to regulate the affairs of men; they fight, but she divides the spoil. At first, she makes rude essays and sketches out kingdoms with a few broad lines upon the surface of the Empire. The basins of the Seine and the Loire, and those of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone; here are four kingdoms; nothing is wanting but the names. You will call them, if you please, the kingdoms of France, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence. The rulers think to unite them, and, far from that, they become further divided. The rivers and the mountains cry out against unity; division triumphs; every point of space becomes again independent; the valley becomes a kingdom, the mountain a kingdom.

History ought to obey this movement, to disperse itself, likewise, and follow all the feudal dynasties on every point where they arise. Let us endeavour to disentangle this vast subject, by marking in a precise manner the original character of the provinces where these dynasties arose. Each of them, in its historical development, visibly obeys the varied influence of soil and climate. Liberty is strong in civilised ages, nature in barbarous times; in the latter local fates are all powerful, mere geography is history.

# ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

## BOOK THE SECOND.

---

### ON AUVERGNE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. (See p. 130.)

In the fifth century Auvergne lay midway between the invasions of the South and of the North, between the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks. Its history at this period possesses a lively interest, as that of the last Roman province.

Its riches and fertility were potent attractions for the barbarians. Sidon. Apollin., iv., epist. 21, ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., i. 798.

"Taceo territorii (he is speaking of la Limagne) peculiarem jocunditatem; taceo illud aquor agrorum, in quo sine periculo quasuosæ fluctuant in segitibus undæ; quod industrius quisque quò plus frequentat, hoc minus naufragat; viatoribus molle, fructuosum aratoribus, venatoribus voluptuosum: quod montium cingunt dorsa pascuis, latera vinetis, terrena villis, saxosa castellis, opaca lustris, aperta culturis, concava fontibus, abrupta fluminibus: quod deniquè hujusmodi est, ut semel visum advenia, multis patriæ oblivionem sæpè persuadeat."—Carmen, vii., p. 804:

. . . . . "Fecundus ab urbe  
Pollet ager, primo qui vix proscissus aratro  
Semina tarda sinit, vel luxuriante juvenco,  
Arcanum exponit piceâ pinguedine glebam."

Childebert used to say (in 531), How I long to behold beautiful Limagne. "Velim Arverniam Lamanem, quæ tantæ jocunditatis gratia refulgere dicitur, oculis cernere!" Teuderic said to his men: "Ad Arvernos me sequimini, et ego vos inducam in patriam ubi aurum et argentum accipietis quantum vestra potest desiderare cupiditas; de quâ pecora, de quâ mancipia, de quâ vestimenta in abundantiam adsumatis." (Greg. Tur., l. iii., c. 9, § 11.)

The barbarian allies of Rome treated Auvergne no better when they passed through it. The Huns, who aided Litorius, traversed it in 457 to fight the Visigoths, and ravaged it with fire and sword (Sidon. Paneg. Aviti, p. 805. Paulin., vi., v. 116). The accession of an Auvergnian emperor, in 455, afforded it some years of respite. Avitus made peace with the Visigoths; Theodoric II. declared himself the friend and soldier of Rome (Ibid., 810. Romæ sum, te duce, amicus, te principe, miles). But upon the death of Majorianus (461) he broke the treaty and took Narbonne; thenceforth Auvergne beheld the swelling flood of barbarian conquest rapidly approaching, and soon the city of the Arverni (Clermont), the ancient Gergovia, rose alone above the billows, isolated on its lofty

mountain *Γεργασίας*, ἐφ' ἡν ἡλοῦ θροῦς κεμένην (Strab., iv). Quæ posita in altissimo monte omnes aditus difficiles habebat (Cæs., vi. 36. Dio Cas., xl).

Sidon. Apollin., l. iii., epist. 4 (ann. 474): "Oppidum nostrum, quasi quemdam sui limitis oppositi obicem, circumfusarum nobis gentium arma terrificant. Sic æmulum sibi in medio positi lacrymabilis præda populorum, suspecti Burgundionibus, proximi Gothis, nec impugnantum irâ nec propugnantum caremus invidiâ."—L. vii., ad Mamert.: "Rumor est Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse. Huic semper irruptioni nos miseri Arverni janua sumus. Namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaris fomenta subministramus, quia, quod necdum terminos suos ab Oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solam sub ope Christi moram de nostro tantum obice patiuntur. Circumjectarum verò spatium tractumque regionum jampridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio."

Thus left to itself, abandoned by the feeble successors of Majorian, Auvergne heroically defended itself under the patronage of a powerful aristocracy. They consisted of the house of Avitus, with its two allies, the families of the Ferreoli and the Apollinares: all three sought to save their country by strictly uniting its cause with that of the Empire.

The Apollinares had long filled the highest magistracies in Gaul (l. i., epist. 3): "Pater, socer, avus, proavus præfecturis urbanis prætorianisque, magisteriis palatinis militaribusque micuerunt." Sidonius himself, as well as Tonantius Ferreolus, married a daughter of the Emperor Avitus, and was prefect of Rome under Anthemius (Scr. Fr., i. 783).

They all employed their power in the relief of their oppressed country, borne down by taxation and the tyranny of the governors. In 469 Tonantius Ferreolus obtained the condemnation of the prefect Arvandus, who kept up a correspondence with the Goths. Sidon., l. i., ep. vii.: "Legati provincie Gallie Tonantius Ferreolus prætorius, Afranii Syagrii consulis è filia nepos. Thaumastus quoque et Petronius, verborumque scientiâ præditi, et inter principalia patriæ nostræ decora ponendi, prævium Arvandum publico nomine accusaturi cum gestis decretalibus insequuntur. Qui inter cætera quæ sibi provinciales agenda mandaverant, interceptas litteras deferebant.....Hæc ad regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum græco imperatore (Anthemio) dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos oppugnari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmana." Ferreolus had himself administered Gaul and diminished the taxes. Sid., l. vii., ep. xii.: ".....Prætermisit stylus noster Gallias tibi administratas tunc quàm maximè incolumes erant. .... propterque prudentiam tantam providentiamque, curram tuam provinciales cum plausum maximo accentu spontaneis subiisse cervicibus; quia sic habenas Galliarum moderabere, ut possessor exhaustus tributario jugo relevaretur." Avitus in his youth had been sent as delegate from Auvergne to Honorius to obtain a reduction of taxes (Paneg. Aviti, v. 207). Sidonius prosecuted and procured the punishment of Seronatus (471) who oppressed Auvergne and betrayed it like Arvandus. L. ii., ep. i. "Ipse Catilina sæculi nostri. .... implet quotidie sylvas fugientibus, villas hospitibus, altaria reis, carceres clericis: exultans Gothis, insultansque Romanis, illudens præfectis, colludensque numerariis: leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens veteresque culpas, nova tributa perquiri.—Proinde moras tuas citus explica, et quicquid illud est quod te retentat, incide."



These latter words were addressed to the son of Avitus, the powerful Eodicius :

" Te expectat palpitantium civium extrema libertas. Quicquid sperandum, quicquid desperandum est, fieri te medio, te præsule placet. Si nulla à republicâ vires, nulla præsidia, si nulla, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes : statuit te auctore nobilitas seu patriam dimittere, seu capillos."

Eodicius was indeed the hero of Auvergne ; he fed it during a famine, raised an army at his own expense, and fought against the Goths with a valour almost fabulous : he set the Burgundians against them, and attached the Arvernians to the cause of the Empire by encouraging the cultivation of Latin literature :

Gregor. Turon., l. ii., c. 24 : " Tempore Sidonii episcopi magna Burgundiam fames oppremit. Cumque populi per diversas regiones dispergerentur.....Eodicius quidam ex senatoribus.....misit pueros suos cum equis et plaustis per vicinas sibi civitates, ut eos qui hâc inopiâ vexabantur, sibi adducerent. At illi euntes, cunctos pauperes quotquot invenire potuerunt, adduxêre ad domum ejus. Ibique eos per omne tempus sterilitatis pascens, ab interitu famis exemit. Fuereque, ut multi aiunt, ampliùs quàm quatuor millia.....Post quorum discessum, vox ad eum è coelis lapsa pervenit : " Eodici, Eodici, quia fecisti rem hanc, tibi et semini tuo panis non deerit in sempiternum."—Sidon., l. iii., epist. 3 : " Si quandò, nunc maxime, Arvernus meus desideraris, quibus dilectio tui immanè dominatur, et quidem multiplicibus ex causis.....Mitto istic ob gratiam pueritiæ tuæ undique gentium confluisse studia literarum, tuæque personæ debitum, quod sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas, nunc oratorio stylo, nunc etiam camœnalibus modis imbuebatur. Illud in te affectum principaliter universitatis ascendit, quod quos olim Latinos fieri exegeras, barbaros deinceps esse vetuisti.....Hinc jam per otium in urbem reduci, quid tibi obviâ processerit officiorum, plausuum, fletuum, gaudiorum, magis tentant vota conjicere, quàm verba reserare.....Dùm alii oculis pulverem tuum rapiunt, alii sanguine ac spumis pinguis lupata suscipiunt ; ....hic licet multi complexibus tuorum tripudiantes adhærescerent, in te maximus tamen lætitiæ popularis impetus congregabatur, etc.....Taceo deinceps collegisse te privatis viribus publici exercitûs speciem.....te aliquot supervenientibus cuneos mactâsse turmales, è numero tuorum vix binis ternisve post prælium desideratis."

In 472, Euric, King of the Goths, had conquered all Aquitaine, except Bourges and Clermont (Sidon., vii., ap. 5). Eodicius was able for some time longer to carry on a war of partisans in the mountains and the gorges of Auvergne. (Scr. Fr., xii. 53. Alvernorum difficiles aditus et obviantia castella.) Renaud, according to tradition, did not venture into Auvergne, and contented himself with passing round it. No doubt, as afterwards in the time of Louis le Gros, the Auvergnians forsook the castles and took refuge in their small but impregnable city ; (loc. cit. Præsidio civitatis, quia peroptime erat munita, relictis montanis acutissimis castellis, se commiserunt). Sidonius was then its bishop ; he appointed public prayers to repel these Arians.

" Non nos aut ambustam murorum faciem, aut putrem sudium craterum, aut propugnacula vigilum trita pectoribus confidimus opitulaturum : solo tamen invectarum te (Mamerte) auctore, Rogationum palpamus auxilio ;

quibus inchoandis instituendisque populus Arvernus, et si non effectū pari, affectu certē non impari, cœpit initiari, et ob hoc circumfusus necdūm dat tēga terroribus." (L. vii., ep. ad Mamert.)

We have seen that Ecdicius repulsed the Goths; winter compelled them to raise the siege. (Sidon., iii., ep. 7.) But in 475 the Emperor Nepos made peace with Euric, and surrendered Clermont to him. Sidonius complained bitterly of this. (L. vii., ep. 7.)

"Nostri hic nunc est infelicitis anguli status, cujus, ut fama confirmat, melior fuit sub bello quā sub pace conditio. Facta est servitus nostra pretium securitatis alienæ. Arvernorum, prohi dolor! servitus, qui, si prisca replicarentur, audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere, et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare (and elsewhere..... Tellus..... quæ Latio se sanguine tollit altissimam. Panegy. Avit., v. 139)..... Hocine meruerunt inopia, flamma, ferrum, pestilentia, pingues cædibus gladii, et macri jejuniis præliatores!"

Ecdicius seeing no hope remain retired to the emperor's court with the title of Patrician (Sidon., v., ep. 16; vii., ep. 7; Jornandes, c. 45.) Euric confined Sidonius in the castle of Livia, twelve miles from Carcassonne; but he recovered his liberty in 478, at the entreaty of a Roman who was secretary to the King of the Goths, and he was reinstated in the see of Clermont. His death in 484 was an occasion of public mourning.

"Factum est post hæc, ut accedente febre ægrotare cœpisset; qui rogat suos ut eum in ecclesiam ferrent. Cumque illuc inlatus fuisset, conveniebat ad eum multitudo virorum ac mulierum, simulque etiam et infantium plangentium atque dicentium: 'Cur nos deseris, pastor bone, vel cui nos quasi orphanos derelinquis? Numquid erit nobis post transitum tuum vita? ..... Hæc et his similia populus cum magdo fletu dicentibus.'" (Greg. Tur., l. ii., c. 23.)

Notwithstanding the conquest by Euric the Arverni must have enjoyed a certain independence. Alaric, it is true, enrolled them in his troops to fight at Vouglé (507); nevertheless, we find them successively electing as bishops two friends of the Franks, two men suspected by the Arians, Burgundians, and Goths; in 484, Aprunculus, whose arrival Sidonius had predicted in his dying moments; (Greg. Tur., ii. 23) and St. Quintian in 507, the year of the battle of Vouglé.

The great families of Clermont, doubtless, also retained a portion of their influence. We find among the bishops of Clermont an Avitus "non infimis nobilium natalibus ortus," (Scr. Fr., ii. 220, note,) who was elected by "the assembly of all the Arverni," (Greg. Tur., iv. 35,) and was very popular. (Fortuna., iii., carm. 26.) Another Avitus was Bishop of Vienne. An Apollinaris was Bishop of Rheims. The son of Sidonius was Bishop of Clermont after St. Quintian; it was he who had commanded the Arverni at Vouglé: "Ibi tunc Arvernorum populus, qui cum Apollinare venerat, et primi qui erant ex senatoribus, conruerunt." (Greg. Tur., ii. 37.)

From this passage and from some other we might infer that this family had been originally at the head of the Arvernian clans.

Greg. Tur., l. iii., c. 2. "Cum populus (Arvernorum) sanctum Quintianum, qui de Rutheno ejectus fuerat, elegisset, Alchima et Placidina, uxor sororque Apollinaris, ad sanctum Quintianum venientes, dicunt: 'Suf-

ficiat, domine, senectuti tuæ quoddam es episcopus ordinatus. Permittat, inquit, pietas tua servo tuo Apollinari locum hujus honoris adipisci. . . . Quibus ille : ' Quid ego, inquit, præstabo, cujus potestati nihil est subditum : sufficit enim ut orationi vacans, quotidianum mihi victum præstet ecclesia.' ”

The Aviti seem to have been no less powerful. Their estate bore their name (*Avitacum*). Sidonius gives a long and pompous description of it. Carmen xviii. Ecdicius, the son of Avitus, seems to have been surrounded by devoted men. Sidonius writes thus to him (l. iii., ep. 3): “ Vix duodeviginti equitum sodalitate comitatus, aliqua millia Gothorum . . . transisti . . . Cum tibi non daret tot pugna socios, quot solet mensa convivas.” The name itself, Apollinaris, probably indicates a family originally sacerdotal. The senator Arcadius, the grandson of Sidonius, called Childebert into Auvergne to the prejudice of Theuderic (530), preferring his sway no doubt to that of the barbarian King of Metz, the friend of St. Quintian. (Greg. Tur., iii. 9, sqq.)

A Ferreolus was Bishop of Limoges in 585 (Scr. Fr., ii. 296). Another filled the see of Autun before St. Leger. We know that the genealogy of the Carlovingians connects them with the Ferreoli. One of Charlemagne's capitularies (Scr. Fr., v. 744) contains enactments favourable to an Apollinaris, Bishop of Riez (Riez itself was called *Reii Apollinæres*). Probably the Arverni had a great share in the influence which the Aquitanians exercised over the Carlovingians. Raoul Glaber ascribes the same costume, manners, and ideas, to the Aquitanians and Arvernians (l. iii., ap. Scr. Fr., x. 42).

## ON THE CAPTIVITY OF LOUIS II. (See p. 228.)

“ Audite omnes fines terre orrore cum tristitia,  
Quale scelus fuit factum Benevento civitas.  
Lhuduicum comprehenderunt, sancto pio Augusto.  
Beneventani se adunârunt ad unum consilium,  
Adalferio loquebatur et dicebant principi:  
Si nos eum vivum dimitemus, certe nos peribimus.  
Cælus magnum preparavit in istam provinciam,  
Regnum nostrum nobis tollit, nos habet pro nihilum,  
Plures mala nobis facit, rectum est moriar.  
Deposuerunt sancto pio de suo palatio;  
Adalferio illum ducebat usque ad pretorium,  
Ille vero gaude visum tanquam ad martyrium.  
Exierunt Sado et Saducto, invocabant imperio;  
Et ipse sancte pius incipiebat dicere:  
Tanquam ad latronem venistis cum gladiis et fustibus  
Fuit jam namque tempus vos allevavit in omnibus,  
Modo vero surrexistis adversus me consilium,  
Nescio pro quid causam vultis me occidere.  
Generatio crudelis veni interficere,  
Ecclesieque sanctis Dei venio diligere,  
Sanguine veni vindicare quod super terram fusus est.  
Kalidus ille temptador, ratum atque nomine  
Cororum imperii sibi in caput pronet et dicebat populo:  
Ecce sumus imperator, possum vobis regero.  
Leto animo habebat de illo quo fecerat;  
A demonio vexatur, ad terram ceciderat.  
Exierunt multe turme videre mirabilia.

*Magnus Dominus Jesus Christus judicavit judicium:*

*Multa gens paganorum exit in Calabria,*

*Super Salerno pervenerunt, possidere civitas.*

*Juratum est ad Surete Dei reliquie*

*Ipsæ regnum defendendum, et alium requirere."*

"Hear, all ye ends of the earth, with horror and grief, what a crime has been committed in the city of Beneventum. They have seized Louis, the holy, pious Augustus. The Beneventines assembled in council: Adalfieri spoke, and they said to the prince: 'If we send him back alive, we shall surely perish. He has prepared vast mischief for this province; he takes away our realm from us, he esteems us as nothing; he has done us many evils; it is right that he die.' They took the holy pious prince from his palace: Adalfieri led him to the pretorium; but he seemed to rejoice as a saint in martyrdom. Sado and Saducto went out and invoked the rights of the Empire; and himself, this holy, pious monarch, said to the people: 'You are come to me as to a robber with swords and staves: there was a time when I comforted you in all things, but now you have taken counsel against me; I know not for what cause you wish to kill me. I came to slay a cruel generation; I came to deal lovingly with the Church and with the saints of God; I came to avenge the blood that has been shed upon the earth.' The crafty tempter dared even to place on his head the crown of the Empire; and said to the people, 'Lo, we are the emperor, we can govern you;' and he rejoiced in what he had done. But he was tormented by the demon, and fell to the earth, and multitudes went out to see the miracle. The great master, Jesus Christ, has pronounced his judgment: the host of the pagans has invaded Calabria; it has arrived at Salernum to seize that city; but we swear on God's holy relics to defend that kingdom, and to conquer another."

## BOOK THE THIRD.

### PICTURE OF FRANCE.

---

THE History of France begins with the French language. Language is the principal sign of national existence. The first monument of ours is the oath dictated by Charles the Bald to his brother in the treaty of 843.\* It was in the succeeding half century, that the various parts of France, until then confounded together in an obscure and vague unity, assumed each its characteristic expression by means of a feudal dynasty. The population, so long fluctuating, at length became fixed and settled; we now know where to find them, and at the same time that they exist and act apart, they gradually assume a voice, each has its own history, each tells its own tale.

The infinite variety of the feudal world, the multiplicity of objects with which it at first wearies the eye and the attention, is, nevertheless, the very revelation of France. For the first, she exhibits herself in her geographical form. When that uniform and unsubstantial mist, with which the German empire had covered all things, was swept away by the wind, the country appeared with all its local diversities marked out by its mountains and its rivers. Political divisions correspond in this case to physical divisions. Far from there being confusion, a chaos, as some have said, there is order, there is inevitable and fated regularity. Strange to relate, our eighty-six departments very nearly correspond to the eighty-six districts of the capitularies, from which issued most of the feudal sovereignties,† and the Revolution, when it struck the last blow at feudalism, was its imitator in spite of itself.

The true point of departure of our history must be a political division of France, founded upon its physical and natural division; history is, first of all, wholly one with geography. We cannot recount the feudal or *provincial* epoch (the latter epithet is equally appropriate) without first characterising each of the provinces. But it is not enough to trace the geographical form of these various regions, it is, above all, by their fruits that we come to know them;

---

\* See *supra*.

† Scr. R. Fr., vii. 616-7. Capitul., anni. 853. See also Guizot, *Cours de* 1825, iii., p. 27.

I mean by the men and the events which their history presents. From the point where we now place ourselves we shall predict what each of them must do and produce; we will mark out their destiny and cast their nativity.

And first of all, let us contemplate France as a whole, and then see her spontaneously divided.

Let us ascend one of the high peaks of the Vosges, or, if you will, of the Jura, and turn our back upon the Alps; we shall distinguish, that is to say, if our eye can take in a range of 300 leagues, a wavy line stretching from the wooded hills of Luxembourg and of the Ardennes to the round tops of the Vosges, and thence along the vine-clad hills of Burgundy to the volcanic scarpments of the Cevennes, and to the monstrous wall of the Pyrenees. This is the line that parts the waters of the land. From its western side the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne descend to the ocean; behind it flow the Meuse to the north, and the Saone and the Rhone to the south. At a distance are seen two continental islands, as it were, Bretagne, rugged and low, mere quartz and granite; a great reef, placed at the corner of France to sustain the shock of the currents of the Straits; in another direction the rugged and crude Auvergne, a vast extinguished conflagration, with its forty volcanoes.

The basins of the Rhone and of the Garonne, notwithstanding their importance, are but secondary; the strength of life is in the north; in that quarter was effected the great movement of the nations. The influx of races took place from Germany into France in ancient times; the grand political struggle of modern times is between France and England. Those two nations are placed face to face as for conflict. The two countries in their principal portions present two declivities facing each other; or, if you will, they are but a single valley, of which the Straits of Dover constitute the bottom, with the Seine and Paris on the one side, on the other London and the Thames. But England presents her Germanic portion to France, behind her she keeps the Celts of Wales, of Scotland, and of Ireland. France, on the contrary, backed by her provinces of the German tongue (Lorraine and Alsace), opposes a Celtic front to England. Each country shows its most hostile aspect to the other.

Germany is not opposed to France; it is rather parallel to it. The Rhine, the Elb, the Oder, flow into the Northern Seas, like the Meuse and the Scheldt. German France, moreover, sympathises with Germany, her mother country. As for Roman and Iberian France, whatever be the splendour of Marseilles and of Bourdeaux, she looks only upon the old world of Africa and of Italy, and elsewhere on the vague ocean. The wall of the Pyrenees parts us from Spain, more than she herself is parted by the sea from Africa. When one rises above the region of the clouds to the Port of Venasque and looks down on Spain, he sees plainly that he has reached

the end of Europe; a new world opens before him. In front is the fiery light of Africa, behind a surging mist swept by a ceaseless wind.

The latitudinal zones of France are easily distinguished by their productions. In the north are the rich low plains of Belgium and Flanders, with their fields of flax and colewort, and their hops, the bitter vine of the north. From Rheims to Moselle begin the true vine and wine: all spirit in Champagne, good and warm in Burgundy, it becomes heavy in Languedoc, and, again, light and cheerful in Bordeaux. The mulberry and the olive appear at Mont Auban, but those delicate children of the south are always exposed to hazard in the unequal climate of France.\* The longitudinal zones are not less marked. We shall see the intimate relations connecting, as in a long band, the frontier provinces of the Ardennes, Lorraine, the Franche-Comté, and Dauphiné. The oceanic girdle, composed of a part of Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, and, elsewhere, of Poitou and Guienne, would float loosely in its vast development,

---

\* "France admits a division into three capital parts: 1, of vines; 2, of maize; 3, of olives: which plants will give the three districts of, 1, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2, the central in which maize is not planted; 3, the south, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maize are all found. The line of separation between vines and no vines, as I observed myself, is at Coucy, ten miles to the north of Soissons; at Clermont in the Beauvoisis; at Beaumont in Marne, and at Herbignai, near Guérande, in Bretagne." Arthur Young, *Travels in France*, i. 293.

The following enumeration of the vegetable importations with which France has been enriched, gives a high idea of the vast variety of soil and climate that characterises our native land:

"Charlemagne's orchard at Paris was regarded as unique, because it contained apple, pear, hazel, service, and chestnut trees. The potato which now feeds so large a portion of the population, did not come to us from Peru until the end of the sixteenth century. St. Louis brought us the inodorous ranunculus of the plains of Syria. Ambassadors exerted their influence to procure the garden ranunculus for France. Provins owes its rose gardens to the crusade of the trouvère Thibaut, Count of Champagne and Brie. India gave us the Indian chestnut in the beginning of the seventeenth century. We long envied Turkey the tulip, of which we now possess nine hundred species, more beautiful than those of all other countries. The elm was scarcely known in France before the reign of Francis I., nor the artichoke before the sixteenth century. The mulberry was not planted in our soil before the middle of the fourteenth century. Fontainebleau owes its delicious grapes to the Isle of Cyprus. We have gone in quest of the weeping willow to the environs of Babylon; we have brought the acacia from Virginia; the black ash and the thya from Canada; the marvel of Peru from Mexico; the bellotrope from the Cordilleras; the mignonette from Egypt; the tall millet from Guinea; the castor oil plant and the date plum from Africa; the passionflower and the Jerusalem artichoke from Brazil; the gourd and the agave from America; tobacco from Mexico; the amomum from Madeira; the angelica from the mountains of Laponia; the yellow hemerocallis from Siberia; the balsamine from India; the tuberose from Ceylon; the barberry and the cauliflower from the East; the horse-radish from China; the rhubarb from Tartary; buckwheat from Greece; New Zealand flax from the Australian regions." Depping, *Description de la France*, i. 51. See also De Candolle on the vegetable statistics of France, and A. v. Humboldt, *Géographie Botanique*.

were it not tied together in the middle with the hard knot of Bretagne.

It has been said, *Paris, Rouen, and Havre de Grace, are but one city, of which the Seine is the main street.* Pass on from that magnificent street towards the south, where castles follow close upon castles, villages upon villages; pass from the Seine Inférieure to Calvados, and from Calvados to La Manche; whatever be the richness and fertility of the country, towns diminish in number, and so does the land under tillage, whilst the pasture lands augment. The country is grave; we shall find it, as we proceed, becoming gloomy and wild. Passing the lofty châteaux of Normandy, we find ourselves among the low manors of Bretagne. The change in costume seems to keep pace with that of architecture. The triumphal cap of the women of Caux, that so suitably bespeaks the conquerors of England, becomes hollowed towards Caen, and flattened after we reach Villedieu; at St. Malo it divides, and as the breeze shapes it, looks sometimes like the arms of a windmill, sometimes like the sails of a vessel. In another quarter we find garments of skin beginning at Laval. The forests increasing in the thickness of their shades, the solitudes of *La Trappe*, where the monks lead the life of the wilds in community, the expressive names of the towns Fougères and Rennes (Rennes also signifies *fougères*, fern), the gray waters of the Mayenne and the Villaine; all this bespeaks a region of ruggedness.

It is with this region, nevertheless, that we will begin the study of France. The eldest daughter of the monarchy, the Celtic province, deserves our first attention. From thence, we will proceed to the old rivals of the Celts, the Basques or Iberians, no less obstinate in their mountains, than the Celt in his *landes* and his marshes. We may then pass on to the countries filled with a mixed population by the Roman and German conquests. Thus, we shall have studied geography in the chronological order, and journeyed, at once, space and in time.

The poor and rugged Bretagne, the resisting element of France, spreads its fields of quartz and schist from the slate quarries of Cha-teaulin, near Brest, to those of Angers; this is its geological extent. From Angers to Rennes, however, is a debateable land, a *border*, like that between England and Scotland, which was lost in early times by Bretagne. The Breton language does not even begin at Rennes, but towards Elven, Pontivy, Loudéac, and Châtelaudren. From thence to Cape Finisterre is the true Bretagne, *la Bretagne bretonnante*; a country become wholly alien to ours, precisely because it has remained too faithful to our primitive condition; a country hardly French because it is so very Gaulish, and which we should have lost more than once, had we not held it as in a vice between four French towns of a rude and vigorous genius, Nantes and St. Malo, Rennes and Brest.

And yet this poor old province saved us more than once. Often



when the country was in extremity, and almost desperate, there were found Breton breasts and heads harder than the steel of the stranger. When the men of the north swept our coasts and rivers with impunity, it was the Breton Nomenoe who began the resistance. The English were repulsed in the fourteenth century by Duguesclin, in the fifteenth by Richemont; in the seventeenth they were pursued over all the seas by Duguay-Trouin. The wars for religious freedom, and those for political liberty, have no more innocent or purer glories to show than Lanoue, and Latour-d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the Republic. It was an inhabitant of Nantes, if the tradition may be believed, who uttered the last cry of Waterloo—"The guard dies, but does not surrender."

The genius of Bretagne is one of indomitable resistance, and intrepid, obstinate, blind opposition; witness Moreau, the adversary of Bonaparte. The fact is still more obvious in the history of philosophy and literature. The Breton Pelagius,\* who carried the stoic spirit into Christianity, and who was the first in the Church to lift up his voice in favour of human liberty,† had for successors Abailard and Descartes, both Bretons. All three gave the tone to the philosophy of their age. Nevertheless, even in Descartes, a disdain for facts, a contempt for history and language, sufficiently indicate that there was more vigour than breadth in that independent genius which established psychology, and doubled the field of mathematics.‡

This spirit of opposition natural to Bretagne was marked in the last century and in ours by two facts apparently contradictory. The same portion of Bretagne (St. Malo, Dinan, and St. Briene,) which produced under Louis XV. the unbelieving Duclos, Mampertuis, and La Mettrie, has in our day given Catholicism its poet and its orator, Chateaubriand and Lamennais.

Let us now cast a rapid glance over the physical features of the country. At its two gates Bretagne has two forests; the Norman and the Vendean Bocage; two towns, St. Malo and Nantes, the town of pirates and that of slave traders.§ The aspect of St. Malo is singularly ugly and sinister; and there is, besides, something odd in it, such as we shall find repeated almost throughout the whole Peninsula, in the costume, the pictures, and the monuments.|| It is

\* See *supra*, Book i., c. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ He made a very bold onward stride in a straight line without looking right or left, and the first consequence of that idealism, which seemed to give every thing to man was, as we know, the annihilation of man in the vision of Malebranche, and the pantheism of Spinoza.

§ These are two facts which I allege, but how much ought we to add if we would render justice to these two heroic towns, and pay them all that is due to them by France? Nantes has another peculiarity which deserves notice, viz.: the perpetuity of commercial families, its slowly acquired and honourable fortunes, its economy and family spirit, and a certain roughness in business, springing from a desire to fulfil all engagements with honour. The young people of Nantes are watchful of each others conduct, and the morals of the town are better than those of any other seaport.

|| For instance, in the belfries inclined, or cut up, like packs of cards, or cum-

a little town, rich, gloomy, and dismal; a nest of vultures and ospreys alternately; an island and a peninsula, according as it is ebb or flood; encompassed on every side with dirty and fetid breakers heaped with rotting sea-rack; beyond it is a coast beset with white angular rocks cut as with a razor. War is the prosperous time with St. Malo. Its inhabitants know no more delightful season. Lately, when they had hopes of falling foul of the Dutch vessels, it was worth while to see them, with their telescopes on their black walls, already in anticipation enjoying their ocean booty.\*

At the other extremity is Brest, the great military port, the object of Richelieu's constant thought, the right hand of Louis XIV., with its fort, its arsenal and bagnio, its cannons and vessels, its armies and millions, the force of France heaped up at the extremity of France; all this in a contracted port, where one feels smothered between two mountains loaded with immense works. When you pass through this port, it is as if you were rowing in a little boat between two towering vessels; you almost feel as if the cumbrous masses on either side would close and crush you between them. The general impression is grand, but painful; it is a prodigious effort of strength, a defial offered to England and to nature. Everywhere in Brest I feel a sense of effort. It pursues me in the air of the bagnio and the chain of the forçat. It is precisely at that point on which the sea dashes with so much fury after escaping from the Straits of Dover, that we have placed our great naval depôt. Assuredly it is well guarded. I have seen a thousand cannons there.† The enemy will not enter it; but, on the other hand, one cannot always leave it at will. Many a vessel has perished in the channel of Brest.‡ All this coast is a graveyard; sixty vessels perish there every winter.§ The sea is English in inclination, it loves not France; it shatters our vessels, and fills up our ports with sand.||

Nothing so sinister and formidable as this coast of Brest; it is the extreme limit, the point, the prow of the ancient world. There the two enemies are face to face with each other, land and sea, man and nature. When the sea rises there in its fury, what mon-

---

brously loaded with flights of balustrades, such as we see them at Treguier and Landernau; in the tortuous cathedral of Quimper, where the choir is placed crossways in regard to the nave; in the triple church of Vannes, &c. St. Malo has no cathedral, notwithstanding its fine legends. Respecting the selegends see Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, sec. i., and D. Morice, *Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. i.

\* The author was at St. Malo in the month of September, 1831.

† In the arsenal without counting the batteries.

‡ For instance, *Le Republicain*, 120-gun-ship, in 1793.

§ This number, warranted to me by the people of the country, is, perhaps, exaggerated. "There are lost in all 88 vessels a-year upon our western coasts, from Dunkirk to St. Jean de Luz." Speech of M. Arago, *Moniteur*, March 23, 1833.

|| Dieppe, Havre, La Rochelle, Cette, &c.

strous waves it rolls up, volume on volume, at Cape St. Mathieu, to the height of fifty, sixty, or eighty feet. The spray flies to the very church, where the mothers and sisters of the seamen are at prayer;\* and even in times of truce, when the ocean is mute, who ever passed along that funeral coast without saying or thinking within himself, "*Tristis usque ad mortem?*"

In truth, there is there something worse than the breakers, worse than the tempest; there nature and man are atrocious, and seem to understand each other. When the sea flings them an unfortunate vessel, they rush to the coast, men, women, and children, and fasten upon that quarry. Hope not to stop those wolves; they would go on pillaging uninterruptedly, under the fire of the gendarmes.† This were bad enough, even if they always waited for the shipwreck; but it is confidently affirmed that they have frequently brought it about by artful contrivances. Frequently, it is said, a cow, carrying a moving light on her horns, has brought vessels upon the breakers; and then, Heaven alone can tell what scenes take place by night! Some have been known to bite off the finger of a drowning woman in order to secure her ring.‡

Man is hard-hearted upon this coast, an outcast son of creation; a true Cain, why should he pardon Abel? Nature does not pardon him. Do the billows spare him, when, in the fearful nights of winter, he goes about among the breakers gathering the floating sea-rack to manure his sterile field; and the wave, that throws up the sea-rack, so often carries off the man? Do they spare him, when he creeps tremblingly along under the point of the Raz to the red rocks embaying the *Hell of Plogoff*, beside the *Baie des Trepasés* (the Bay of the Dead), whither the currents have, for ages, swept the bodies of the drowned? There is a Breton proverb that says, "No one ever passed the Raz without mischief, or without terror;" and another, "Help me, great God, at the point of the Raz; my vessel is so small, and the sea is so great."§

There nature is expiring, humanity becomes sullen and cold; there is no poetry, little religion. Christianity is there a thing of yesterday. Michel Noblet was the apostle of Batz in 1648.¶ In the islands of Sein, Batz, and Ouessant, marriage is sad and austere. The senses

\*

*Goëlans, goëlans,*

*Ramenez nous nos maris, nos amants.*

† Attested by the gendarmes themselves. These people seem to regard the *bris* as a sort of alluvial right. This terrible right of *bris* was, as we know, one of the most lucrative of the feudal privileges. The Viscount de Laon used to say, speaking of a breaker: "I have yonder a stone more precious than those that adorn the king's crown."

‡ I relate this tradition of the country without vouching for its truth. It is superfluous to add that the traces of these barbarous manners are daily disappearing.

§ *Voyage de Cambry*, ii., 241-257.

¶ *Cambry*, i. 109. Here I have no other authority to rely on. As for all the other facts I borrow from this agreeable work, they have been confirmed to me by people of the country.

seem stifled there;—no love, no modesty, no jealousy. The girls take active steps to be wedded,\* and never blush to do so. The women do more work than the men, and in the island of Ouessant they are larger and stronger. The woman cultivates the land, while the man remains seated in his boat, rocked and tossed by his rude nurse, the sea. The animals, too, degenerate, and seem to change their nature; the horses and the rabbits of these islands are curiously small.

Let us seat ourselves upon this formidable cape of the Raz, upon this undermined rock, 300 feet high, whence we look down upon a range of seven leagues of coast. Here is, in some sort, the sanctuary of the Celtic world. What you perceive beyond the bay des Trépassés is the island of Sein, a dull sand-bank, without trees, and almost without shelter. A few families live there, poor and compassionate, who every year save some shipwrecked men. This island was the abode of the sacred virgins, who dealt out fine weather or shipwreck to the Celts. There they celebrated their dismal and murderous orgies; and the mariners heard with dread the sound of the barbarian cymbals sweeping over the open sea.† Tradition makes this island the cradle of Myrddyn, the Merlin of the middle ages. His tomb is on the other side of Bretagne, in the forest of Broceliande, under the fatal stone where his Vyvyan enchanted him. All those rocks you see, are towns buried beneath the waves, such as Douarnenez and Is, the Breton Sodom. Yonder two crows flying heavily along the shore, are nothing else than the souls of King Grallon and his daughter; and the whistlings you hear, and which you might suppose were those of the tempest, are the *Crierien*, the shades of the shipwrecked entreating burial.‡

At Lanau, near Brest, towers a great unhewn stone, the kerb-stone as it were of the continent. From thence to Lorient, from Lorient to Quiberon and Carnac, along the whole southern coast of Bretagne, you cannot walk a quarter of an hour without encountering some of those shapeless monuments called Druidical. You frequently see them from the road among the wolds covered with holly and thistles. They are large low stones, shaped by hand, and sometimes rounded above, or else a stone table resting upon three or four upright stones. Whether they be altars, or tombs, or simple memorials of some event, these monuments are any thing but imposing, whatever people may have said of them; but the impression produced by them is saddening, and there is something in them sin-

---

\* Cambry, ii. 77. Tolland's Letters, pp. 2, 3. In the Hebrides, and other islands, the wife was taken on trial for a year; if she did not suit the husband he transferred her to another. (Martin's Hebrides, &c.) Even lately the peasant who wished to marry applied for a wife to the lord of Barra, who had reigned for thirty-five generations in those islands. Solin, c. 22, avers that in his time the King of the Hebrides had no wives of his own, but took all the women indiscriminately.

† See Book ii., c. 2.

‡ Cambry, ii. 253-264.

gularly rude and repulsive. We seem to recognise, too, in this first attempt of art, a hand already intelligent, but as hard, as little human, as the rock it fashioned. No inscription, no sign, except under the overthrown stones of Loc-Maria-Ker, and those so indistinct, that one is tempted to regard them as natural accidents.\* If you question the people of the country, they will reply briefly, that they are the houses of the Torregans and the Courils, little lascivious men who bar your way at night, and force you to dance with them till you die of fatigue. In other places, you are told, that it was the fairies, who came down spinning from the mountains, and carried these rocks in their aprons.† Yonder scattered stones are a whole wedding party petrified. A single stone, near Morlaix, bears witness to the sad fate of a peasant, who, for having committed blasphemy, was swallowed by the moon.‡

Never shall I forget the day when I set out at early morning from Auray, the holy city of the Chouans, to visit the great Druidic monuments of Loc-Maria-Ker and Carnac, at some leagues distance thence. The former of these villages, at the mouth of the dirty and fetid river of Auray, *with its islands of Morbihan, more numerous than the days of the year*, looks across a little bay to the shore of Quiberon of sinister memory. There was a fog, such as hangs over these coasts throughout half the year. Along the route were sorry bridges over marshes; then, a low and sombre manor with the long avenue of oak trees religiously preserved in Bretagne; low tufted woods in which even the old trees never attain much height; from time to time a peasant who passes by without looking on you, nevertheless he

---

\* See the figures in the work of M. de Fremenville, and in the *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales de la France*, of M. Caumont, secretary to the Society of Antiquarians of Normandy. This gentleman was the first to apply a rigorous system of critical investigation to this portion of archæology.

† This is the form which the tradition takes in Anjou. Transplanted into the fair provinces of the Loire, it thus assumes a character at once graceful and dignified for all its simplicity.

‡ This planet is always formidable to the Celtic tribes. They say to it in order to deprecate its mischievous influence: "Thou findest us well, leave us well." When it rises they fall on their knees and say a *Pater* and an *Ave*. (Cambry, iii. 35.) In several places they call it Our Lady. Others uncover their heads when Venus rises. (Cambry, i. 193.) The reverence for lakes and fountains has also continued to subsist: they bring bread and butter thither on a certain day. (Cambry, iii. 35. See also Depping, i. 76.) Down to 1788 they used to sing on New Year's day *GUY-NA-NE*. (Cambry, ii. 26.) In Anjou the children used to ask for their new year's gifts, crying, *MA GUILLANEU*. (Bodin, *Recherches sur Saumur*.) In the department of Haute Vienne, their cry was *GUI-ONE-LEU*. A few years ago in the Orkneys the betrothed maid used to go to the temple of the moon, and invoke Woden (? Logan, ii. 300). According to M. Champollion Figeac it would appear that the festival of the sun was still celebrated in a village of Dauphiné (*Sur les Dialectes de Dauphiné*, p. 11). They used to go on Trinity Sunday in the neighbourhood of Saumur, to see *three suns* appear; and on St. John's day to see the rising sun dance. (Bodin, loc. cit.) The people of Anjou called the sun *Seigneur*, and the moon *Dame*. (Id., *Recherches sur l'Anjou*, i. 86.)

has seen you with his sidelong eye like that of the bird of night. This cast of countenance explains their famous war cry, and the name of Chouans given to them by the *blues*. There are no houses along the road-sides; the men return every even to the village. In every direction are great wolds with their melancholy decoration of heath and various yellow plants. Elsewhere are fields white with buckwheat. This summer snow, these colours without lustre, and prematurely faded, as it were, pain the eye rather than otherwise, like Ophelia's garland of straw and flowers. Things are still worse as we advance towards Carnac. Nothing is before us but actual plains of rock, on which a few black sheep seem grazing on pebbles. Amid such a quantity of stones, several of which are set upright by nature, the lines of Carnac inspire no surprise. Some hundreds of them remain standing, the highest is fourteen feet.\*

Morbihan is sombre, both in aspect, and in the recollections connected with it. It is a country of old hatreds, of pilgrimages and civil war, a land of stone, a race of granite; there, every thing endures, and time passes with a slower gait than elsewhere. The priests are very strong there; yet, it is a serious mistake to suppose that these populations of the West are profoundly religious. In several cantons of the West, the saint who does not grant the prayers of his votaries, runs the risk of being soundly flogged.†

In Bretagne, as in Ireland, Catholicism is dear to the people as a symbol of nationality; the influence of religion is there, above all, political. An Irish priest who becomes the friend of the English is soon driven from the country.‡ No church of the middle ages longer remained independent of Rome than did those of Ireland and Bretagne. The latter long struggled to withdraw itself from the primacy of Tours, against which it set up that of Dôle.

The nobles as well as the priests are dear to Bretagne and to La Vendée as defenders of the ancient habits and ways of thinking. The countless and poor nobility of Bretagne approached more nearly to the condition of the husbandman. There was also something of the habits of clanship in that body. A great number of peasant families regarded themselves as noble. Some of them consider themselves descended from Arthur or the fairy Morgana, and set up swords, it is said, to mark the limits of their fields. They were seated, and covered their heads, in token of independence, in the presence of their lord. Serfage was unknown in several parts of the province. The *domaniers* and *quevaisiers*, hard as may have been their lot, en-

\* The dimensions are greatly exaggerated in O'Higgins's magnificent work (*Celtic Druids*. 4to., 1829): he makes the height of the principal stones of Carnac twenty-four feet.

† In Cornouaille, according to Cambry. The Chouans have even been known in their wars to beat their chiefs, and obey them the next moment. I guarantee this fact.

‡ See Shiel's Sketches, in the eloquent translation of them published by two ladies in 1828, with considerable additions.

joyed bodily freedom, if their land was serf. They would have drawn themselves up before the face of the proudest of the Rohans,\* and said in their own remarkably grave tone, *Me zo dezuz armorig*, "I, too, am a Breton." A saying of profound meaning has been uttered respecting La Vendée, and it is applicable also to Bretagne: *These populations are essentially republican*,† that is, socially, not politically, republican.

Let us not be surprised that this Celtic race, the most obstinate of the ancient world, has made some efforts, in latter times, further to prolong its nationality; it defended it in like manner in the middle ages. Before Anjou could prevail in the twelfth century over Bretagne, it was necessary that the Plantagenets should become kings of England, and dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, by two marriages. Bretagne threw herself into the arms of France to escape from them; but it needed still a whole century of warfare between the French and English party, between the Blois and the Montforts. When the marriage of Anne with Louis XII. had united the province with the kingdom: when Anne had inscribed on the Château of Nantes‡ the old motto of the château of the Bourbons (*Qui qu'en grogne tel est mon plaisir*), then began the legal struggle of the estates of the parliament of Rennes, its defence of the common law, the war of provincial privileges against monarchical centralisation. Rudely suppressed by Louis XIV.,§ the resistance began again under Louis XV.; and Lachalotais wrote his courageous *factum* against the Jesuits with a toothpick in a dungeon at Brest.

At the present day, the resistance is dying away; Bretagne is gradually becoming wholly French. The old idiom, sapped by the continual infiltration of the French language, is gradually disappearing.|| The genius of poetic improvisation, which subsisted so long among the Celts of Ireland and of Scotland, and which is not yet wholly extinct among the Bretons, is, nevertheless, becoming a rare endowment. Formerly, on making proposals of marriage, the *bazvalan*¶ sang a couplet of his own composition. The maiden re-

\* The pretensions of this family, descended from the Mac Tiern of Leon, are well known. In the sixteenth century they had assumed this motto, which embodies their history: "*Roi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis*." (King I am not, prince I deign not to be, Rohan I am.)

† Evidence of M. le Capitaine Galleran before the Court of Assizes in Nantes, October, 1832.

‡ Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. ii.

§ See the Letters of Madame de Sévigné, from September to December, 1675. A great number of men were broken on the wheel, hanged, and sent to the galleys. She speaks of this with a painful levity.

|| According to M. de Romieu, sub-prefect of Quimperlé, one may measure the number of leagues lost by the Breton tongue in a certain number of years. See also the ingenious articles inserted by him in the *Revue de Paris*.

¶ The *bazvalan* was a person who took upon him the office of asking girls in marriage. He was usually a tailor, who presented himself with one blue and one white stocking.

plied in a few verses. At the present day, both parties deliver set forms which they have learned by heart.\* The attempts, more bold than successful, of the Bretons who have attempted to revive the nationality of their country by the aid of learning, have been received only with derision. I myself have seen at T——, the learned friend of Le Brigant, old M. de D., whom they know only by the name of M. Système, surrounded by five or six thousand odd volumes. The poor solitary old man, stretched upon a sofa, whose age was to be counted by centuries, with no children, no family to care for him, was dying of fever, with an Irish and a Hebrew grammar on either side of him. He revived for a moment, and declaimed to me some Breton verses to an emphatic and monotonous measure, which was not yet without charm. I could not behold, without deep compassion, that representative of Celtic nationality, that expiring defender of an expiring language and poetry.

We may follow the Celtic world along the Loire and the geological limits of Bretagne, to the slate-quarries of Angers, or else to the great Druidic monument of Saumur, the most important, perhaps, that remains at this day; or, again, as far as Tours, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Bretagne in the middle ages.

Nantes is a semi-Bordeaux, less brilliant and more sober, presenting a mixture of colonial opulence and Breton sedateness, civilised between two barbarian centres, plying commerce between two civil wars, and cast where it stands as if to break off the communication. Through it flows the great Loire, rolling its waters between Bretagne and La Vendée, the river of the Noyades. "*What a torrent,*" said Carrier, in his despatch, intoxicated with the poetry of his crime, "*What a revolutionary torrent is this Loire!*"

It was at St. Florent, upon the same spot where rises the column of the Vendéan Bonchamps, that the Breton Nomance, the vanquisher of the Northmans, set up his own statue in the ninth century. It was turned towards Anjou, towards France, which he regarded as his prey.† But Anjou was to gain the victory: the greater feudalism prevailed among its more disciplinable population. Bretagne, with its innumerable petty nobility, could wage no great war, or achieve any conquest. The *black town* of Angers bears this feudal character impressed, not only on its vast castle and on its Tour du Diable, but also on its very cathedral. That church, St. Maurice, is filled, not with saints, but with knights armed *cap-à-pie*. Nevertheless, its crippled spires, the one carved, the other naked, sufficiently express the incomplete destiny of Anjou. In spite of its

\* These facts, and many others, have been confirmed to me by M. le Lédan, a bookseller, a distinguished antiquary of Morlaix. I am indebted for other details of manners to various persons of the country. Among other Bretons, I have consulted M. de R., a descendant of one of the most distinguished families of Brest. I repose implicit confidence in the veracity of that heroic young man.

† D. Morice, *Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, i. 278. Charles the Bald in his turn had his own set up looking towards Bretagne.



fine position on the threefold river of the Maine, and so near the Loire, in which the waters of the four provinces are distinguished by their colour, Angers slumbers at this day. It is enough for it to have for some time united, under its Plantagenets, England, Normandy, Bretagne, and Aquitaine,—to have subsequently, under the good René and his sons, possessed, disputed, and at least asserted its right to the thrones of Naples, Aragon, Jerusalem, and Provence; whilst its daughter, Margaret, upheld the red rose against the white, the house of Lancaster against that of York. The towns of Saumur and of Tours, the capital of French Protestantism, and the capital of French Catholicism,\* slumber by the murmuring of the Loire, Saumur, the little kingdom of the preachers, and of old Du Plessis Mornay, against whom their good friend Henry IV. built La Fleche for the Jesuits. Its castle of Mornay, and its prodigious *Dolmen*, still make Saumur a historic town.† But far more importantly historical is the good city of Tours, with its tomb of St. Martin, the old asylum, the old oracle, the Delphi of France, whether the Merovingians used to come to consult the *sortes*; ‡ that great and lucrative place of pilgrimage for which the Counts of Blois and Anjou broke so many a lance. Mans, Angers, and all Bretagne, were dependent on the Archbishopric of Tours. Its canons were the Capets, the dukes of Burgundy and of Bretagne, the Count of Flanders, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Compostella. Money was coined there as in Paris. It possessed betimes manufactories of silk and precious stuffs, and also, if we must mention them, of those confections called *rillettes*, which have conferred equal celebrity on Tours and Rheims, those cities of priests and of sensuality. But Paris, Lyons, and Nantes, have damaged the industry of Tours. A part of the blame, too, belongs to the sunny skies, and to the soft flowing Loire. Labour is a thing against nature in the indulgent climate of Tours, Blois, and Chinon, in the native land of Rabelais, near the tomb of Agnes Sorel. Chenonceaux, Chambord, Montbazou, Longueais, Loches, all the male and female favourites of our kings, have their châteaux along the river. It is the country where men laugh and do nothing; a country of fruits, and trees as brightly green in August as in May. If you look across the river, the other bank seems suspended in the air, so perfectly does the water reflect the sky. Below is the sand, then the willow drinking at the stream; behind are the poplar and aspen and the hazle; and the isles on isles, a many countless host; above are the round heads of trees rising in fleecy piles one over the other. Soft and sensual region! Well may it

\* At least in the Merovingian period.

† It is a sort of artificial grotto, forty feet long, ten wide, and eight high, the whole formed of eleven enormous stones. This Dolmen, placed in the valley, seems to correspond to another visible upon a hill. I have frequently remarked this arrangement in Druidical monuments, for instance, at Carnac.

‡ See book ii., c. 1.

have been here that the idea was conceived of making woman queen of the monasteries, and of living beneath her sway in a voluptuous obedience, half love, half sanctity. Accordingly, never did abbey equal the splendour of Fontevrault,\* five of whose churches remain to this day. Many a king desired to be buried there; even the fierce Richard Cœur de Lion bequeathed it his heart; that murderous and parricidal heart he thought would at last, perhaps, find rest in the gentle hand of a woman and beneath the prayer of the virgins.

In order to find something of a sterner character upon the Loire, we must go up to the bend by which it approaches the Seine, to the grave Orleans, a town of legists in the middle ages, then Calvinistic, then Jansenist, and now a town of trade. But I will speak by and bye of the centre of France, at present I must hasten on to the south. I have spoken of the Celts of Bretagne, and will now proceed towards the Iberians, towards the Pyrenees.

Poitou, which we find upon the other side of the Loire, facing Bretagne and Anjou, is a country formed of very various, but not promiscuous, elements. Three very distinct populations occupy there three tracts of soil extending from north to south; hence the apparent contradictions presented by the history of this province. Poitou is the centre of Calvinism in the sixteenth century; it recruits the armies of Coligné, and attempts the foundation of a Protestant republic, and it was from Poitou that the Catholic and royalist opposition of La Vendée issued in our own day. The former epoch belongs above all to the nation of the coast; the latter is particularly that of the Vendéan Bocage. Nevertheless, both are referable to one same principle of which republican Calvinism and Catholic royalism were each but an outward form. That principle was the indomitable spirit of opposition to the central government.

Poitou is the battle field between the South and the North. It was near Poitiers that Clovis defeated the Goths, that Charles Martel repulsed the Saracens, and that the Anglo-Gascon army of the Black Prince captured King John. Presenting in its jurisprudence a medley of the common law and the Roman law, giving its legists to the North, its troubadours to the South, Poitou is, itself, like its Melusina,† an assemblage of divers natures, half woman, half serpent. A country of mixture, a country of mules,‡ and of vipers,§ was the appropriate birth-place of this strange myth.

\* Recherches de Bodin.—Genoude, Voyage en Anjou et Vendée, 1821. At that time, at least, there remained of the abbey three cloisters supported by columns and pilasters, five great churches, and several statues, among others that of Henry II. The tomb of his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, had disappeared.

† See the Illustrations.

‡ The mules of Poitou are in request throughout Auvergne, Provence, Languedoc, and Spain itself. Statistics of La Vendée, by the engineer La Brétognière. The birth of a mule is celebrated with more rejoicings than that of a son. About Mirabeau a he ass is worth as much as 3000 francs. Dupin, Statistique des Deux Sèvres (Dupin was prefect of that department).

§ Apothecaries used to buy large quantities of them in Poitou. Poitiers

This mixed and contradictory genius hindered Poitou from accomplishing any thing; it began every thing. And first of all the old Roman town of Poitiers, now so lonely, was with Arles and Lyons the first Christian school of Gaul. St. Hilary shared in the combats sustained by Athanasius for the divinity of Jesus Christ. Poitiers was for us, in some respects, the cradle of the monarchy as well as of Christianity. It was from its cathedral that the column of fire blazed by night that guided Clovis against the Goths. The King of France was Abbot of St. Hilaire of Poitiers, as well as of St. Martin de Tours. The latter church, however, less lettered, but better situated, more popular, more fruitful in miracles, prevailed over its elder sister. The last gleam of Latin poetry had shown itself at Poitiers with Fortunatus; the dawn of modern literature appeared there in the twelfth century. William VII. was the first troubadour. This William, excommunicated for having carried off the Viscountess de Châtelleraut, led, it is said, 100,000 men to the Holy Land;\* but he also took with him the whole host of his mistresses.† It is of him that an old author says, "He was a good troubadour, a good knight at arms, and long and far did he travel about deceiving the ladies." Poitou seems to have been, at that time, a country of witty libertines and free thinkers. Gilbert of La Porée, born at Poitiers, bishop of that town, and Abailard's colleague at the school of Chartres, taught with equal boldness, like Abailard was attacked by St. Bernhard, retracted like him, but did not persist in his backslidings like the Breton logician. The Poitevin philosophy was born and died with Gilbert.

The political power of Poitou had scarcely a better destiny. It had begun in the ninth century by the struggle made against Charles the Bald by Aymon, the father of Renaud, Count of Gascony, and brother of Turpin, Count of Angoulême.‡ This family claimed to be descended from the two famous heroes of romance, St. William of Toulouse and Gerard of Roussillon, Count of Burgundy. It was, indeed, great and potent, and was for some time at the head of the South. They took the title of dukes of Aquitaine, but they had an overmatch in the populations of Bretagne and Anjou, that pressed upon them on the North. The Angevins took from them part of Touraine, Saumur and Loudun, and outflanked them by taking possession of Saintes. Meanwhile the counts of Poitou exhausted themselves in violent efforts to establish, in the South, particularly in Auvergne and Toulouse, their grand title of dukes of Aquitaine. They ruined themselves by distant expeditions to Spain and to Jeru-

---

formerly used to export its vipers as far as Venice. La Brétonnière. See also Dupin.

\* He arrived before Antioch with six men! See Book iii., c. 2.

† The Bishop of Angoulême said to him: "Mend your ways." The count replied: "I will when thou comest thyself." The bishop was bald.

‡ It is remarkable enough, that the names of the heroes and of the author of the famous chronicle figure together in history.

salem. Brilliant and prodigal men were they; knightly troubadours, frequently at variance with the Church; ill-famed for their volatile habits and their violence, for their notorious adulteries, and their domestic tragedies. When the jealous Eleanor of Guienne put to death the beautiful Rosamond in the labyrinth where her husband had concealed her, this was not the first instance in which a Countess of Poitiers assassinated her rival.

Eleanor's sons, Henry, Richard Cœur de Lion, and John, never knew whether they were Poitevins or English, Angevins or Normans. The internal conflict between two contradictory natures was displayed in their fickle and stormy lives. Henry III., John's son, was governed by the Poitevins, and we know what civil wars this cost England. Once united to the monarchy, Poitou, of the marsh and of the plain, went along with the general movement of France. Fontenai furnished great lawyers (Tiraqueau, Besly, and Brisson); the nobility of Poitou produced many able courtiers (Thouars, Mortemar, Meulleraie, Mauléon). The greatest statesman and the most popular writer of France belonged to eastern Poitou, Richelieu and Voltaire. The latter, born at Paris, was of a family from Parthenai.\*

But we have not yet seen all the province. The table-land of the two Sèvres pours those rivers, the one towards Nantes, the other towards La Rochelle; the two eccentric regions they traverse are very isolated from France. The second of them, a miniature Holland,† overspread with marshes and canals, looks only on Rochelle and the ocean. The *white town*‡ as well as the *black*, Rochelle as well as St. Malo, was originally an asylum opened by the church for the Jews, serfs, and *coliberts* of Poitou. The pope protected both towns against the lords,§ and they prospered by the immunity they enjoyed from tithe and tribute. A host of adventurers sprung from this medley populace, sought their fortunes by sea as merchants or as pirates; others turned to the court, and em-

\* According to M. Genoude there are still members of the Arouet family in the village of St. Loup, in the environs of that town. Voyage, &c., p. 21.

† The southern marsh is wholly a work of art. The difficulty to be overcome was not so much the influx of the sea as the inundations of the Sèvre. The dikes are often threatened. The *cabaniers* (inhabitants of farms called *cabanes*) go about with poles twelve feet long to assist them in leaping over the ditches and canals. The Marais-mouillé beyond the dikes is under water all the winter. La Brétouillère.—Noirmoutiers is twelve feet below the level of the sea, and we find there artificial dikes extending a length of 11,000 fathoms. The Dutch dried the marsh of little Poitou by a canal called Ceinture des Hollandais. Statistique de Peuchet et Chaulaire. See also Description de la Vendée, par M. Cayoteau, 1818.

‡ The English formerly gave that name to Rochelle on account of the light reflected from the rocks and cliffs. See the history of the town by le père Arcère, of the Oratoire, 2 vols. 4to. Respecting the Coliberts, Caqueux, Cagots, Gésitains, &c., see the Illustrations.

§ Concerning St. Malo see Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, ii. 177: for Rochelle see Arcère. Raymond Perraud, a native of Rochelle, a bishop and cardinal, and a bold, active man, obtained bulls in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, in 1502, forbidding all foreign judges to cite them before their tribunals.

ployed their democratic genius, and their hatred of the grandees, in the service of the kings. Without going back so far as the serf Leudaste, of the island of Ré, whose curious history Gregory of Tours has preserved for us, we will mention the famous Cardinal of Sion, who armed the Swiss for Julius II.; the Chancellor Olivier under Charles IX.; Balue and Doriole under Louis XI. The latter prince was fond of using these intriguers, shutting them up when he had done with them in an iron cage.

Rochelle, at one time, expected to become another Amsterdam, of which Coligné should have been the William of Orange. Well known are the two famous sieges it maintained against Charles IX. and Richelieu, the heroic efforts, the extraordinary pertinacity of the besieged, and the dagger which the mayor laid on the table of the Hotel de Ville, ready for the man who should speak of surrendering. Nevertheless, they were compelled by force to yield, when England, betraying the Protestant cause and her own interest, suffered Richelieu to close their port. The remains of the immense mole he built are still distinguishable at low water. Cut off from the sea, the amphibious town led but a languid existence. The better to hold it in check Rochefort was founded by Louis XIV. within a stone's throw of Rochelle; the king's port, close by the port of the people.

There was, however, a part of Poitou which had hardly appeared in history, which was little known and knew not itself; it was revealed by the war of La Vendée. The basin of the Nantaise Sèvre, the dark hills that environ it, the whole Vendéan Bocage, these were the chief and earliest scene of that terrible war that kindled the whole West. La Vendée, which has fourteen rivers, and not one navigable,\* a country lost in its hedges and woods, was, after all that has been said on the subject, neither more religious, nor more royalist, than many other frontier provinces;† but it clung to its old usages. These the ancient monarchy, with its imperfect centralisation, had not much disturbed; the Revolution wished to snatch them from the province and to bring it all at once into the national

\* See Statist. du Depart. de la Vienne, par le préfet Cochon, an x. In 1537 it was proposed to make the Vienne navigable up to Limoges; afterwards to join it to the Corrèze, which falls into the Dordogne; it would have connected Bordeaux and Paris by means of the Loire, but the Vienne is too rocky. The Clain might be rendered navigable as far as Poitiers, so as to continue the navigation of the Vienne. Châtelleraut opposed the project from jealousy of Poitiers. Should the Charente become navigable above Civrai, a canal connecting it with the Clain would afford means of communication in time of war between Rochefort, the Loire, and Paris. See also Texier, Haute Vienne, and La Brétonnière, Vendée.

† I have already cited a remarkable assertion of Captain Galleran.—Genoude tells us (Voyage en Vendée, 1821), "The peasants say, Under the reign of M. Henri (de la Roche Jaquelin).—They called such of their countrymen as were republicans *patauds*. Their expression to signify good French was *le parler noblat*. The priests had not much property in La Vendée. All the national forests, says La Brétonnière (p. 6), formerly belonged to the Count d'Artois, or to the emigrants, one alone out of a hundred *hectares* belonging to the clergy.

unity. Abrupt and violent, rushing in everywhere with a sudden and importunate light, it incensed these sons of night. These peasants found themselves converted into heroes. We know that Cathelineau, the carrier, was kneading his bread\* when he heard the republican proclamation. He merely wiped his arms, and took up his musket. Every man did the same and marched straightway against the *blues*; and it was not man to man they fought, in the woods, in the dark, like the Chouans of Bretagne, but in masses and in the open plain. There were nearly 100,000 of them at the siege of Nantes; the war of Bretagne resembles a martial ballad of the Scottish border; that of Vendée an Iliad.

Advancing towards the south, we shall pass through the sombre town of Saintes and the beautiful country around it; the battle-fields of Taillebourg and Janac, the grottoes of Charente, and its vineyards in the salt marshes. We shall even pass rapidly through Limousin; that elevated, cold, rainy† region from which so many rivers descend. Its beautiful granite hills, rounded into hemispheres, and its vast forests of chesnuts, maintain an honest population, but dull, timid, and awkward from indecision.‡ It is a country that has much endured, having been so long disputed between England and France. Lower Limousin is different; there, we are already struck by the bustling and quick spirit of the men of the south. The names of Ségur, St. Aulaire, Noailles, Ventadour, Pompadour, and, above all, of Turenne, sufficiently indicate how much the men of this country are attached to the central power, and how much they have gained thereby. That rascal, Cardinal Dubois, was a native of Brives la Gaillarde.

The mountains of the Limousin highlands are connected with those of Auvergne, and the latter with those of the Cevennes. Auvergne is the valley of the Allier, overlooked on the west by the mass of the Mont Dor, which rises between the peak or Puy de Dôme, and the mass of the Cantal. It is a vast extinguished conflagration; now almost wholly clothed with a strong and rude vegetation.§ The walnut strikes its root into the clefts of the basalt, and wheat springs up out of the pumice-stone.|| The internal fires are not so wholly extinguished but that a certain

\* Memoirs of Madame de la Roche Jaquelin. It results from the examination of M. de l'Elbée, that the real cause of the Vendéan insurrection was the levy of 300,000 men decreed by the republic. The Vendéans detest military service, which removes them from their own homes. When it was required to furnish the contingent for the guard of Louis XVIII. not a single volunteer was found. Cavoleau, Description de la Vendée, 1813.

† Piganiol de la Force, xi. Boulainvillers, Texier Olivier, Haute Vienne (he was prefect of the department in 1808), p. 8, proverb: "The Limousin will not die of drought."

‡ Texier Olivier, pp. 44, 96, &c.

§ The productions of the earth, as well as those of human hands, are here common and coarse, though abundant. De Pradt, Voyage Agronon., p. 108.

|| North of St. Flour the earth is covered with a thick layer of pumice-stone, but is nevertheless very fertile. Ibid., 147.

valley still smokes, and the *étouffis*\* of Mont Dor remind one of Solfatara and the Grotto del Cane. The towns are black, built of lava (Clermont, St. Flour, &c.), but the country is beautiful, whether you traverse the vast and lonely meadows of the Cantal and Mont Dor, pursued by the monotonous sound of the cascades; or whether, from the basaltic island on which Clermont stands, you cast your eyes over the fertile Limagne and over the Puy de Dôme; that pretty *thimble* 700 fathoms high, alternately veiled and unveiled by the clouds that love it, and that can neither leave it nor remain with it. For Auvergne is exposed to a continual conflict of the winds,† the currents of which are excited by the opposite and alternating valleys of its mountains. It is a cold country under a sky already southern; a land where one freezes whilst treading upon lava. Accordingly, the mountaineers remain, almost the whole winter through, huddled together in stables, surrounded by a warm and heavy atmosphere.‡ Loaded, like the people of Limousin, with I know not how many thick and heavy garments, you would say they were a southern race, trembling with cold in the wind of the north, and nipped and hardened, as it were, under that alien sky. Their wine is coarse, their cheese bitter,|| like the rude herbage that produces it. They sell their lava, too, their common pebbles,¶ and their common fruits, which descend the Allier in boats. Red, the peculiar colour of barbarous life, is that which they prefer; they are fond of coarse red wine and red cattle.\*\* More given to agriculture than to trade, they still frequently till the strong and deep soil of their plains with the little plough of the south, that hardly scratches the surface.†† It is to no purpose that they emigrate every year from the mountains, they bring back some money, but few ideas.

And yet there is a real force in the men of this race, a thrifty sap, harsh and crude, perhaps, but full of life, like the grass of the Cantal. Age makes no difference in it; look at the racy vigour of their old men, their Dulaures and De Pradts, and that octogenarian

---

\* See Legrand d'Aussy, *Voyage en Auvergne*.

† De Pradt, p. 74.

‡ In winter they live in the cattle stalls, and rise at eight or nine o'clock. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 283. See various details of manners in the *Memoirs of M. le Comte de Montlosier*, vol. i. The elegant sketch of Puy de Dôme, by M. Duché, the curious researches of M. Gonod on the antiquities of Auvergne, and the work of a worthy octogenarian *curé*, Delarbre, &c., should also be consulted.

§ In Limagne there is an ugly race, seemingly southern; from Brioude to the sources of the Allier one would say the people were cretins or Spanish beggars. De Pradt, p. 70.

|| The bitterness of their cheeses is owing either to the manner of making them or to the harshness and sourness of the pasture, which is never renovated. *Ibid.*, 177.

¶ Down to 1784 the Spaniards used to come and purchase the coarse pebbles of Auvergne. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 247.

\*\* De Pradt, p. 74.

†† In the country of Outre Loire hardly any thing is used but the *armes*, &

Montlosier, who superintends his workmen and all about him, who plants and builds, and who would write, if need were, a new book against the priestly party, or in defence of fatalism; the friend and, at the same time, the enemy of the middle ages.\*

The inconsistent and contradictory genius which we remarked in other provinces in our middle zone, reaches its apogee in Auvergne. There we find those great lawyers,† those logicians of the Gallican party who never rightly knew whether they were on the pope's side or against him; the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, that equivocal Catholic;‡ the Arnauds; the stern Domat; the Jansenist Papi- nian, who strove to shut up law within the limits of Christianity; and his friend Pascal, the only man of the seventeenth century who was conscious of the religious crisis between Montaigne and Voltaire, a man in whose suffering soul is so marvellously apparent the combat between doubt and faith.

I might enter by Rouergue into the great valley of the South; that province marks its corner in a singularly stern manner.§ Itself, beneath its gloomy chesnuts, is but an enormous mass of coal, iron, copper, and lead. The coal|| in many places is constantly burning, consumed by secular fires, in which there is nothing of a volcanic nature. This region, maltreated both by cold and heat in all its various aspects and climates, rent by precipices, and torn by two torrents, the Tarn and the Aveyron, is little inferior in ruggedness to the Cevennes. But I prefer entering by way of Cahors. There, the whole country is clothed with vineyards; the mulberries begin before Montauban; a range of thirty or forty leagues opens before you; a vast ocean of agriculture, an animated confused mass lost to view in the distant obscurity; but above it rise the fantastic forms of the silvery-headed Pyrenees. The ox, yoked by the horns, tills the fertile valley; the vine climbs the elm. If you

little plough, unfit for heavy lands. The cars and implements used throughout all the south are small and weak. Arthur Young saw with indignation that little plough which grazed the earth and calumniated its fertility. De Pradt, p. 88.

\* Doubtless the illustrious old man will not be offended by a critical observation applicable to all the great men of his country.

† Domat, of Clermont; the Laguesle, of Vic le Comte; Duprat, and Barrillon his secretary, of Issoire; l'Hôpital, of Aigueperse; Anne Dubourg, of Riom; Pierre Lizet, first president of the parliament of Paris in the sixteenth century; the Du Vair, d'Aurillac, &c.

‡ See in Mem. de d'Aubigné, the secret share the chancellor had in the conspiracy of Amboise. It was a proverb: "God save us from the chancellor's masses, the admiral's toothpick, and the paternosters of the constable."

§ It was I believe the first country in France that payed the king (Louis VII.) a duty in consideration of his putting an end to private wars therein. See the Glossaire de Laurière, i. 164, in voce *Commun de pais* and the Decretal of Alexander III. on the first canon of the Council of Clermont, published by Marca. Respecting Rouergue, see Peuchet et Chanlaire, Statistique de l'Aveyron, and particularly the valuable work of M. Monteil.

|| According to M. Blairier, author of *La Minéralogie de l'Aveyron*, coal forms more than two-thirds of the superficies of the department. Ibid., p. 15.



bend to the left towards the mountains, you find the goat hanging on the verge of the arid hill, and half-way down, the mule, loaded with oil, traverses the narrow path. At noon a storm comes on and the earth is a lake; an hour afterwards, and the sun has drunk all dry. You arrive at evening at some large and gloomy town, say Toulouse. From the sonorous accents around you, you would believe yourself in Italy. To be undeceived, you have but to glance at the houses of wood and bricks; the abrupt speech, the bold and lively demeanour of those around you will also remind you that you are in France. The people of easy condition, at least, are French; the lower orders are any thing else, perhaps Spanish or Moorish. Here we have that old Toulouse, once so great under its counts; under our kings, its parliament still conferred upon it the royalty, the tyranny of the South.\* Those violent legists, who prompted the slap in the face given by Phillip le Bel to Boniface VIII., often made amends for this at the expense of the heretics, four hundred of whom they burned in less than a century. Subsequently they made themselves subservient to the vengeance of Richelieu, and sentenced Montmorency and beheaded him in their beautiful red stained hall.† They made it their boast, that they possessed the capital of Rome and the cave of the dead‡ at Naples, where the bodies were so well preserved. The archives of the town were kept in the capitol of Toulouse in an iron chest, like those of the Roman Flamens, and the Gascon senate had inscribed upon the walls of its court, *Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*.§

Toulouse is the central point of the great basin of the South. Thither come, or nearly so, the waters of the Pyrenees and of the Cevennes, the Tarn and the Garonne, to find their way together to the ocean. The Garonne receives the whole flood. The sinuous and brawling rivers of Limousin and Auvergne flow into it on the north by Perigueux and Bergerac. From the east and from the Cevennes flow the Lot, the Viazur, the Aveyron, and the Tarn, with some inflections, more or less abrupt, by Rodez and Albi. The North gives the rivers, the South the torrents. The Arriège descends from the Pyrenees, and the Garonne, already swollen by the Gers and the Baize, describes an elegant curve to the north-west, again repeated by the Adour on the south in smaller proportions. Toulouse almost separates Languedoc from Guienne; two regions differing so much under the same latitude. The Garonne passes by old

\* And it seems to resume that supremacy, at least in literature. The publication of various journals, that, among others, of the *Revue du Midi*, has recently given another proof how much life and power there is in the genius of Occitanic France.

† It was still so stained in the last century, according to Piganiol de la Force, *Description de la France*.

‡ Bodies were preserved there five hundred years after death. Millin, *Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, iv. 452. Piganiol de la Force, etc.

§ Millin, iv. 441.

Toulouse, through the old Roman and Gothic Languedoc, and, continually augmenting in volume, spreads out and meets the sea like another sea, in front of Bordeaux. This latter town, long the capital of English France, and, longer still, English at heart, is turned by its commercial interests towards England, the ocean, and America. The Garonne, which we must now call Gironde, is twice as broad there as the Thames at London.

However beautiful and rich is that valley of the Garonne we must not stop there. The distant summits of the Pyrenees invite us with too potent an attraction, but the road thither is a stern one. Whether you take your way by Nerac, the dismal lordship of the Albrets, or whether you skirt along the coast, you see but an ocean of moors; at the very most, a few cork trees, vast *pinadas*, a sombre and lonely tract of country, with no other sign of life than the flocks of black sheep,\* pursuing their everlasting journeys from the Pyrenees to the *Landes*, and going from the mountains to the plain to seek warmth in the north, under the guidance of the Landese shepherd. The itinerant life of these shepherds is one of the characteristics of the South. You meet them ascending from the plains of Languedoc to the Cevennes and the Pyrenees, and from the Crau of Provence to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonette.† These nomades, carrying their all with them, companions of the stars in their eternal solitude, half astronomers and half sorcerers, continue the Asiatic life, the life of Lot and of Abraham, in the midst of our western world. But in France the agriculturists, who fear these wayfarers, restrict their passage to narrow routes.‡ It is in the Apennines, in the plains of La Pouille, or in the Campagna of Rome, that they are to be seen marching in all the freedom of the antique world. In Spain they reign; they lay waste the country with impunity. Under the protection of the all-powerful company of the Mesta, which employs from 40,000 to 60,000 shepherds,§ the triumphant

\* Millin, iv. 347. Black sheep are also numerous in Roussillon (*A. Young*, vol. ii.) and in Bretagne. This colour is not unfrequent in the bulls of La Camargue.

† Arthur Young, iii. 83. The emigration of sheep is almost as great in Provence as in Spain. A million pass from La Crau to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonette in flocks of from ten thousand to forty thousand. The journey occupies twenty or thirty days. (*Darluc*, *Hist. Nat. de Provence*, 1782, pp. 303, 329.) *Statist. de la Lozère*, by M. Jerphanion, prefect of that department, an. x., p. 31. "The sheep leave the Basses Cevennes and the plains of Languedoc about the end of Floreal, and arrive on the mountains of La Lozère and La Margéride, where they pass the summer. They return, when the cold season sets in, to lower Languedoc." *Laboulinière*, l. 245. The flocks of the Pyrenees emigrate in winter as far as the landes of Bordeaux.

‡ Five fathoms wide according to the decrees of the parliament of Provence.

§ "A year in Spain, by an American," 1832. The flocks of the *Mesta* consisted of about seven millions of heads in the sixteenth century. After falling off to two millions and a half in the beginning of the seventeenth century, they rose again at its close to four millions, and now amount to five, being nearly half of the whole quantity of cattle in Spain. The shepherds are more dreaded

merinos devour the country from the Estremadura to Navarre and Aragon. The Spanish shepherd, more fierce than ours, has himself the appearance of one of his own beasts, with his sheepskin upon his back, and on his legs his abarka, made of the hairy hide of the ox, and fastened with cords.\*

The formidable barrier of Spain at length appears to us in all its greatness. It is not, like the Alps, a complicated system of peaks and valleys, but merely a huge wall, the height of which diminishes at both ends.† Elsewhere the passage is impracticable for carriages, and is closed against the mule, and even against man himself, for six or eight months of the year. Two distinct peoples, who are, really, neither Spaniards nor Frenchmen, the Basques upon the west, and the Catalans and Roussillonnese‡ on the east, are the gatekeepers of the two worlds. They open and they shut; irritable and capricious porters, weary of the everlasting passage of the nations, they open the way for Abderrahman and close it against Roland. There is many a tomb between Roncesvalles and the Seu d'Urgel.

It is not to the historian it belongs to describe and explain the Pyrenees. Let the science of Cuvier and of Elie de Beaumont relate this anti-historic history. They were present, and I was not, when nature improvised her prodigious geological epopœa; when the inflamed mass of the globe shot forth the axis of the Pyrenees; when the mountains were cleft, and the earth, in the tortures of a Titanic birth, flung up the black and bald *Maladetta* against the sky. But a soothing hand gradually drew over the wounds of the mountain those green meadows, whose verdure puts to shame that of the Alps.§ The peaks lost their jaggedness and became rounded into beautiful towers; lower masses succeeded to soften the abruptness of the declivities, and to form upon the French side that colossal staircase, every step of which is a mountain.||

---

than the robbers themselves; they unscrupulously abuse the right of summoning every citizen before the tribunal of the association, which never fails to decide in favour of the shepherds. The *Mesta* employs *alcaldes*, *entregadores*, and *achagueros*, who harass and oppress the farmers in the name of the corporation.

\* Description des Pyrenees, par Dralet, conservateur des eaux et forêts. 1813, i. 242.

† The Basque word *marua* signifies wall and Pyrenees. W. von Humboldt. *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*.

‡ A. Young, i. 29. "Roussillon is in fact a part of Spain; the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs." The towns form an exception: they are inhabited almost entirely by strangers. The fishermen of the coasts have quite a Moorish appearance. The central part of the Pyrenees, the county of Foix (Arrière) is quite French in tone and language; hardly any Catalan words.

§ Ramond, *Voyage au Mont Perdu*, p. 54. "These green swards of the high mountains, compared with which the verdure even of the lower valleys seems crude and spurious." Laboulinière, i. 220. "The waters of the Pyrenees are pure, with that pretty tint called *water green*." Dralet, 203. The rivers of the Pyrenees do not in ordinary floods deposit a noxious mud, like the Alps; on the contrary.....

|| Dralet, i. 5. Ramond. "To the south the whole sinks down abruptly

Let us go up then, not to the Vignemal, not to the Mont Perdu,\* but only to the Port de Pailers, whence the parted waters flow down to two seas, or are divided between Bagnères and Barèges, between the beautiful and the sublime.† There you will catch the fantastic beauty of the Pyrenees, those strange incongruous sites joined together by an inexplicable fairy power,‡ that magic atmosphere,§ which, by turns, makes objects appear near and remote, those foaming or pale green *gaves*, those meadows of living emerald. But soon comes the savage and fearful wildness of the great mountains, concealed behind, like a monster under the mask of a beautiful girl. No matter; let us go on, let us proceed along the Gave de Pau, through that gloomy defile, across those endless heaps of blocks, each three or four thousand cubic feet in dimensions. Then come the pointed rocks, the perpetual snows; then the windings of the *gave* rudely tossed and repelled from one mountain to another; lastly, the prodigious Cirque and its towers, lost in the sky. At its foot twelve springs feed the *gave* which roars under the *snow-bridges*, and yet falls from the height of thirteen hundred feet, the loftiest cascade in the whole world.||

Here France ends. The *port* of Gavarnie, which you see up yonder, that tempestuous pass, where, as the saying is, the son does not wait for his father,¶ is the gate of Spain. An immense historical poetry hovers over this limit between two worlds, whence you might behold at will, if the eye could reach so far, Toulouse or Saragossa.

and at once, forming a precipice a thousand or eleven hundred metres high, the bottom of which is the summit of the loftiest mountains in that part of Spain. These soon degenerate into low round hills, beyond which opens the vast perspective of the plains of Aragon. On the north the primitive mountains form a close chain, more than four myriamètres in thickness, and consisting of seven or eight ranges gradually decreasing in height." This description, contradicted by M. Laboulinière, is confirmed by M. Elie de Beaumont. The granitic axis of the Pyrenees is on the French side.

\* It is known that the great poet of the Pyrenees, M. Ramond, spent ten years in searching for the Mont Perdu. "Some affirmed," he says, "that the boldest hunter in the country only succeeded in reaching the summit of the Mont Perdu by the aid of the devil, who led him up thither by seventeen steps." p. 28. Mont Perdu is the highest of the French, and Vignemal of the Spanish Pyrenees.

† It was between these two valleys, on the plateau called the *Hourquette des cinq Ours*, that the old astronomer Plantade expired beside his quadrant, exclaiming, "Great God! How beautiful!"

‡ Ramond, p. 169. "Scarcely have you set foot on the ledge, when the scenic decoration changes, and the edge of the terrace cuts off all communication between two incompatible sites. From that line which you cannot approach without quitting the one or the other, and which you cannot pass without losing sight of one of them, it seems impossible that both can be real at one and the same time; and were they not connected together by the chain of the Mont Perdu, which somewhat softens down the abruptness of the contrast, one would be inclined to regard as a vision either the scene he has just withdrawn his eyes from, or that which presents itself in its stead."

§ Laboulinière, iii. 12.

|| It is 1270 feet high. For all these details see Dralet, i. 108, sqq.

¶ Dralet, ii. 217.

This embrasure in the mountains, three hundred feet in length, was cut by Roland with two strokes of his durandal.\* It is the symbol of the everlasting strife between France and Spain; which is none other than that between Europe and Africa. Roland fell, but France has been victorious. Compare the two slopes of the mountain; how greatly superior is ours!† The Spanish slope, exposed to the south, is far more abrupt, dry, and savage. The French side, with a gentle declivity, better shaded, clothed with beautiful meadows, furnishes the other with a great portion of the cattle it needs. Barcelona lives on our oxen.‡ That country of wine and of pasture is obliged to purchase our flocks and our wines. Yonder is a beautiful sky, a mild climate, and—indigence; here, mist and rain, but—intelligence, wealth, and freedom. Cross the frontier, compare our splendid roads with their rugged paths;§ or cast a glance merely on those strangers at the waters of Cauterets, covering their rags under the dignity of a cloak; sombre, disdaining to compare their condition with that of others. Great and heroic nation, fear not that we would insult your misery!

Whoever would see all the races and all the costumes of the Pyrenees must go to the fair of Tarbes; nearly ten thousand persons flock thither from a distance of more than twenty leagues. There you frequently find, at one and the same time, the white bonnet of Bigorre, the brown of Foix, and the red of Roussillon; sometimes, even, the large flat hat of Aragon, the round hat of Navarre, and

\* Millin, v. 538. Dralet. Laboulinière, i. 195, &c.

† The Ebro flows east towards Barcelona, the Garonne west towards Toulouse and Bordeaux. The canal of Charles V. corresponds to that of Louis XIV. This is the sole resemblance.

‡ Dralet, ii. p. 197. "The Spanish territory being subject to considerable evaporation has few pastures sufficiently rich for horned cattle, and as asses and mules thrive on much less succulent food than other animals employed in agriculture, they are generally used by the Spaniards for tillage and the transport of goods. It is from our frontier departments, and from the old province of Poitou, that they are supplied with these animals, and that in considerable quantity. As for animals for slaughter it is we, likewise, who supply the northern provinces, particularly Catalonia and Biscay. The town of Barcelona alone contracts with French houses for the daily supply of five hundred sheep, two hundred ewes, thirty oxen, and fifty wether goats, in addition to which it receives more than six thousand pigs, sent every autumn from our southern departments. For these supplies the town of Barcelona pays ten million eight hundred thousand francs annually; and those which we furnish to the other towns of Catalonia may be valued at a like sum. Catalonia pays in piastres and quadruples, oil and cork." Things must, however, have changed considerably since Dralet wrote (1812).

§ Arthur Young, vol. i. 29. "Between Jonquières and Perpignan, without going through a town, a barrier, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miserable roads of Catalonia you tread at once on a noble causeway, made with all the solidity and magnificence that distinguishes the highways of France. Instead of beds of torrents you have well built bridges; and from a country wild, desert, and poor, we find ourselves in the midst of cultivation and improvement."

the pointed bonnet of Biscay.\* The Basque voturier will come thither upon his ass, with his long carriage drawn by three horses; he wears the *béret* of Béarn. But you will very readily distinguish between the Béarnais and the Basque, between the handsome little sprightly man of the plain, so ready with his tongue, and with his hand too, and the son of the mountain, who strides rapidly along it with his great legs, a skilful agriculturist, and proud of the house whose name he bears.† If you would seek a people at all analagous to the Basque, it is among the Celts of Bretagne, of Scotland, and of Ireland, you must look for it. The Basque race, the oldest of those of the West, motionless in its corner of the Pyrenees, has seen all the nations pass before it—Carthaginians, Celts, Romans, Goths, and Saracens. It looks with scornful pity on our young antiquities. A Montmorenci said to a Basque, “Do you know that we date from a thousand years back?” “And we,” said the Basque, “have left off dating.”‡

This race had possession of Aquitaine for a short period, and bequeathed to it the name of Gascony. Driven back into Spain in the ninth century, it founded there the kingdom of Navarre; and, in the course of two hundred years, it occupied all the Christian thrones of Spain—Gallicia, the Asturias and Leon, Aragon and Castile. But as the Spanish crusade pushed on towards the south, the Navarres, isolated from the theatre of European glory, gradually lost every thing.

\* “15th. Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of those of Scotland; saw them first at Montauban; they have round, flat caps and loose breeches. ‘Pipers, blue bonnets, and oatmeal are found,’ says Sir James Stuart, ‘in Catalouia. Auvergne, and Swabia, as well as Lochaber.’” Arthur Young, i. 22. But independently of difference as to race and manners, there is another essential one between the mountaineers of Scotland and those of the Pyrenees, viz., the latter are wealthier, and in some respects better disciplined than the various populations that surround them.

† Iharc de Bidassouet, Cantabres et Basques, 1825. The Basque people, which has preserved with its pastures the means of mending its lands, and with its oaks that of feeding an infinite multitude of swine, lives in the enjoyment of plenty; whereas in the greater part of the Pyrenees.... Laboulinière, iii. 416.

Bearnes

Faus et courtes.

Bigordan

Pir que can.

“The Béarnais is reputed to have more polish and courtesy than the Bigordan, who has the advantage in point of frankness and blunt honesty.” Dralet, i. 170.

“These two peoples bear little resemblance to each other. The Béarnais, forced by the snows to lead his flocks into the low grounds, acquires some polish there, and loses his native roughness. Becoming subtle, sly, and inquisitive, he nevertheless retains his pride and his love of independence. The Béarnais is as irascible and vindictive as he is quick-witted; but the fear of disgrace and of the loss of his property forces him to have recourse to judicial means to satisfy his resentments. The same is the case with the other peoples of the Pyrenees, from Bearn to the Mediterranean; they are all more or less litigious, and nowhere are lawyers so abundant as in the towns of Bigorre, Comminges, Couserans and the counties of Foix and Roussillon, which are built along this chain of mountains.

‡ Iharc de Bidassouet.

Their last king, Sancho the Secluded, who died of a cancer, is a true type of the destinies of his people. Shut up, in fact, in its mountains by potent neighbours, gnawed and consumed, so to speak, by the progress of Spain and of France, Navarre sued for aid, even to the Mussulmans of Africa; and, at last, threw itself into the arms of the French. Sancho destroyed his kingdom by bequeathing it to his son-in-law Thibaut, Count of Champagne. It was like Roland breaking his durandal that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The house of Barcelona, the stock of the kings of Aragon, and of the counts of Foix, seized Navarre in its turn, and gave it, for a while, to the Albrets and Bourbons, who lost Navarre to gain France. But they recovered in the person of the grandson of Louis XIV., the descendant of Henry IV., not only Navarre, but all Spain. Thus was verified the mysterious inscription on the castle of Coaraze, where Henry IV. was brought up; *Lo que a de ser, no puede faltar*. What is to be, cannot fail to be.\* Our kings entitle themselves kings of France and of Navarre. The phrase finely expresses the primitive origins, alike of the French population and of the dynasty.

The old unmixed races, the Celts and the Basques, Bretagne and Navarre, were forced to give way to the mixed races; the frontier to the centre, nature to civilisation. The Pyrenees everywhere present this image of the decay of the ancient world. Antiquity has disappeared there, the medieval world is dying. Those crumbling châteaux, those towers of the *Moors*, those bones of the Templars preserved at Gavarnie,† most significantly typify the things that are no more. The mountain itself, strange to tell, seems at this day threatened in its existence; its gaunt denuded crests testify its decay.‡ Not in vain is it smitten by so many storms; and, below, man aids in the work of destruction. Day by day he plucks away that deep girdle of forests that covered the nakedness of the ancient mother. The vegetable mould, which the herbage retained on the slopes, is swept down with the waters. The bare rock, chapped, and exfoliated, by heat and cold, and mined by the melting snows, is carried away by the avalanches. The soil, instead of being clothed with rich pasture, remains arid and blasted. The husbandman, who has driven out the shepherd, himself gains nothing there by his toil. The waters, which used to filter gently into the valley, through the sward and the forests, now fall into it in torrents, covering the tillage with the ruins they have made.§ Numerous hamlets in the high valleys have been abandoned for want of firewood, and the inhabitants have removed towards France to escape the effects of their own devastations.||

\* Laboulinière, i. 238.

† Dralet.

‡ Laboulinière, i. 232. Several species of animals are disappearing from the Pyrenees. Dralet, i. 51. The wild cat is become rare; the deer (cerf) has disappeared for two centuries according to Buffon.

§ Dralet, i. 197; ii. 220.

|| Dralet, ii. 105. The inhabitants used to go into Spain to steal wood.

Alarm began to be felt in 1673, and orders were imposed on every inhabitant to plant a tree in the forests of the domain, and two in the communal lands. Foresters were appointed. In 1669, 1756, and subsequently, new regulations attested the dismay excited by the progress of the mischief; but at the Revolution every barrier was broken down, and the poor population began, one and all, to ply the work of destruction. Armed with fire and mattock, they climbed to the haunt of the eagles, and cultivated the precipice suspended from it by cords. The trees were sacrificed to the paltriest uses. Two pines were cut down to make a pair of wooden shoes.\* Small animals multiplying at the same time, without number, took up their quarters in the forest, wounding the trees and shrubs and young sprouts, and devouring the hope of future years. The goat especially, the poor man's stock, that adventurous levelling animal that finds its pasture everywhere, was the instrument of this demographic invasion, the terror of the desert. It was not the least of Bonaparte's labours to subdue these nibbling monsters. In 1813, the goats were reduced to less than the tenth of their numbers in the year X;† still he was not able to put a stop to this war against nature.

All this southern region, beautiful as it is, is, nevertheless, a country of ruins compared with the North. Pass the fantastic landscapes of St. Bernard de Comminges and Foix; those towns, one would fancy, had been dropped upon their sites by the fairies. Pass our little French Spain, Roussillon, with its green meadows, its black sheep, its cattle, and its songs, which it is so sweet to hear at evening from the lips of the country girls.‡ Descend into stony Languedoc, traverse its hills imperfectly shaded with olives, and ringing with the monotonous chirping of the cicada. There you will find no navigable rivers; the canal uniting the two seas§ has not sufficed to supply the want; but you will see numerous salt ponds, and salt lands too, where nothing grows but marsh-samphire;|| countless thermal springs, bitumen and balm; it is another Judæa.¶ There was nothing to

---

Heavy fines are imposed on any one who shall cut a branch of a tree in a great forest overhanging Cauterets, and defending it from the snows. Even so early an author as Diodorus Siculus remarks (l. ii.), "Pyrenees is derived from the Greek *par*, because formerly fire being set to the forests by the shepherds, they were all in a blaze." *Procès Verbal* of May 8th, 1870. "There is not one forest but has frequently been set on fire by the inhabitants with malice prepense, for the purpose of converting the woods into meadows or arable lands.

\* *Dralet*, ii. 74.

† *Ibid.*, i. 88.

‡ M. Barbaret, professor of history in the College Louis le Grand, is about to present us with a collection of the historical romances of Roussillon and Catalonia. M. Tastu is laboriously engaged on the antiquities of the latter country. Thus goes on that literary conquest of the South begun by our venerable Raynouard.

§ I will speak elsewhere of this great monument of the reign of Louis XIV.

|| *Trouvé, Statist. du Depart. de l'Aude*, p. 507. The *arrondissement* of Narbonne furnishes it to the manufactories of Venetian plate glass, 513.

¶ *Depping, Description de la France*, i. 280.



hinder the rabbins of the Jewish schools of Narbonne from believing themselves in their own land. They did not even miss the Asiatic leprosy; we have had recent examples of it at Carcassonne.\*

The reason of this is, that notwithstanding the western *Cers*, to which Augustus erected an altar, the hot heavy wind of Africa hangs over this country. Ulcers in the legs are hardly to be cured in Narbonne.† Most of these sombre towns, situated in the most beautiful sites in the world, have unwholesome plains around them; Albi, Lodève, Agde, *the black*,‡ by the side of its crater, and Montpellier, the successor of Maguelonne, the ruins of which are close at hand. Montpellier, which looks upon the Pyrenees and the Cévennes, and even the Alps, has near it and beneath it an unwholesome soil covered with flowers, aromatic and, as it were, highly drugged: a town of medicines, perfumes, and verdigris.§

A very old land is this Languedoc; all through it you find ruins on ruins; the Camisards over the Albigeois, the Saracens over the Goths; under the latter, the Romans and the Iberians. The walls of Narbonne are built of tombs, statues, and inscriptions.|| The amphitheatre of Nîmes is pierced with Gothic embrasures, crowned with Saracen battlements, and blackened with the flames lighted by Charles Martel; but, here again it is the oldest races that have left most tokens of their existence. The Romans have left the most deeply marked traces; their square House, their tripple bridge over the Gard, their enormous canal of Narbonne, which was navigable by the largest vessels.¶

\* Trouvé, p. 346.

† Ibid., 347. According to this author the case is the same with wounds of the head in Bordeaux. The *Cers* and the *Autan* prevail alternately in Languedoc. The *Cers* (*cyrch*, impetuosity, in Welsh) is the west wind, violent but wholesome. Senec. Quæst. Natur., iii. 11. Infestat.....Galliam Circius: cui ædificia quassanti tamen incolæ gratias agunt, tanquam salubritatem cœli sui debeant ei. Divus certe Augustus templum illi, quum in Gallia moraretur, et vovit et fecit. The *Autan* is the south-east wind, the wind of Africa, heavy and putrefying.

‡ Proverb: *Agde ville noire, caverne de voleurs*. It is built of lava. Lodève is likewise black. Millin, iv. 361.

§ Ib., 323. Montpellier is famous for its distilleries and perfumeries. The invention of brandy is attributed to Arnaud de Villeneuve, who began the perfumeries of that town. Formerly Montpellier had a monopoly of the manufacture of verdigris: it was thought the caves of Montpellier were alone adapted to the process.

|| Millin, iv. 363. The walls of Narbonne were repaired in the reign of Francis I., and covered with fragments of antique monuments. The engineer placed the inscriptions upon the walls and the fragments of bas-reliefs near the doors and on the arches. It is a huge museum, a heap of legs, heads, hands, trunks, weapons, and words without any meaning. There are in it nearly a million of inscriptions almost entire, and which can only be read with a telescope, so broad is the ditch. There are still to be seen a great number of sculptured stones on the walls of Arles. They were taken from a theatre. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 259.

¶ Trouvé, p. 271. The canal was a hundred paces wide, 2000 long, and 30 deep.

The Roman law is another ruin, and one far more imposing. To it, and to the old franchises that accompanied it, Languedoc owed its exception from the feudal maxim, 'No land without a lord.'<sup>\*</sup> Here presumption was always in favour of liberty. Feudalism could only make its way into the country under cover of the crusade, as an auxiliary of the Church, as a familiar of the inquisition. Simon de Montfort established four hundred and thirty-four fiefs in Languedoc.<sup>†</sup> But that feudal colony, governed by the customs of Paris, only served to prepare the republican spirit of the province to receive monarchical centralisation. Languedoc, a country of political freedom and of religious servitude, more fanatical than devout, has always nurtured a vigorous spirit of opposition. The Catholics even of the country have had their Protestantism under the Jansenist form. At this very day they scrape the grave of Pavillon at Alet, and mingle the dust with their drink to cure fevers.<sup>‡</sup> The Pyrenees have always furnished heretics since the days of Vigilance and Felix d'Urgel. Bayle, the most obstinate of sceptics, the man who believed the most in doubt, was a native of Carlat. Limoux produced the Cheniers,<sup>§</sup> brothers and rivals, but not, as has been supposed, to the extent of fratricide. Need I name that comedian of Carcassonne, that sanguinary wit, Fabre d'Eglantine? At least, we cannot deny this population vivacity and energy, murderous energy, tragic violence. Languedoc, placed at the elbow of the South, of which it seems the joint and the knot, has often been rudely handled in the struggles between races and religions. I will speak elsewhere of the fearful catastrophe of the thirteenth century. To this very day there still subsists between Nîmes and the mountain of Nîmes a traditional hatred, which, it is true, day by day retains less of a religious character. The respective inhabitants are like the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. These Cevennes are so poor and so rude, that we need not wonder there should be a conflict, full of violence and endless rage, at their point of contact with the rich region of the plain. The history of Nîmes is a mere bull-fight.

The strong and stern genius of Languedoc has not been sufficiently distinguished from the witty levity of Guienne, and from the headlong petulance of Provence. Nevertheless, there is, between Languedoc and Guienne, the same difference, as between the men of the mountains and the Girondins, between Fabre and Barnave, between the smoky wine of Lunelle and the wine of Bordeaux. In

\* See Caseneuve, *Traité du Franc Alleu en Languedoc*.

† I have been assured that, in 1814, many families of emigrants were reproached with their descent from the companions of Simon de Montfort. See further on the narrative of the crusade against the Albigeois. That chapter completes the picture of Languedoc, as the first chapter of Book i. began that of Gascony, by making known the Iberians, the ancestors of the Basques.

‡ Trouvé, p. 258.

§ The two Cheniers were born at Constantinople, where their father was consul-general, but their family was of Limoux, and their ancestors had long filled the place of inspector of the mines of Languedoc and Roussillon.

Languedoc, conviction is strong, intolerant, often atrocious, and so too is incredulity. Guienne, on the contrary, the country of Montaigne and of Montesquieu, is the land of unstable belief. Fénelon, the most religious man it produced, was almost a heretic. Matters are far worse as we advance towards Gascony, a country of poor devils, very noble and very beggarly; rogues, every one of whom would have said, like their Henry IV., "Paris is well worth a mass;" or, as he wrote to Gabrielle on the eve of his recantation, "I am going to make the dangerous leap."\* These men are determined to succeed at all costs, and they do succeed. The Armagnacs allied themselves with the Valois; the Albrets, mingled with the Bourbons, at last gave kings to France.

The Provençal genius seems to have more analogy, in some respects, with that of Gascony than with that of Languedoc. It often happens that the peoples of one same zone alternate in this manner: for instance, Austria, more remote from Swabia than from Bavaria, is more closely connected with the former in mental character. The provinces of Languedoc and Provence, flanked by the Rhone, and symmetrically divided by rivers or torrents corresponding to each other (the Gard to the Durance, the Var to the Herault), form between them our seaboard on the Mediterranean. That seaboard has, on both sides, its ponds, its marshes, and its old volcanoes; but Languedoc is a complete system, a ridge of mountains or hills with their two slopes. From it issue the rivers that water Guienne and Auvergne. Provence is backed against the Alps; it does not possess the Alps nor the sources of its great rivers, it is but a prolongation, a shelving of the mountains towards the Rhone and the sea. At the foot of that slope, with their feet in the water, stand its fine towns, Marseilles, Arles, and Avignon. In Provence life accumulates upon the outward edge; Languedoc, on the contrary, possessing a less favourable coast, keeps its towns back from the sea and the Rhone; Narbonne, Aigues-Mortes, and Cette, refuse to be ports.† The history of Languedoc, accordingly, is more continental than maritime; its grand events relate to the struggle for religious liberty. Whilst Languedoc retreats from the sea, Provence advances into it, and plants upon it Marseilles and Toulon. She seems prompted by nature to maritime excursions, to the crusades, to the conquest of Italy and of Africa.

Provence has visited and been the host of all nations. All have sung the songs and danced the dances of Avignon and Beaucaire; all have halted at the passing places of the Rhone, those great points of junction of the roads to the South.‡ The saints of Provence (true

---

\* A Gascon proverb says: "Every good Gascon may retract three times (*Tout bon Gascon qués pot reprenhè trís cops*.) In many departments of the south, people would not blush to go to mass who would yet be ashamed to go to confession. This has been warranted to me, particularly respecting Gers.

† Three feeble attempts by the Romans, by St. Louis, and by Louis XIV.

‡ This bridge of Avignon, so much the theme of song, succeeded the wooden

saints whom I honour) built bridges\* for their countrymen, and began the brotherhood of the West. The lively and beautiful girls of Arles and Avignon, continuing that work, have taken by the hand the Greek, the Spaniard, and the Italian, and have made them tread the farandole† whether they would or not; and the strangers had no wish to embark again, but built Greek, Moorish, and Italian towns in Provence. They preferred the feverish faces of Fréjus‡ to those of Ionia or Tusculum. They battled with the torrents, cultivated the rapid slopes in flights of terraces; and forced stony hill sides, that yielded only thyme and lavender, to produce the grape.

With all its poetry, Provence is not the less a rude land. Not to mention its pontine marshes§ and the vale of Ollioules, and the tiger-like vivacity of the peasant of Toulon, that unceasing wind that buries the trees beneath the sand, and drives vessels upon the coast, is hardly less pernicious by land than by sea; the sudden impetuous squalls deal mortal blows. The Provençal is a man of too quick temper to swaddle himself up in the Spanish cloak, and the potent sun, too, the every-day delight of this country of joyance, smites fiercely, when, with a single ray, it transforms winter into summer. It

bridge of Arles, which in its time had given passage to those great concourses of men, as subsequently Avignon and Beaucaire. Arles, says Ausonius, is a little Gaulish Rome.

Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius, et quam  
Accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colinis,  
Præcipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis,  
Ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam,  
Per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis.

Auson. Ordo Nobil. Urbium, vii.

\* The shepherd St. Benezet was ordered in a vision to build the bridge of Avignon; the bishop would not believe it until Benezet carried on his back an enormous rock to be laid as the first stone. He founded the order of the *frères pontifes*, who contributed to the building of the bridge du St. Esprit, and began one on the Durance. Bolland. Acta SS. April. ii. Héliot, Hist. des Ordres Religieux, ii. 42. Bouche, Hist. de Provence, ii. 163. D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, iii., liv. xix., p. 46. Cf. the Etruscan and Roman *pontifices*.

† One of the four kinds of farandole enumerated by Fischer is called *La Turque*; another *La Moresque*. These names, and the resemblance of many of these dances to the *bolero*, countenance the supposition that it was the Saracens who introduced them into France. Millin, iii. 355.

‡ Millin, ii. 487. On the insalubrity of Arles, *ibid.*, iii. 645. Papon., i. 20, proverb: *Avenio ventosa, sine vento venenosa, cum vento fastidiosa*. In 1213 the Bishops of Narbonne, &c., write to Innocent III., that a provincial council having been convoked to Avignon, "Multi ex prælatis, quia generalis corruptio æris ibi erat, nequivimus colloquio interesse; sicque factum est ut necessario negotium differetur." Epist. Innoc. III. (Ed. Baluz., ii. 762.) There were lepers at Martigues down to 1731; at Vitrolles until 1807. In general cutaneous diseases are common in Provence. Millin, iv. 35.

§ There are four hundred thousand *arpents* of marsh. Peuchet et Chaulaire, Statistique des Bouches du Rhone. See also La Grande Statistique de M. de Villeneuve, 4 vols. 4to. The marshes of Hyères render that town uninhabitable in summer; death is inhaled with the perfumes of fruits and flowers. So it is also at Fréjus. Statist. du Var, par Fauchet, préfet, an ix., pp. 52, sqq.

vivifies the tree, and burns it up; and the frosts burn too. Storms are of repeated occurrence, and every rill becomes a river. The husbandman picks up his crop at the bottom of a hill, or follows it as it floats upon the wide water, and settles on his neighbour's land. All nature is here capricious, passionate, quick to anger, and charming.

The Rhone is the symbol of the country, its *fetish*, as the Nile is that of Egypt. The people could never bring themselves to believe, that the river was but a river. They see plainly that the violence of the Rhone is anger,\* and in its seething and boiling eddies, they behold the convulsions of the monster. This monster is the *drac*, the *tarasque*, a sort of dragon-tortoise, a representation of which is paraded about with great noise on certain festivals.† It is carried to the church, knocking down all in its way. The festival is not thought to go off well unless there is, at least, an arm broken.

This Rhone, furious as a bull vexed by the sight of red, dashes against its delta of Camargue, the island of bulls and fine pastures. The festival of the island is the *Ferrade*. Into a circle, formed of cars and filled with spectators, men, armed with forks, drive the bulls that are to be marked. A strong and nimble man throws down the young animal, and whilst it is held on the ground, the red-hot iron is presented to a lady specially invited. She comes down from her place, and applies it, with her own hand, to the hide of the foaming animal.‡

Such is the genius of Lower Provence; violent, boisterous, barbarous, but not without grace. It is a curious sight to behold their indefatigable dancers, with bells on their knees,§ dancing the mores-

\* Along the whole course of the Rhone we find traces of the bloody worship of Mithra. At Arles, Tain, and Valence, there are taurobolic altars; there is another at St. Andéol. A Mithriac group was found at Bâtie-Mont-Saléon, which had been buried by the formation of a lake, and was brought to light again in 1804. A Mithriac altar consecrated to Adrian has been found at Fourvières; there is another in Lyons consecrated to Septimus Severus. Millin, *passim*.

† On St. Martha's day, a girl leads the monster in chains to the church, that he may die under the holy water thrown upon him. Millin, iii. 453. This festival is also found, I believe, in Spain. The Isere, surnamed the serpent, and the drac, the dragon, both threaten Grenoble:

Le serpent et le dragon  
Mettront Grenoble en savon.

The serpent and the dragon will make suds of Grenoble. At Metz, a dragon called the *Graouille* is carried about on Rogation-day. The bakers and confectioners lay little loaves and cakes upon its tongue. It represents a monster of which the town was delivered by its Bishop St. Clement. At Rouen the *gargouille*, is a figure in osier, the throat of which used formerly to be stuffed with small sucking pigs. St. Romain delivered the town from this monster, which had its lair in the Seine, as St. Marcel delivered Paris from the monster of the Bièvre.

‡ Millin, iv. At Marseilles, three days before Corpus Christi-day, an ox and a little St. John the Baptist are led about in procession. The nurses make their infants kiss the muzzle of the ox to preserve them from danger in teething. Papon., i.

§ Millin, iii. 360.

que, or performing in parties of nine, eleven, or thirteen, the sword dance, the *bacchuber*,\* as their neighbours of Gap say, or to see them performing every year the *bravade* of the Saracens,† at Riez. It is a land of soldiers, of your Agricolas, Baux, and Crillons; a land of intrepid mariners, and a rude school is the Gulf of Lyons. Let us mention, for instance, the Bailli de Suffren, that renegade, who died capitan pasha in 1706;‡ and, the cabin boy, Paul (he never went by any other name), the child of a washerwoman, born at sea in a boat tossed by the tempest. He became an admiral, and gave a banquet on board to Louis XIV.; but he did not, for all that, despise his old comrades, and it was his wish to be interred with the poor, to whom he bequeathed all his property.

This spirit of equality cannot surprise us in this land of republics, amid its Greek cities and Roman municipia. Even in the rural districts serfdom was never so oppressive as in the rest of France; these peasants were their own liberators, and the vanquishers of the Moors. They alone could cultivate the abrupt hill, and compress the bed of the torrent; against such a nature, there needed the hands of free and intelligent men.

Bold and free too was the flight of Provence in literature and philosophy. The grand appeal of the Breton Pelagius in favour of human liberty, was accepted and supported in Provence by Faustus, by Cassian, and by the noble school of Lérins, the glory of the fifth century. When the Breton Descartes emancipated philosophy from the influence of theology, the Provençal Gassendi essayed the same revolution in the name of sensualism, and in the last century, the atheists of St. Malo, Maupertuis, and La Mettrie, met d'Argens, an atheist of Provence, at the court of Frederic.

It is not without reason that the literature of the South, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, bears the name of Provençal literature. That period displayed all the subtleness and grace with which the genius of that country abounds. It is a country of fine speakers, copious and impassioned, at least as regards words, and, when they please, obstinate artificers of language. They have given us Massillon, Mascaron, Flechier, Maurai, our orators and rhetoricians. But all Provence, its municipalities, parliament, and nobility, its democracy and rhetoric, the whole crowned with a magnificent southern insolence, was concentrated in Mirabeau, the bull neck, the force of the Rhone.

How came it that this country did not vanquish and rule France? Italy it vanquished in the thirteenth century. How comes it that its lustre is so dim now, if we except Marseilles, that is to say, the sea? Not to mention its unhealthy coasts, and its towns dying away

\* Millin, iii. 360.

† Ibid., 54. In the Pyrenees it is Renaud, mounted on his good steed Bayard, who delivers a young maiden from the hands of the infidels. Labouliniere, iii. 404.

‡ Papon., i. 265.

like Fréjus,\* I see in it, everywhere, only ruins. I allude not to its beautiful remains of antiquity, its Roman bridges and aqueducts, the arches of St. Rémi and Orange, and many other monuments besides; but in the mental constitution of the people, in its fidelity to its old usages,† which give it so original and antique a physiognomy, there, too, I discern a ruin. They are a people who do not lay the past seriously to heart, and who yet retain the mark of it.‡ One would have supposed that a country traversed by all nations would have forgotten more; but no, it has persisted in its recollections. In many respects, it belongs, like Italy, to antiquity.

Cross the melancholy mouths of the Rhone, obstructed and marshy, like those of the Nile and the Po; go up the river to the town of Arles. The old metropolis of Christianity in our southern regions had a population of 100,000 souls in the times of the Romans, it now numbers 20,000! It is rich only in dead men and in sepulchres.§ For a long time, it was the common grave, the Necropolis of Gaul.

\* This town is becoming every day more and more deserted, and the neighbouring communes have lost nine-tenths of their population within half a century. Feuchet, an ix., *loc cit.*

† Such as its pretty Moorish dances, the *romerages* of its towns, the use of the *calendary* log, and of vetches on certain festive occasions, &c.

Millin, iii. 346. The patronal feast of each village is called *Romna Vagi*, corrupted into *Romerag*, because it frequently preceded a journey to Rome, undertaken or commanded by the lord (?).

Ibid., 336. It is at Christmas they burn the *caligneau* or *calendneau*, a great oak log, drenched with wine and oil. Formerly they used to shout as they set it on the hearth, *Calene ven, tout ben ven*. Calend comes, all goes well. To the head of the family belongs the office of laying the log; the flame is called *caco fuech*, fire of friends. The same custom is found in Dauphiné. Champollion Figeac, p. 124. Christmas-day is called *chalendes*. From this word is formed *chalendal*, the name given to a great log which is set on fire on Christmas eve, and which remains burning until it is consumed. As soon as it is placed on the hearth, a glass of wine is poured on it, which is called *batisa lo chalendal*. From that moment the log becomes in a manner sacred, and no one may sit on it without danger of being punished, at least with the itch.

Ibid., 339. The custom of eating vetches on certain holidays is found not only in Marseilles, but also in Italy, Spain, Genoa, and Montpellier. The people of the latter town believe that when our Lord entered Jerusalem he crossed a *sesierou*, a field of vetches, and it is in memory of that day that the custom of eating *sesis* has been perpetuated. The Athenians used to eat vetches on certain festal days (the *Panepsisæ*).

‡ The procession of the good King René to Aix was a parade in mockery of Fable, History, and the Bible. Millin, iii. 229. In it figured the Duke d'Urbain (King René's unfortunate general) and his duchess mounted on asses; a soul for which two devils contended; *frux*, or skittish horses made of pasteboard; King Herod; the Queen of Sheba; Solomon's temple; the star of the Magi on the end of a pole; and Death, the *abbot of youth*, covered with dust, ribbands, &c., &c.

§  
Si come ad Arli, ove 'l Rodano stagna,  
Fanno i sepolcri tutto 'l loco varo

Dante, Inferno, c. ix.

Among other remarkable bas-reliefs found on the tombs of Arles, is one representing the monogram of Christ carried off by an eagle, in an oak crown. It is a fine symbol of Constantine's victory. Charles IX. carried off from the same town porphyry sarcophagi, which were sunk in the Rhone, and remain there still. Millin, iii. 504.

It was a happiness much coveted, to be able to repose in its Elysian fields (*Les Aliscamps*). Down to the twelfth century, it is said, the inhabitants of both banks put their dead with a piece of money into a cask coated with pitch, which was then cast into the river. They were faithfully gathered from the water.\* The town, however, has continually declined; Lyons soon supplanted it in the primacy of Gaul. The kingdom of Burgundy, of which it was the capital, rapidly passed into obscurity; its great families are extinct.

When we ascend from the coast, and from the pasturages of Arles, to the hills of Avignon, and then to the mountains that approach the Alps, we can account for the downfall of Provence. That district, wholly eccentric, has no great towns, except upon its frontiers. These towns were, most of them, foreign colonies; the portion of them really Provençal was the less potent. The counts of Toulouse made themselves masters, at last, of the Rhone; the Catalans, of the coast and of the ports. The Baux, or indigenous Provençals, who had formerly delivered the country from the Moors, had Forcalquier and Sisteron; that is to say, the interior. Thus the states of the South crumbled to pieces until the French arrived, overthrew Toulouse, drove back the Catalans into Spain, united the Provençals, and led them to the conquest of Naples. This was the end of the destinies of Provence. She went to sleep with Naples under one same master. Rome lent her pope to Avignon; wealth and scandals abounded. Religion was in a very sickly state in these regions, particularly since the time of Albigeois; it was killed by the presence of the popes. At the same time the old liberties of the municipia of the South dwindled away and came to nothing. The Roman liberty, and the Roman religion, the republic and Christianity, antiquity and the middle ages, perished there together; Avignon was the theatre of this decrepitude. Accordingly, we must not suppose that it was only for Laura that Petrarch poured out so many tears at the source *Vaucluse*; Italy, too, was his Laura, and Provence, and all the antique South, which was dying day by day.†

\* *La Lauzière*, *Hist. d'Arles*, i. 306.

† I know not which of the two is the more affecting, the poet's lamentations over the fate of Italy, or his sorrows when he has lost Laura. I cannot resist the pleasure of quoting that admirable sonnet, in which the poor old poet at last confesses that he has pursued but a shadow :

Sento l'aura mia antica, e i dolci colli  
Veggio apparir onde 'l bel lume nacque  
Che tenne gli occhii miei, mentr' al ciel piacque,  
Bramosi e lieti; or li tien tristi e molli.  
O caduche speranze, o pensieri folli!  
Vedove l'erbe, e torbide son l'acque,  
E voto e freddo 'l nido in ch'ella giacque,  
Nel quel io vivo, e morto giacer volli,  
Sperando al fin dalle soave piante,  
E da' begli occhi suoi, che 'l cor m'hann' arso,  
Reposo alcun delle fatiche tante.  
Ho servito a signor crudele e scarso,  
Ch' arai, quanto 'l mio foco ebbi davante;  
Or vo piangendo il suo cenere sparso.—Sonetto 279.



Provence, in its imperfect destiny, in its incomplete form, seems to me like a lay of the troubadours, or a canzonet of Petrarch, with more impulsiveness than breadth. The African vegetation of the coasts is soon nipped by the icy wind of the Alps; the Rhone runs to the sea and does not reach it; the pasture lands give place to arid hills, sadly arrayed with myrtle and lavender, perfumed and sterile.

The poetry of this destiny of the South seems to repose in the melancholy Vaucluse, in the ineffable and sublime sadness of Sainte-Baume, whence the eye takes in the Alps and the Cevennes, Languedoc and Provence, and the Mediterranean beyond. I, too, could weep there, like Petrarch, at the moment of quitting those beautiful regions.

But I must make my way to the North, to the pines of Jura, and the oaks of the Vosges and the Ardennes; to the colourless plains of Berri and Champagne. The provinces which we have just surveyed, isolated by their very originality, could not assist me in composing the unity of France; we must have elements more binding, more plastic; we must have men more disciplinable, more capable of forming a compact nucleus, to close northern France against invasions by sea and land, against the Germans and the English. For this, we shall need to the full, all the serried strength of the dense populations of the centre; the battalions of Normandy and Picardy, the massive and deep legions of Lorraine and Alsace.

The Provençals call the people of Dauphiné the *Francians*. Dauphiné already belongs to the real France of the North. Despite of latitude, that province is northern; with it begins that zone of rugged districts, of vigorous men, that flank France on the east. First we have Dauphiné, like a fortress, under the lee of the Alps; then the marshes of Brest; then, back to back, Franche-Comté and Lorraine, bound together by the Vosges, which pour the Moselle into the latter province, the Seine and the Doubs into the former. These provinces are remarkable for a vigorous spirit of resistance and opposition. This may be inconvenient within, but it is our salvation against the stranger. They also furnish rigorous and analytical minds to science. Mably, and Condillac his brother, came from Grenoble; d'Alembert was a Dauphinese by the mother's side; Bourg-en-bresse produced the great astronomer, Lalande, and Bichat, the great anatomist.\*

War constitutes the moral life and the poetry of these men of the frontier, captious and litigious as they are.† Talk of crossing the

\* The like critical spirit in Franche Comté; e. g.: Guillaume de Saint Amour, the adversary of mysticism in the mendicant orders, Olivet the grammarian, &c. If we had to name some of the most distinguished of our contemporaries, we might mention MM. Charles Nodier, Jouffroy, and Droz. M. Cuvier was a native of Montbelliard; but the character of his genius was modified by a German education.

† We find in the customary language of the Dauphinese some curious traces of their old litigious spirit. "The landed proprietors, who are tolerably well off, speak French in a manner sufficiently intelligible, but they often mix up with it

Alps or the Rhone, and you will see there will be no lack of Bayards in Dauphiné, nor of Neys and Faberts in Lorraine. On those frontiers there are heroic towns, where it is an invariable custom from father to son to die for the country,\* and the women often play their part in this way as well as the men.† They exhibit, throughout this whole zone, from Dauphiné to Ardennes, a courage and an Amazonian grace you would, in vain, seek for elsewhere. Cold, grave, and neat in their attire,‡ objects of respect to strangers, and to their own families, they live amongst the soldiery and keep them in awe. Themselves widows and daughters of soldiers, they know what war is. They know what it is to suffer and to die; but, strong-souled and resigned, they do not the less send those they love to that fate; they would encounter it themselves at need. Lorraine was not the only province that saved France by the hand of a woman. In Dauphiné, Margot de Laie and Phillis la Tour du Pin, la Charce, closed the frontier against the Duke of Savoy (1692). The virile temperament of the women of Dauphiné has frequently exercised an irresistible potency over the men. Witness the famous Madame Tencin, the mother of d'Alembert, and that washerwoman of Grenoble who, from husband to husband, came, at last, to marry the King of Poland. Her name is still the burden of the popular songs of the country, along with those of Melusina, and the fairy of Sassenage.§

There is, in the every-day manners of Dauphiné, a lively and frank mountaineer simplicity that charms you at once. As you ascend towards the Alps especially, you will meet with the honesty of the Savoyard,|| the same good-nature, with less gentleness. There,

---

terms borrowed from the old practice of the courts, which the bar does not venture yet to abandon. Before the Revolution, when boys had passed a year or two with an attorney, making out fair copies of judgments and decrees of court, their education was considered complete, and they returned to the plough." Champollion-Figeac, *Patois du Dauphiné*, p. 67.

\* The little town of Sarrelouis, which numbers scarcely 5000 inhabitants, produced five or six hundred decorated officers and soldiers in the space of twenty years, who almost all fell on the field of battle. I quote from memory, from a recent document on which I am not able again to lay my hand, but I believe I am not wrong in my figures.

† In the Musée d'Artillerie is preserved the rich and gay armour of the princesses of the House of Bouillon.

‡ This is a remark which any one may make in Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Ardennes.

§ Barginet de Grenoble, Les Montagnardes. However we may criticise the warm and zealous writer, we cannot read without interest his romances written in prison, and annotated by a schoolmaster of the country. See also *La Faye de Sassenage*, par J. Millet. The work contains the adventures of Claudine Mignot, called La Belle Lhauda, wife of Amblérieux, treasurer of Dauphiné, of the Marquis de l'Hôpital, and of Casimir III., King of Poland. Louise Serment, the female philosopher of Grenoble, died in 1692, aged thirty.

|| This patriarchal simplicity is attributable, in a great measure, to the preservation of ancient traditional usages. The old man is the centre of the family and the object of its reverence, and two or three generations frequently labour

men must perforce love each other, for nature, it seems, loves them little.\* On those northern slopes, at the bottom of those gloomy, funnel-like valleys, through which whistles the abhorred blast of the Alps, life is made sweet only by the good heart and the good sense of the people. Granaries of reserve, stocked by the communes, supply the deficiencies of bad harvests. Building is done for widows gratis, and for them before any one else.† Annual emigrations set out from the country, but these consist, not merely of masons, water-carriers, waggoners, and sweeps, as in Limousin and Auvergne, Jura and Savoy; strolling tutors‡ are, above all, to be noted among those who, every winter, come down from the mountains of Gap and Embrun. These schoolmasters proceed from Grenoble into the Lyonese and across the Rhone; families are glad to receive them; they teach the children, and assist in the domestic concerns. In the plains of Dauphiné, the peasant, less good-natured and less modest, is often a wit; he composes verses, and those, too, of a satirical character.

Feudalism was never so oppressive in Dauphiné as in the rest of France. The lords, eternally at war with Savoy,§ found their interest in conciliating their men. The *vavasseurs* were not so much sub-vassals as petty nobles, almost independent.|| The infinite subdivision of property was early established there; hence, the French Revolution was not sanguinary in Grenoble; it had been effected there beforehand.¶ The population is not meek,

---

together on the same farm. The domestics eat at their masters' table.—On the first of November (the *misde* of Bretagne) repasts of eggs and boiled meal are served for the dead. Each of the deceased has his own *couveri* (Barginet, *Les Montagnardes*, iii.). In one village, according to M. Champollion, they still celebrate the festival of the sun.—The Celtic *brayes* are found in Dauphiné, as well as in Bretagne.

\* Notwithstanding the poverty of the country, the good sense of the inhabitants preserves them from every hazardous speculation. Rich mines are supposed to exist in certain valleys, but the entrance to them is guarded by a virgin dressed in white and armed with a sickle.

† When a widow or an orphan suffers any loss of cattle, &c., the people club together to repair the loss.

‡ Of four thousand four hundred emigrants, seven hundred were tutors. Peuchet, &c.

§ These wars shed great lustre on the *noblesse* of Dauphiné, which was called *l'écarlate des gentilshommes*. It was the country of Bayard, and of that Lesdiguières, who was King of Dauphiné, under Henry IV. The memory of the former long endured in his native province; *prouesse de Terrail* was a proverbial expression, like *loyauté de Salvaing*, *noblesse de Sassenage*. Near the valley of Graisivaudan is the territory of Royans, *la vallée Chevallereuse*.

|| The noble rendered homage standing; the bourgeois kneeling and kissing the back of the lord's hand; the man of the common people also knelt, but kissed only his lord's thumb. See Sal. Vaing., *Usage des Fiefs*. In like manner the Master Syndic at Metz spoke to the king standing, and not on his knees.

¶ The working classes of Grenoble maintained order in the period of Terror, with admirable courage and humanity. In like manner as did Michel Lando, the wool-carder of Florence, during the insurrection of the Ciompi.

mild, and easily governed ;\* but democracy is at home there, and why should it be violent ? Property is divided to such a degree, that you may find a house with ten proprietors, each of them possessing and inhabiting one chamber.† Bonaparte knew Grenoble well, when he chose it for his first station on returning from the island of Elba.‡ It was, then, his intention to restore the empire by means of the republic.

At Grenoble, as at Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and throughout all the north, republican industrialism has sprung, whatever may have been said to the contrary, not so much from Roman municipality, as ecclesiastical protection ; or, rather, the two have coalesced and blended together, the bishop having been, at least down to the ninth century, in name, or in fact, the real *defensor civitatis*. That cross, which towers aloft upon the Grande Chartreuse in the region of snow and storm, was a sign of liberty for the country. Bishop Isarn drove the Saracens out of Dauphiné in 965, and, until 1044, the date assigned to the establishment of the counts of Abbon as Dauphins, Grenoble, say the chronicles, had always been a freehold of the bishop. Thus it was, by conquests made over the bishops, that the Poitevin counts of Die and Valence began their career. Those barons sometimes relied on the support of the Germans ; sometimes on that of the misbelievers of Languedoc.§

Besançon,|| like Grenoble, is another ecclesiastical republic under its archbishop, prince of the empire, and its noble chapter.¶ But the perpetual war between Franche-Comté and Germany, rendered feudalism more oppressive in the former. The long wall of the Jura with its two gates, the Joux and Pierre-Pertuis, and then the

\* *Reconduite de Grenoble*, shown out of Grenoble, is a familiar phrase equivalent to, pelted out with stones (*Les Montagnardes*, i. 37) ; as in Languedoc *Invitation de Montpellier*, *Invitation to the staircase* (*couvit de Mounpeié, couvida à l'escaïé*). Millin, v. 328.

† Perrin Dulac. *Description de l'Isère* (Grenoble, 1806, i. 207).

‡ He stopped at an inn kept by an old soldier, who had given him an orange in the Egyptian campaign.

§ First the Vaudois, afterwards the Protestants. In the department of La Drôme alone there are about thirty-four thousand Calvinists. (Peuchet et Chaulaire.) The reader will call to mind the atrocious contest of the Baron des Adrets and Montbrun. The most celebrated of the Dauphinese Protestants was Isaac Casaubon, son of the minister of Bordeaux on the Roubion, born in 1559 ; he is buried in Westminster.

|| The old motto of Besançon was *Plût a Dieu !* At Salins, over the gate of one of the forts, in which were the salt springs, was inscribed the motto of Philip the Good, *Autre n'auray*. Several monuments in Dijon bore that of Philip the Bold, *Moult me tarde*. At Besançon was born the illustrious diplomatist Granvelle, the chancellor of Charles V. ; he died in 1564.

¶ In like manner, in the abbey of St. Claude, transformed into a bishopric in 1741, the monks were required to give proof of nobility on the paternal and the maternal sides for five generations back. The canons had to prove sixteen quarters, eight on each side.

windings of the Doubs, constituted strong barriers;\* but, notwithstanding this, Frederic Barbarossa established his children there for a century. It was with the serfs of the church of St. Claude, and in the poor Nantua on the other side of the mountain, that the industry of these regions began. Fixed to the soil, their first occupation was carving chaplets for Spain and Italy. Now that they are free, they cover the roads of France with carriers and pedlars.

Metz was free, even under its bishop, like Liège and Lyons. It had, like Strasburg, its Syndic and its Thirteen. Between the great Meuse and the little (the Moselle, *Monla*)† the three ecclesiastical towns, Metz, Toul, and Verdun,‡ situated in a triangle, formed a neutral territory, an island, an asylum for fugitive serfs. Even the Jews, everywhere proscribed, were received in Metz. It was the French border between us and the Empire. There, there was no natural barrier against Germany as there was in Dauphiné and Franche-Comté. The beautiful rounded hills of the Voeges, the chain even of Alsace, those mountains of soft and placid forms, were so many encouragements to war. Lorraine, that Ostrasian land, everywhere marked with Carlovingian monuments,§ with its twelve great houses, its one hundred and twenty peers, and its sovereign abbey of Remiremont, where Charlemagne and his sons held their grand autumn hunts, and where the sword was carried before the abess,|| Lorraine was a miniature representative of the German

---

\* Peuchet et Chanlaire, *Statistique du Jura*. Franche-Comté is the best wooded country in France. Thirty forests are reckoned on the Saône, the Doubs, and the Longnon. Numerous ball founderies, manufactories of arms, &c. Horses and oxen abundant; sheep scarce; wool bad.

† Ausonius has a poem in praise of the Moselle:

Salve amnis laudate agris, laudate colonis,  
Dignata imperio debent cui mœnia Belgæ!  
Amnis odorifero juga vitea consite Baccho,  
Consite gramineas amnis viridiasimeripas:  
Salve, magna parens frugumque virumque, Mosella.

‡ Respecting the manners and customs of the Trois Evêchés and of Lorraine in general, see the MS. Memoire of M. Turgot in the public library of Metz. *Description exacte et fidèle du Pays Messin, etc.* The three bishops were princes of the holy empire. The county of Créange and the barony of Fenestrangue were two *francs-allens* of the Empire.

§ At Metz were seen the tomb of Louis le Débonnaire and the original MSS. of the Annals of Metz of the year 894. The bees, so often mentioned in the capitularies, and which furnished Metz with its boasted mead, were reared by the curés and the hermits before the Revolution; at present they are very much neglected. The produce of honey has diminished one-half in the last fifty years. Peuchet and Chanlaire, *Statistique de la Meurthe*.

|| Piganiol de la Force, xiii. Half the jurisdiction of the town was in her hands, and she named, in concert with her chapter, deputies to the estates of Lorraine. The dean and sacristan had each of them four benefices at her disposal. The *sonzier*, or receiver, shared with the abess the jurisdiction of Val-dajoy (*val-de-jour*), consisting of nineteen villages. All the swarms of bees found there belonged of right to her. The abbey had a grand provost, a grand and petty chancellor, a grand *sonzier*, &c. To become a lady of Remiremont it

empire. All through it, Germany clashed confusedly with France; the whole land was frontier. Thus was formed there, and in the valleys of the Meuse and of the Moselle and in the forests of the Vosges, a vague and fluctuating population that scarcely knew its own origin, living, indifferently, on the nobility and on the priest, who took them alternately into their service. Metz was the town of all those who had none of their own; a medley town if ever there was one. The attempt has been made, in vain, to reduce to one system the contradictory customs of that Babel.

The French language stops at Lorraine, and I will not go further. I forbear to cross the mountain, and to cast a glance on Alsace. The Germanic world is a dangerous one for me. There is in it an all-potent lotus that makes one forget his native land. Were I to descry thee, divine tower of Strasburg; were I to behold my heroic Rhine, I might, perhaps, commit myself to the current of the stream, and float with an ear fascinated by their legends\* towards the red cathedral of Mayence, towards that of Cologne, and to the ocean. Or, perhaps, I should remain enchanted on the solemn limits of the two empires; on the ruins of some Roman camp; of some famous church of pilgrimage; or, by the convent of that noble nun who passed three hundred years in listening to the bird of the forest.†

No; I halt on the limit of the two languages, in Lorraine, at the battle-field of the two races; at the *Oak of the Partisans*,‡ which is

was necessary to prove 200 years nobility on both sides. To become a canoness or *demoiselle* of Épinal, it was necessary to prove four paternal and maternal noble generations.

\* A duke of Alsace and Lorraine in the seventh century wished for a son. He had but a blind daughter, and he caused her to be exposed. He afterwards became the father of a son, who brought the girl to the old duke, who was now become fierce and moody, and dwelt in solitary retirement in the castle of Hohenburg. At first, he repulsed her, but afterwards his sternness gave way, and he founded a monastery for her, which afterwards was called by her name, St. Odile. Baden and Germany are visible from its summit. Pilgrim kings visited it from all parts; the Emperor Charles IV.; Richard Cœur de Lion; the King of Denmark; the King of Cyprus; and a pope. This convent received the wife of Charlemagne, and that of Charles le Gros.—At Winstein, in the north of Lower Rhine, the devil keeps costly treasures in a castle cut out of the rock.—Between Haguenau and Wissemburg a fantastic flame issues from a fountain of pitch (Pechelbrunnen); that flame is *the hunter*, the phantom of an old lord who is undergoing the expiation of his tyranny, &c.—The musical and child-like genius of Germany begins with its poetical legends. The fiddlers of Alsace used to hold regular assemblies. The sire de Rapolstein styled himself *king of the violins*. The fiddlers of Alsace were dependent upon a lord, and were bound to present themselves, those of Upper Alsace at Rapolstein, those of Lower Alsace at Bischewiller.

† With this beautiful legend, in which the ecstasy produced by harmony prolongs life for centuries, let us couple the story of the woman, who, in the reign of Louis le Debonnaire, heard the organ for the first time and died of delight. Thus, in the legends of Germany, music gives life and death.

‡ In the Arrondissement of Neuf-Chateau. This tree is seventeen feet in diameter. Depping, ii.

still shown in the Vosges. The struggle between France and the Empire, between heroic craft\* and brute force, was early personified in that of the German Zwintebald and the Frenchman Rainier (Renier, Renard?) from whom descended the counts of Hainault. The war between the wolf and the fox is the grand legend of the north of France, the subject of the fabliaux and of the popular poems. A grocer of Troyes composed the last of these poems in the fifteenth century.† For two hundred and fifty years Lorraine had dukes of Alsatian origin, creatures of the emperor, and who, in the last century, ended by becoming emperors. These dukes were almost always at war with the bishop and the republic of Metz,‡ with Champagne, and with France. But on the marriage of one of them, in 1255, with the daughter of the Count of Champagne, they became Frenchmen by the mother's side, and they vigorously supported France against the English, and against the English party in Flanders and Bretagne. They all fell, or were made prisoners, fighting for France at Courtrai, Cassel, Crécy, and Auray. A girl from the frontiers of Lorraine and Champagne, a poor peasant, Joan of Arc, did more. She revived the moral energy of the nation; in her appeared, for the first time, the grand image of the people under a pure and virgin form. Through her Lorraine became bound to France. The duke himself, who had for awhile slighted the king, and had tied the royal pennon to the tale of his horse, nevertheless married his daughter to a prince of the blood, the Comte de Bar, René of Anjou. A younger branch of this family gave in the Guises leaders to the Catholic party against the Calvinist allies of England and Holland.

As we descend to Lorraine from the Low Countries by the Ardennes, La Meuse, from being agricultural and manufacturing, becomes more and more military. Verdun and Stenay, Sedan, Mézières, and Givet, Maestricht and a multitude of fortresses, command its course. It lends them its waters; it serves them as a guard or as a girdle. All this country is woody, as if to mask the defence and the attack from the approaches of Belgium. The great forest of Ardennes the *deep* (ar duinn) extends on every side, more vast than imposing in its effect. You meet towns, boroughs, and pastures; you fancy that you have issued from the woods, but you are only among its glades. The woods recommence continually;—continually you have before you small oaks, a low and monotonous vegetable ocean, the uniform undulations of which you perceive, from time to time, from the summit of some hill. The forest was, formerly,

\* Guill. Britonis Philipp., lib. x.

Qui (Lotharingi) cum simplicibus soleant sermonibus uti,  
Non tamen in factis ita delirare videntur.

† See the notices of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*.

‡ At Metz were born Marshal Fabert, Custines, and that daring and unfortunate man, Pilâtre des Rosiers, who was the first that ventured to ascend in a balloon. The edict of Nantes expelled from it the Ancillon family.

much more continuous; the hunters could pursue their game continually in its shade from Germany, from Luxembourg, to Picardy, and from St. Hubert to Notre Dame de Liesse. Many histories have been enacted under these shades; many a one is known to those oaks loaded with miseltoe, if they would but recount them. From the mysteries of the Druids down to the wars of the Boar of Ardennes, in the fifteenth century; from the miraculous stag, the apparition of which converted St. Hubert, down to the fair Iseult and her lover. They were sleeping on the moss when Iseult's husband surprised them, but they looked so beautiful, so chaste, with the broad blade of the sword laid between them, that he courteously withdrew.

Come with me beyond Givet, and see the Trou-du-Han, into which, but very recently, no one dared to enter. Let us behold the solitudes of Layfour, and the black rocks of the Lady of Meuse; the table of the enchanter Maugis, and the permanent impression left in the rock by the hoof of Renaud's horse. The four sons of Aymon are found at Château-Renaud, as at Uzes, in the Ardennes, as well as in Languedoc. I have still before me the girl at her spinning-wheel, who, as she plies her task, holds on her knees the precious volume of the Blue Library, an heirloom well thumbed and blackened in the course of many a winter's evening.\*

This sombre country of the Ardennes has no natural connexion with Champagne; it belongs to the bishopric of Metz, to the basin of the Meuse, to the old kingdom of Ostrasia. When you have passed the dull white plains extending from Rheims to Rethel, Champagne is ended, the woods begin, and, with the woods, the pastures and the little sheep of Ardennes. The chalk has disappeared; the dull red of the tile gives place to the sombre lustre of the slate; the houses are encrusted with iron filings; manufactories of arms, tan-yards, and slate-quarries,—all this does not enliven the country. But the race is a distinguished one, evincing something of intelligence, sobriety, and economy, with visage rather hard and marked with prominent lines. This character of hard-featured sternness is not peculiar to the little Guienne of Sedan; the same thing prevails almost throughout. The country is not rich, and the enemy is close at hand; this makes men thoughtful; the people are serious, a critical spirit prevails among them. This is usually the case with people who feel that their merits are greater than their fortunes.

Behind this rude and heroic zone of Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Ardennes, spreads another, far softer and more abundant in the fruits of thought. I mean the provinces of the Lyonesse, Burgundy and Champagne. A zone of the vine, of inspired poetry, of eloquence, of elegant and ingenious literature. These people

\* In it we read, how the good Renaud played many a trick on Charlemagne, and how, nevertheless, he made a good end, having humbly become a mason from being a knight, and carrying on his back huge blocks to build the holy church of Cologne.



were not doomed, like the rest, incessantly to receive and return the shock of foreign invasion; better sheltered, they were enabled to cultivate at leisure the delicate flower of civilisation.

First comes, close to Dauphiné, the large and agreeable town of Lyons, with its eminently social genius, uniting the peoples like the rivers.\* This point of junction of the Rhone and Saône† seems to have been always a sacred spot. The Segusii of Lyons were dependent on the Druidical people of the Edui. Sixty tribes of Gaul erected the altar of Augustus in that town, and Caligula established there those contests in eloquence, the rule of which was, that the defeated candidate should be thrown into the Rhone, unless he preferred blotting out his speech with his tongue.‡ In its forum victims were thrown into the river, according to the old Celtic and Germanic usage. They show in the bridge of St. Nizier, the *marvellous arch* whence they used to throw down the bulls.

The famous bronze table, whereon we still read the speech of Claudius for the admission of the Gauls into the senate, is the first of our national antiquities, the sign of our initiation into the civilised world. Another initiation, far more holy, has its monument in the catacombs of St. Irenæus, in the crypt of St. Pothin, in Fourvières, the mountain of pilgrims. Lyons was the seat of the Roman administration, then of the ecclesiastical authority for the four Lyonesse districts (Lyons, Tours, Sens, and Rouen), that is to say, for all Celtica. In the terrible convulsions of the first mediæval centuries, this great ecclesiastical town gave refuge to a multitude of fugitives, and became peopled by the general depopulation, nearly as Constantinople gradually concentrated within it all the Greek empire, which retreated before the advances of the Arabs or the Turks. This population had neither fields nor lands, nothing but its arms and its Rhone; it was manufacturing and commercial. Manufactures had begun there in the time of the Romans; we have sepulchral inscriptions, *To the memory of an African glass-maker*, an inhabitant of Lyons;§ *To the memory of a veteran of the legions, a dealer in pa-*

\* The Saône as far as the Rhone, and the Rhone as far as the sea, divided France from the Empire. Lyons, built on the left bank of the Saône, was an imperial city; but the counts of Lyons depended on France for the suburbs of St. Juste and St. Irénée.

† Vidi duobus imminens fluviis gugum  
Quod Phœbus orta semper obverso videt,  
Ubi Rhodanus ingens amne prærapido fluit,  
Ararque dubitans quo suos cursus agat,  
Tacitus quietis alluit ripas vadis.

SENECA.

‡ Sueton. in C. Caligula.—Juvenal, i. 48.  
Pallent ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,  
Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

§ D. M.

ET MEMORIAE AETERNÆ IVL.  
I. ALEXSADRI NACIONE AFRI. CIVI  
CARTHAGINENS. OMNI OPTIMO OPIF  
CIARTIS VITRIAE QVI VIX. ANOS LXX....

*per.\** This laborious ant-hill,† shut in between the rocks and the rivers, with its narrow gloomy shelving streets swept with rain, and overhung with perpetual fogs, had yet its moral life and its poetry. It was thus our Maître Adam, the joiner of Nevers, it was thus the Meistersänger of Nuremburg and Frankfort, coopers, locksmiths, the smelters, and in our day too, the tinman of Nuremburg;—all these men revered in their obscure cities that nature, which they did not behold, and that bright sun which was denied them. They hammered out in their gloomy workshops idyls on the fields, the birds, and the flowers. In Lyons, the source of poetic inspiration was not nature, but love. Many a young shop girl, pensive in the twilight of the back shop, wrote, like Louise Labbé, like Pernette Guillet, verses full of melancholy and of passion, which were not for their husbands. The love of God, it must be mentioned, and the most gentle mysticism, were likewise characteristic of Lyons. The church of Lyons was founded by the *man of longing desire* (Hodeurès, St. Pothin),‡ and it was in Lyons, that, in later times, St. Martin, the *man of longing desire*, established his school.§ Our

To the manes and to the eternal memory of Julius Alexander, born in Africa, a citizen of Carthage, an excellent man, a workman in the art of glass, who lived lxx. years, v. months, and xiii. days, in a....

D. M.

ET MEMORIAE AETERN  
VITALINI FELICIS VET. LEG  
M. HOMINI SAPIENTISSIM  
ET FIDELISSIMO NEGOTIA  
RI LUGDUNENSI ARTIS C  
TARIAE QUI VIXIT ANNIS  
VIII. M. V. D. X. NATUS EST D.  
MARTIS DIE MARTIS PROF  
TUS DIE MARTIS MISSIONE  
PERCEPIT DIE MARTIS DEF  
NCTVS EST FACIENDVM C  
VITALIN FELICISSIMVS FI  
VS ET IVLIANICE CON  
VNX ET SVB ASCIA DEDI  
CAVERVNT.

To the manes and to the eternal memory of Vitalinus Felix, veteran of the Minervan legion, a very wise man and a very honest paper-merchant in Lyons, who died aged .... viii. years, v. months, and x. days. He was born on a Tuesday, set out to the wars on a Tuesday, obtained his discharge on a Tuesday, and died on a Tuesday. His son, Vitalinus Felicissimus, and his wife, Julia Nice, erected this tomb to him, and dedicated it under the *Ascia*. Millin, i. 508, 457.

† I will speak elsewhere of the present condition of trade in Lyons. The state of this town is one of the most serious and melancholy subjects of modern history. All the grand questions of economy and of policy are concerned in it; to trace them here would be to draw a picture of the world *à propos* to a town.

‡ See the martyrdom of St. Pothin in Eusebius, i. 5.

§ He was born at Amboise, in 1743. A Polish bishop in 1147 introduced into a church he built the rites of the church of Lyon. Crommerus, vi. ap. Duchesne Ancienues Villes de France. Not long ago mass was chanted at

Ballanche was born there;\* Jean Gerson, the author of the "Imitation," wished to die there.†

It seems a whimsical and contradictory fact, that mysticism should have sprung up spontaneously in those great cities of trade and of corruption, such as now are Lyons and Strasburg; but the truth is, that nowhere does the heart of man feel more need of heaven. In places, where all gross pleasures are within man's reach, disgust soon follows; the sedentary life, too, of the artisan, seated before his loom, favours this internal fermentation of the soul. The silk-worker in the humid obscurity of the streets of Lyons; the weaver of Artois and of Flanders in the cave where he lived, created for themselves a world; or, for want of the real world, they created themselves a moral paradise of sweet dreams and visions. To indemnify themselves for the absence of that nature which was denied them, they gave themselves to God. No class of men supplied the fiery persecutions of the middle ages with more victims. The Vaudois of Arras had their martyrs like those of Lyons. These men, disciples of the merchant Valdo, *Vaudois*, or paupers of Lyons, as they were called, sought to bring back things to the condition of the first times of the gospel. They set an affecting example of fraternity; nor was this unity of hearts merely confined to community of religious opinions. Long after the days of the Vaudois, we meet with contracts entered into at Lyons, wherein two friends adopt each other, and hold their lives and fortunes in common.‡

The genius of Lyons is more moral, more sentimental, at least, than that of Provence. This town belongs already to the North; it is a centre of the South, which is not meridional, and which the South will not accept. On the other hand, France long refused to own Lyons, and regarded it as a stranger, not choosing to recognise the ecclesiastical primacy of the imperial town. Notwithstanding its fine situation on two rivers, and in the midst of so many provinces, it was not able to extend itself. It had behind it the two Burgundies, that is to say, French feudalism and that of the Empire; before it the Cevennes, and its envious rivals Vienne and Grenoble.

Advancing from Lyons northwards, you have your choice between Chalons and Autun. The Segusii of Lyons were a colony from this

---

Lyons without organ, books, or instruments, as in the primitive times of Christianity.

\* Also MM. Ampère, Degerando, Camille Jordan, and de Sénancour. Their families at least are of Lyons.

† In 1429. St. Rémi of Lyons supported the party of Gottschalk and of grace against Johannes Scotus. According to du Boulay, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was first taught in Lyons. Under Louis XIII. one man, Denis de Marquemont, founded fifteen convents in Lyons.

‡ After executing such a deed, the adoptive brothers sent each other hats decorated with flowers and golden hearts.

latter town.\* Autun, the old Druidic city,† had planted its colony, Lyons, upon the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône, at the point of that great Celtic triangle, the base of which was the ocean from the Seine to the Loire. Autun and Lyons, mother and daughter, had widely different destinies. The daughter, seated by the great highway of nations, beautiful, amiable, and facile, has always prospered and grown. The mother, chaste and severe, has remained alone, above the torrent-bed of the Arroux, in the depth of her mysterious forests, between her crystals and her lavas.‡ It was she who brought the Romans into Gaul, and their first care was to exalt Lyons against her. It was in vain that Autun abandoned her sacred name of Bibracte, and called herself, first, Augustodunum, and finally Flavia; in vain she laid down her divinity,§ and became more and more Roman;|| she declined continually; all the great wars of the Gauls were decided round her and against her.¶ She did not even retain her famous schools; what she did retain was her austere genius. She has produced, down to modern times, states-

\* Gallia Christiana, t. iv. In a diploma of the year 1189 Philip Augustus acknowledges that Lyons and Autun have, with respect to each other, the right of *regale* and administration, when either of the sees becomes vacant. The Bishop of Autun was *ex officio* president of the states of Burgundy. The connexion between St. Leger, the famous Bishop of Autun, and the Bishop of Lyons, will be remembered.

† Autun displayed in its arms, first, the Druidic serpent (see Book i., c. 2, for the serpent's egg), then the pig, an animal that feeds on the Celtic acorn. Rosny, p. 209. According to the privileges of Autun the chief of arms and of justice was called *Vierg* (Vergobret). Courtépée, Description de la Bourgogne, iii. 491.

‡ Muddy lavas are found between Autun and St. Prix. The Abbé Soulavie discovered a volcano at Drevin, five leagues east of Autun. Mem. de l'Acad. de Dijon, 1783. The grotto of Argental is celebrated for its beautiful crystals. Millin, i. 343. In the environs are also found silver, copper, and iron. Rosny, p. 281.

§ Inscription found at Autun:

DEAR BIBRACTI  
P. CAPRI IL PACATUS  
I II II I VIR AUGUSTA.  
V. S. L. M.

Millin, i. 337.

|| It seems that the aristocracy gave itself up entirely to Rome, whilst the Druidic and popular party strove for the recovery of independence. "The wise government of Autun," says Tacitus, "subdued the revolt of the fanatic bands of Maricus Boius, a man of the dregs of the people, who gave himself out for a god and for the liberator of Gaul." Annal., ii. 61. We have seen in Book i. the revolt of Sacrovir. The Bagaudæ twice sacked Autun; and then were closed the Mænian schools, which Eumenes, the Greek, reopened under Constantius Chlorus. Francis I. visited Autun in 1521, and called it "his French Rome." Autun had been called the sister of Rome, according to Eumenes, ap. Scr. Fr., i. 712, 716, 717.

¶ It was almost ruined by Aurelian after his victory over Tetricus, who coined his medals there. It was sacked by the Germans in 280, by the Bagaudæ under Diocletian, by Attila in 451, by the Saracens in 732, and by the Normans in 896 and 895. The Hungarians were kept off in 924 only by dint of money. Hist. d'Autun, par Joseph de Rosny, 1802.

men and lawyers, the Chancellor Rolin, Montholon, Jeannin, and many others. This rigid cast of mind extends far to the west and to the north. The Dupins are of Clamecy, from Vézelay came Theodore de Bèze, the orator of Calvinism.

The dry and sombre region of Autun and Morvan has nothing of the Burgundian amenity. If any one would become acquainted with the true Burgundy, the pleasant Burgundy of the vine, he must ascend the Saône by Chalons, then turn aside by the Cote d'Or to the plateau of Dijon, and descend again towards Auxerre. A pleasant country, the towns of which bear clusters of the vine on their coats of arms,\* in which people invariably call each other brother or cousin; a country of *bons-vivans* and of merry yules.† No province had abbeyes of greater extent, wealthier, or more fruitful in distant colonies; St. Benigne at Dijon, Cluny near Mâcon, and Cîteaux close by Chalons. Such was the splendour of these monasteries that Cluny once entertained the pope, the king of France, and I know not how many princes, with their suites, without obliging the monks to put themselves to any inconvenience. Cîteaux was still greater, or, at least, more fruitful; she was the mother of Clairvaux and of St. Bernard. Her abbot, the *Abbot of Abbots*, was recognised as chief of the order in 1491 by 3252 monasteries. It was the monks of Cîteaux who founded the military orders of Spain in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and preached the crusade against the Albigeois, as St. Bernard had preached the second crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. Burgundy is the land of orators, the land of pompous and solemn eloquence. It is from the elevated portion of the province, from that whence flows the Seine, from Dijon and Mont Bar, that arose the most resonant voices of France, those of St. Bernard, Bossuet, and Buffon. But the amiable sentimentality of Burgundy is to be remarked at other points; more graceful in the north, more showy in the south. Near Semur we have the good Madame de Chantal, and her grand-daughter, Madame de Sévigné; at Mâcon, Lamartine, the poet of the religious and lonely soul; at Charolles, Edgar Quinet, the poet of history and humanity.‡

France has no element more binding than Burgundy, none more

\* See the arms of Dijon and of Beaune. A bas-relief in Dijon represents the triumphs, each holding a goblet. This trait is local. The cultivation of the vine, so ancient in this country, has had a singular influence upon its history, by multiplying the lower classes of the population. It was the chief theatre of the wars of the Bagaudæ. The vine growers revolted in 1630, under the guidance of an old soldier whom they called King Machas.

† See La Monnoye's curious collection. Piron was a native of Dijon (born in 1640, died in 1727). The *feast of fools* was celebrated in Auxerre down to 1407. The canons used to play at ball (*pelota*) until 1598 in the nave of the cathedral. The last canon found the ball and delivered it to the dean; after the game followed dances and a banquet. Millin, i.

‡ The author of *Ahasuerus*, born in Bourg, was brought up at Charolles.

Nor let us forget the picturesque and mystic little town of Paray-le-Monial, where arose the devotion of the Sacred Heart, and where Madame de Chantal died. A religious breath certainly animates the country of the translator of *La Symbolique*, and of the author of *Solitude*, M.M. Guignaut and Dargaud.

capable of reconciling the North and the South. Its counts, or dukes, descended from the two branches of the Capets, gave sovereigns to the kingdoms of Spain in the twelfth century, and, afterwards, to those of Franche-Comté, Flanders, and the whole of the Low Countries; but they were not able to descend the valley of the Seine, or to establish themselves in the central plains, notwithstanding the aid of the English. The poor *King of Bourges*,\* of Orleans, and of Rheims, prevailed over the Grand-duke of Burgundy; the communes of France, which had, at first, supported the latter, rallied by degrees against the oppressor of the communes of Flanders.

It was not in Burgundy that the destiny of France was to be accomplished; that feudal province could not give it the monarchical and democratic form to which it was tending. The genius of France was destined to descend into the colourless plains of the centre, to abjure pride and swelling vanity, and even the oratorical form, in order to bear its last fruit, its most exquisite, its most French fruit. Bourgogne seems still to retain something of its Burgundians yet; the intoxicating juice of Beaune and of Mâcon confuses the mind, like that of the Rhine. The Burgundian eloquence smacks of rhetoric; the exuberant beauty of the women of Vermanton and Auxerre is no unapt expression of this literature, and of the amplitude of its forms. The flesh and the blood are paramount here; so, too, are turgidity and vulgar sentimentality; we need only mention Crebillon, Longepierre, and Sedaine. We want something more sober and more severe to form the nucleus of France.

It is a sad fall to come down from Burgundy to Champagne; to look on the low and chalky plains of the latter, after the laughing hill sides of the former; not to mention the desert of Champagne-Pouilleuse, the country is gently flat, pale, and desperately prosaic; the animals are of a poor kind, the minerals and plants offer little variety. A few dull streams creep with their whitish waters between two rows of young poplars. Man's dwelling, young too, and marked with decay from its first appearance, strives to defend its frail existence a little by hooding itself, as well as it can, with poor wooden imitations of slates; but through the spurious slates, from and beneath the rain-washed painting, the chalk peeps out, white, dirty, and indigent.

Houses such as these cannot constitute beautiful towns. Chalons is scarcely gayer than its plains. Troyes is almost as remarkable for its ugliness as for its manufactures.† Rheims derives a melancholy character from the solemn breadth of its streets, which makes the houses appear lower still. It is the whilom town of bourgeois and

\* Charles VII. was so called.

† The old walls of Troyes were built with fragments of Roman monuments, cornices, capitals, stones covered with inscriptions, &c., like the walls of Arles and Narbonne.

La grand-ville de Bar-sur-Saigne

A fait trembler Troye en Champagne.—Froissard.

of priests, Tours' true sister, a sugery and somewhat devout town, a town of chaplets and gingerbread, good light cloths, excellent light wine, fairs, and pilgrimages.

These towns, essentially democratic and anti-feudal, have been the principal support of the monarchy. The customs of Troyes, which sanctioned the equal partition of property, early divided and annihilated the strength of the nobility. A manor, by constant subdivision, might come to be parcelled out in the fourth generation into fifty or a hundred parts. The impoverished nobles endeavoured to recover themselves by marrying their daughters to rich *roturiers*. It was a principle of the same customs that *the womb ennobles*.\* This illusive precaution did not prevent the children of unequal marriages from being very little removed from the condition of the *roturiers*. The nobility did not gain by this accession of roturier nobles; at last they threw away idle shame, and became traders.

The misfortune was, that this trade was not one that exalted the character of those concerned in it, either by its object or by its form. It was not the adventurous, heroic kind of trade carried on with distant lands by the Catalans or the Genoese. The commerce of Troyes and of Rheims was not a luxurious one; they had none of those illustrious corporations, those Great and Little Arts of Florence, wherein statesmen, like the Medicis, dealt in the noble productions of the East and of the North, in silk, furs, and precious stones. The industry of Champagne was profoundly plebeian. In the fairs of Troyes, frequented by all Europe, were sold thread, inferior stuffs, cotton caps, and leather.† Our tanners of the Faubourg St. Marceau were originally a colony from Troyes. Those cheap manufactured goods, so necessary to all, made the country rich. The nobles sat themselves down with a good grace before the counter, and practised politeness towards the clown. It was not possible for them amidst the conflux of strangers to the fairs to search out the genealogy of their customers, and to quarrel upon points of etiquette; thus gradually began equality. And the great Count of Champagne, too, sometimes King of Jerusalem, and sometimes of Navarre, found the friendship of these shopkeepers very convenient. It is true, that he was re-

---

\* This nobility from the mother's side is found elsewhere in France, and even under the first race (See Beaumanoir). Charles V. (Nov. 15, 1730) subjected nobles by the mother's side to the law of franc fief. On the occasion of the second drawing up of the customary law of Chaumont, the nobles by the father's side protested; Louis XII. ordered that the matter should remain in abeyance. The customs of Troyes sanctioned the equal inheritance of the children; hence the weakening of the nobility. For instance, Jean, sire de Dampierre, Vicomte de Troyes, died, leaving several children, who shared the viscounty between them. In consequence of successive partitions Eustache de Conflaux possessed a third of it, which he disposed of to a chapter of monks. The second third was divided into four parts, and each part into twelve lots, which were distributed amongst divers houses, and the domains of the town and of the king.

† Urban IV. was the son of a cordwainer of Troyes. He built St. Urban in that town, and had a tapestry wrought representing his father making shoes.

garded with an evil eye by the lords,\* and that they sometimes treated himself as a shopkeeper. Witness the brutal insult offered him by Robert d'Artois, who caused a cream cheese to be thrown in his face.

This precocious degradation of feudalism, these grotesque transformations of knights into shopkeepers, all this must have contributed not a little to enliven the Champagne character, and to give it that ironical cast of sly stolidity which is called, I know not why, *naïveté*† in our fabliaux. It was the country of good stories, of facetious tales concerning the noble knight, the honest and débonnaire husband, and M. le Curé and his servant-maid. The narrative genius which prevails in Champagne expended itself in Flanders in long poems and fine histories. The last of our poetical romances begins with "Chrétien de Troyes," and "Guyot de Provins."‡ The great lords of the country themselves write their *gestes*; Ville Hardouin; Joinville, and Cardinal de Retz have themselves recounted to us the Crusades and the Fronde. History and satire are the vocation of Champagne. Whilst Count Thibault had his poems painted on the walls of his palace at Provins amidst the roses of the east, the grocers of Troyes scribbled on their counters the allegorical and satirical history of Renard and Isengrin. The most piquant pamphlet in the language is the production, in a great measure, of attorneys of Troyes;§ it is the *Satire Ménippée*.

Here, in this naïve and sly Champagne, terminates the long line

\* And often too by the priests. The counts of Champagne protected St. Bernard, but they equally protected his rival, Abailard. It was on l'Ardussun, between Nogent and Pont-sur-Seine that he founded the Paraclete.

† The old type of the peasant of the North of France is honest Jacques, who nevertheless came at last to la Jacquerie. The same, being considered as simple and débonnaire, is called Jeannot; when he falls into a childish fit of despair, and turns *rageur*, he takes the name of Jocrisse. Being enlisted by the Revolution, he got rid of his stolidity to a notable extent, though he again came by the name of Jean Jean, under the Restoration. These different words do not designate local points of ridicule, like these of Arlequino, Pantalone, and Polichinello in Italy. The most common names of domestics in old aristocratic France were those of provinces, such as Lorain, Picard, and above all LaBrie and Champagne. The Champenois is indeed the most disciplinable of provincials, though under his apparent simplicity there lurks a good deal of slyness and irony.

‡ Whom people wrongly persist in calling Kiot de Provence, following the orthography of the German Wolfram von Eschenbach. We owe this ingenious rectification to the young and learned M. Michel, who has already done so much towards elucidating the literary antiquities of France.

§ Passerat and Pithon.—The sarcastic spirit of the north of France is conspicuous in the popular festivals, witness in Champagne and elsewhere. The Alma King, *roi de l'aumône* (a townsman elected to deliver two prisoners, &c.); the Tennis King, *roi de l'étéuf* (Dupin, Deux Sèvres); the *roi des Arbalétriers*, King of the Arblastmen, with his knights (Cambry, Oise, ii.); the King of the Paupers, *roi des guétifs* (Almanach d'Artois, 1770); the King of the Gardeners, *roi des rosiers*, still to this day in Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, &c. In Paris the *filles des sous-diacres*, or *diacres seuls*,\* who chose a Bishop of Unreason, and

\* Festival of the subdeacons or drunken deacons; the pun is lost in translation.



we have pursued from Languedoc and Provence through Lyons and Burgundy. In this wine-bearing and literary zone, the mind of man has always advanced in precision and sobriety. We have distinguished in it three degrees: the impetuosity, and intellectual intoxication of the South, the Burgundian eloquence and rhetoric,\* the grace and irony of Champagne; this is the last and most delicate fruit of France. On these white plains, on these meagre hill sides, ripens the light capricious† wine of the North. It scarcely owes any thing to the earth, it is the child of labour and of society.‡ There, too, grew up that *light thing*,§ yet profound, at once ironical and dreamy, which reopened and closed for ever the vein of the fabliaux.

Through the flat plains of Champagne wander, listlessly, the river of the Low Countries and the river of France, the Meuse, and the Seine with its acolyte the Marne; but as they advance, their volume swells, and they arrive with more dignity at the sea. The land itself, too, rises gradually into hills in the Isle of France, Normandy, and Picardy. France becomes more majestic, she does not choose to arrive in front of England with her head down; she

---

burned leather before him for incense, sang obscene songs, and ate off the altar. At Evreux the first of May, St. Vital's day, was the *feast of the horned*; people wore chaplets of leaves on their heads; the priests wore their surplices inside out, and threw bran in each other's faces; the bellringers flung *casse-mues* x, snout-breakers, cakes. At Beauvais, a girl and a child were paraded about on an ass, and the burden sung in chorus at the mass was *hikau*! The canons of Rheims walked in two files, each trailing a herring, which his neighbour trod upon. At Bouchain they had the festival of the "provost of the madcaps." At Châlons-sur-Saône that of the roisterers (*gaillards*), at Paris those of the *enfants sans souci*, of the *régiment de la calotte*, and of the brotherhood of the *sirloin* (*conféries de l'aloyau*). At Dijon there was the procession of mother madcap (*la mère folle*); at Harfleur the feast of the saw on Shrove Tuesday. (There was a saw in the arms of President Cossé Brissac.) The magistrates kissed the teeth of the saw, while two persons in masks carried the *baton frieur* (the handle of the saw), which was presented to a man who beat his wife. The association of the Chivalry of Honfleur existed in the time of William the Conqueror.

\* Diderot was born on the mountain of Langres. Here is the transition from Burgundy to Champagne, combining the characters of both.

† This must be understood not only of the wine, but also of the vine. The lands that produce Champagne wine seem capricious. The people of the country assert, that in a plot consisting of three acres perfectly similar to each other, it frequently happens that only the middle acre produces good wine.

‡ A tract of land, which, under corn cultivation, would give employment to five or six families, frequently employs five or six hundred persons, men, women, and children, when it is planted with vines. It is well known how much labour Champagne wine requires. Bourgeois Jersaint *Statistique de la Marne*, p. 81. The foreigner (Russia, England, Germany) now consumes more of it than France does; we prefer Burgundy. In fact, after so many troubles and agitations, we no longer require to excite our minds by stimulating our nerves, but rather to strengthen the body.

§ La Fontaine says of himself:

Je suis chose légère, et vole à tout sujet,

Je vais de fleur en fleur, et d'objet en objet.

"The poet," says Plato, "is a light and sacred thing."

decks herself in forests and superb towns ; she augments the volume of her rivers ; she flings out magnificent plains in long waves, and sets before her rival that other England of Flanders and Normandy.\*

There is, here, an immense emulation ; the two shores hate and resemble each other. On either side is hardness, avidity, a grave and laborious spirit. Old Normandy looks askance on her triumphant daughter, who looks down on her with a smile of insolence. Yet the tables still exist on which are inscribed the names of the Normans who conquered England. Was not the conquest the point at which the latter began her soaring flight ? To whom does she owe the all of art that she possesses ? Did those monuments of which she is so proud exist before the conquest ? The wondrous cathedrals of England, what are they but an imitation, an exaggeration of the Norman architecture ?† And the men themselves, and the race, how much have they been modified by French intermixture ? The warlike and captious spirit, foreign to the Anglo-Saxons, which has made England, since the conquest, a nation of fighting men and scribes, this belongs purely to the Norman temper ; this sour sap is the same on both sides of the Straits. Caen, the *town of sapience*, preserves the great monument of Anglo-Norman fiscality, the exchequer of William the Conqueror. Normandy has nothing to regret, the good old customs have been perpetuated there. The father of a family, coming home from the fields, loves to explain to his attentive children some articles of the Civil Code.‡

The men of Lorraine and Dauphiné, cannot compare with the Norman in litigious disposition. The Breton temper, harder and more negative, is less greedy and absorbing. Bretagne is resistance, Normandy is conquest ; the conquest, in this day, over nature, in the way of agriculture and manufactures. This ambitious and conquering temper commonly puts on the shape of tenacity ; frequently, it manifests itself by audacity and activity, and the strenuous force of that activity at times reaches the sublime : witness so many heroic mariners,§ witness the great Corneille. Twice was the French

---

\* About Coutances particularly, as Dibdin states in his Bibliographical Tour, there is a remarkably English character in the features of the people and the aspect of the country.

† Doctor Milner alone accords the superiority to the English cathedrals. He makes the ogee an English invention. See M. de Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, t. ii.

‡ "Do you see that little field ?" said an ex-president, to me, of one of the courts of Lower Normandy : "Were it to pass to-morrow into the hands of four brothers it would immediately be intersected by four hedges, so necessary is it here that properties should be accurately parted." "The Normans are so addicted to the study of eloquence," said an orator of the eleventh century, "that the very children speak like orators." Quasi rhetores attendas. Gaufred Malaterra, l. i., c. 3.

§ See the work of M. Estancelin, and the *Histoire des Villes de France*, par M. Vitet, Dieppe, t. ii. It appears that the people of Dieppe had discovered

literature quickened again by Normandy, whilst Bretagne was reviving its philosophy. The old poem of Rou\* appears in the twelfth century with Abailard; in the seventeenth century Corneille appears with Descartes. Nevertheless, a grand and pregnant ideality has been, I know not why, refused to the Norman genius; it soars high, but soon falls. It falls into the penurious correctness of Malherbe, into the dryness of Mézerai, and the ingenious refinements of La Bruyère and Fontenelle. The very heroes of the great Corneille, whenever they are not sublime, fall readily into insipid special pleading, and indulge in all the subtleties of vain and sterile dialectics.

Neither subtle nor sterile, assuredly, is the genius of our good and stout Flanders, but very positive and real, very solidly founded, *solidis fundamentis cæcis intus*. On its fat and plentiful champaigns, uniformly rich with manure, with canals, with exuberant and gross vegetation, herbs, men, and animals, all thrive prodigiously; the ox and the horse swell up as if they would play the elephant. The women are men in corporal development, and often, more than that. With all its bulk, however, the race is of a rather lax fibre; it is strong rather than robust, but its muscular power is immense. The athletes of our fairs often come from the department of the North.

The prolific powers of the Bolg of Ireland are found in our Belges of Flanders and the Low Countries. In the thick alluvium of those rich plains, in the vast and gloomy trading and manufacturing communes of Ypres, Ghent, and Bourges, human beings swarmed like insects after a shower. It was not safe to set foot on those ant-hills; touch them, and fighting men instantly issued from them with pikes levelled, by tens of thousands, all strong and well fed, well clothed, well armed. The feudal cavalry was ill-matched against masses like these.

Had they not good reason to be proud, these brave Flemings? Bulky and coarse as they were,† they did their business marvellously well. None better than they understood commerce, industry, and agriculture; no country was more remarkable for common sense, for a sense of what was positive, real; no people, perhaps, in the middle ages, better understood the current life of the world, or knew better how to act and to count. Champagne and Flanders were then the only countries that could contend with Italy for a place in history. Flanders has its Villani in Froissard, and its Machiavelli in Comines; add to these, its imperial historians of Constantinople; its authors of fabliaux are likewise historians, at least in what regards public manners.

---

the route to India before the Portuguese; but they kept the secret so successfully that they have lost the glory of the discovery.

\* See the excellent edition given of it by M. Auguste Prevost, of Rouen, one of our most distinguished antiquaries.

† This Belgian coarseness is visible in a multitude of things. At Brussels is still to be seen the little statue of the *Mannekenpis*, "the oldest citizen in the town." They give him a new dress on great festival days.

‡ We might further cite Gaguin of Douai, Oudegherst of Lille, and several others.

As for their manners, they were little edifying, sensual and gross; and the further we advance northwards in this fat Flanders, under this mild and humid atmosphere, the more voluptuous we find the country; the more does sensuality predominate, and nature acquire potency.\* History and narrative no longer suffice to satisfy the appetite for reality, the craving of the senses; the arts of design come to supply the deficiency. Sculpture begins in France itself, with that famous disciple of Michael Angelo, John of Boulogne. Architecture, too, makes progress; no longer the sober and grave Norman architecture, with ogee pointings, and rising toward the sky, like one of Corneille's verses, but an architecture rich and full in its forms. The ogee runs supply into soft curves and voluptuous roundings; the curve sometimes sinks and flattens, sometimes swells up and bellies. The lovely tower of Antwerp, round and wavy in all its ornaments, rises by gentle stages, like a gigantic basket woven out of the bulrushes of the Scheldt.

These churches, washed and kept with all the trim neatness of a Flemish house, are dazzling with the wealth and splendour of their copper ornaments, and the profusion of their black and white marbles. They are cleaner than the churches of Italy, and not less gay and graceful. Flanders is a prosaic Lombardy,† wanting the vine and the sun. Something else it wants too; we feel this on beholding those countless wooden figures that stand even with the floor of the cathedrals, an economical kind of sculpture and a sorry substitute for the marbles that people the cities of Italy.‡ Above these churches, from the summit of their towers, rings the uniform and scientific peal of bells, the honour and delight of the Flemish commune. The same air played from hour to hour for successive centuries, has satisfied the musical wants of I know not how many generations of artisans, who lived and died strict votaries to established custom.§

But music and architecture are too abstract yet; these sounds,

\* See the "Coutumes du Comté de Flandre," translated by Legrand, Cambrai, 1719, vol. i. Coutume de Gand, p. 149, rub. 26. (*Niemandt en sal bastaerdi wesen van de moeder*) *no one shall be bastard as regards the mother*; but they shall inherit from the mother equally with the other legitimate children (not from the father.) This plainly shows that it was not on religious or moral grounds they were excluded from the inheritance of the father, but on account of their doubtful paternity. In this custom there is the principle of community, of equal division of inheritances, &c.

† You discover in them the predilection for the swan, which, according to Virgil, was the ornament of the Mincius, and of the other rivers of Lombardy. At the entrance of Old Belgium, Amiens, that little Venice, as Louis XIV. called it, kept the king's swans on the Somme. A great number of inns in Flanders have the swan for their sign.

‡ The single cathedral of Milan is adorned with five thousand statues and small figures, as I have been assured by M. Franchetti, author of the description of that prodigious church.

§ It is right to observe, that this musical instinct has developed itself in a remarkable manner, especially in the Walloon portion. Liège is the native place of Grétry.

these forms are not enough; there must be colours, vivid and true colours, living representations of the flesh and of the senses. There must be pictures of rude and hearty festivities, in which red men and white women, drink, smoke, and dance clumsily.\* There must be atrocious tortures, indecent and horrible martyrdoms, huge Virgins, fair, fat, and scandalously beautiful. Beyond the Scheldt, amid the dismal marshes, the deep waters, and lofty dykes of Holland, begins the sombre and serious school of painting; Rembrandt and Gerard Dow paint where Erasmus and Grotius† write. But in Flanders, in the rich and sensual Antwerp, the rapid pencil of Rubens produces the bacchanals of painting. All the mysteries are parodied‡ in his idolatrous pictures, that riot in all the fire and brutality of genius.§ This terrible man, sprung from the Slavonic blood,|| reared in the passionate vehemence of the Belgians,

\* See the picture in the Louvre, entitled, *Fête Flamande*. It is the wildest and most sensual of orgies.

† In my opinion, the highest type of Belgian genius is found in Rubens, as regards the Flemish portion, and in Grétry for the Walloon, or Celtic portion. Spontaneity predominates in Belgium, reflection in Holland. Men of thought have been fond of the latter country. Thither Descartes repaired to effect the apotheosis of man's personality, and Spinoza that of nature. Still the philosophy proper to Holland is a practical one, applicable to the political relations of nations: *e.g.* Grotius. If we compare together Germany and the Low Countries, we shall find that Austria is to Belgium what Prussia is to Holland; but Holland is less energetic; with it, energy seems lost in habitual calmness and taciturnity. You see poor Dutchmen taking tea in the streets three or four times a day. You will not find among these folks (*says a traveller*) either a robber to plunder you, or a guide to show you your way.

‡ His pupil, Van Dyck, paints, in one of his pictures, an ass kneeling before the Host. Forster, "Travels in Germany and Flanders."

§ We have here the fine series of pictures painted by Rubens, for Marie de Medicis; but these allegorical and official works do not give the true idea of his genius. It is from the pictures in Antwerp and Brussels that we comprehend the character of Rubens. See his Holy Family, in Antwerp, in which he has placed his three wives on the altar, and himself behind it, as St. George, with a banner in his hand, and hair floating on the wind. He finished this large picture in seventeen days. His Flagellation is horrible from the brutality of its details. One of the flagellants, in order to strike harder, puts his foot on the calf of the Saviour's leg; another looks under his hand, and grins in the spectator's face. Van Dyck's copy seems very tame by the side of the original. In the Museum of Brussels, there is the Carrying of the Cross, bewildering with its vigour and movement. Mary Magdalen wipes away the Saviour's blood with as much coolness as a mother cleans her infant. In the same museum is to be seen the martyrdom of St. Liévin, a scene of the shambles. You see them snipping up the martyr's flesh, a piece of which one of the executioners holds out in his pincers to his dogs, whilst another holds his dagger, dropping with blood, in his teeth. In the midst of these horrors, we have the usual display of beautiful and immodest carnations. The Battle of the Amazons afforded him an opportunity of painting a great number of female figures in impassioned attitudes; but his *chef-d'œuvre* is, perhaps, that terrible column of human bodies he has piled up in his Last Judgment.

|| His family was from Styria. What is most impetuous in Europe, is at its two extremities; to the east, the Slaves of Poland, Illyria, Styria, &c.; to the west, the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, &c.

born at Cologne, but a foe to German idealism, has flung into his pictures a licentious apotheosis of nature.

This common frontier of the European races and tongues,\* is the great theatre of the victories of life and death. The inhabitants spring up quickly, multiply to suffocation,† and then battles provide for the superfluity. Here the great strife of peoples and of races is for ever fought; that strife of the world which took place, they say, at the funeral of Attila, is ceaselessly renewed in Belgium between France, England, and Germany, between the Celts and the Teutons. This corner of Europe is its common battle-field;‡ and, therefore, are its plains so fat; the blood poured upon them has not had time to dry up. A fearful strife and varied! On our side were gained the battles of Bouvines, Rosebeke, Lens, Steinkerque, Denain, Fontenoi, Fleurus, Jemmapes; on theirs, those of The Spurs, of Courtrai. Must I name Waterloo?§

England! England! You did not fight that day single-handed against a single-handed foe; you had the world with you. Why do

\* Dutch Flanders is composed of places ceded by the treaty of 1648, and by the *Treaty of the Barrier* (1715). This name is significant. The March, or Marquisate of Antwerp, created by Otho II. was given by Henry IV. to the most valiant man of the empire, Godfrey of Bouillon. It was at the Sas of Ghent that Otho had a ditch dug in 980, separating the empire from France. "At Louvain," says a traveller, "the language is German, the manners are Dutch, and the kitchen French." With the German tongue begin astronomic names (*Al-ost, Ost-ende*); in France, as among all the Celtic nations, the names of places have reference to the earth. (Lille, *file*.)

† Before the emigration of the Flemish weavers into England, about 1382, there were fifty thousand of them in Louvain. Forster, i. 364. At Ypres (the suburbs, doubtless, included,) there were two hundred thousand in 1382. In 1380, "They of Ghent went forth with three armies."—Oudegherst, *Chronique de Flandre*, folio 301. This humid land is, in many places, as unwholesome as it is fertile. "He is like the Ypres death," was a proverbial saying, applied to one who was very pale. Belgium, however, has suffered less from inconveniences natural to its territory, than from political revolutions. Bruges was killed by the revolt of 1492; Ghent, by that of 1540; Antwerp, by the treaty of 1648, which made Amsterdam great by closing the Scheldt.

‡ The great battle of modern times was fought precisely on the confines of the two languages, at Waterloo. A few steps on this side of that Flemish name, we find *Mont Saint Jean*. The hillock that has been raised on that plain, seems a barbarian tumulus, Celtic or Germanic.

§ "Stop! for thy tread is on an empire's dust!

\* \* \*

The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo!

\* \* \*

In 'pride of place,' here last the eagle flew,  
Then tore with bloody talon the rent plain,  
Pierced by the shaft of banded nations through;

\* \* \*

He wears the shatter'd links of the world's broken chain."

\* \* \*

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, c. iii. 17—8.

*In pride of place—with bloody talon.* These terms of falconry are very contemptuous, when the eagle of France is in question. We have here at once the reminiscences of the young Scotch sportsman, and the half scorn, that so often sits on Byron's beautiful lips.

you take the whole glory to yourself? What means your Waterloo Bridge? Is it a matter to be so proud of, if the mutilated remains of a hundred battles, if the last levy of France, a beardless legion barely withdrawn from the lyceums and their mothers' kisses, was broken by your mercenary army, preserved with cautious economy in every fight, and kept against us like the dagger of mercy with which the prostrate soldier assassinated his victor?

Nevertheless I will suppress nothing. She seems to me very great, that odious England, with her face turned full on Europe, on Dunkirk,\* and ruined Antwerp.† All the other countries, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and France, have their capitals to the west, and look towards the setting sun. The great European vessel seems to float with its sails filled by the wind that blew of yore from Asia. England alone turns her prow to the East, as if to brave the world, *unum omnia contra*. That last land of the Old World is the heroic land, the perpetual asylum of the outlawed, of the men of energetic soul. All those who have ever fled from servitude, Druids persecuted by Rome, Gallo-Romans driven out by the barbarians, Saxons proscribed by Charlemagne, famished Danes, greedy Normans, persecuted Flemish industry, and vanquished Calvinism, all have crossed the sea and taken the great island for their country; *Ares beata petamus divites et insulas*. Thus England has fattened on sorrows, and grown great by ruins. But, in proportion as all these outlaws huddled together in that narrow asylum have come to look on each other, in proportion as they have remarked the differences of race and belief that separated them, as they have seen themselves as Kymry, Gauls, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, hatred and strife have arisen among them. They have exhibited something like those strange combats that amused Rome, those combats between animals amazed at finding themselves together, hippopotami and lions, tigers and crocodiles. And whenever these amphibious races have bitten and torn each other long enough in their seagirt circus, they have flung themselves into the sea and fastened their teeth on France. But the intestine war, be assured, is not ended; in vain the triumphant Beast scoffs the world from his throne of the seas; with his bitter smile mingles a furious gnashing of the teeth, whether it be, that he can no longer keep in motion the screeching wheels of Manchester, or that the Irish bull, which he holds down on the ground, turns bellowing upon him.

The war of wars, the fight of fights, is that between England and

\* Faulconner, Hist. de Dunkerque, 1730. Folio, tom. ii. The magistrates of Dunkerque vainly supplicated Queen Anne, and tried to prove that the Dutch would gain more than the English by the demolition of their town. It is impossible to read any thing more painful and humiliating to a Frenchman. Cherbourg was not yet in existence; there no longer remained one military port from Ostend to Brest.

† "I have there," said Bonaparte, "a pistol charged and pointed at England's heart." "The fortress of Antwerp," he said at St. Helena, "is one of the great causes for which I am here; the surrender of Antwerp was one of the motives that determined me not to sign the peace of Châtillon."

France, all the rest is episodical. The French names are those of the men who attempted grand things against England. France has but one saint, the Maid of Orleans; and the name of the great Guise, who snatched Calais from between their teeth, the names of the founders of Brest, Dunkirk and Antwerp,\* these are cherished and sacred names, whatever their owners may have done besides. As for me, I feel myself under personal obligations towards those glorious champions of France and of the world, towards those whom they armed, a Duguay-Trouin, a Jean-Bart, a Surcouf, who gave the people of Plymouth matter for thought, who made your English shake their heads sadly, forced them to quit their taciturnity, and obliged them to lengthen their monosyllables.

And think you that they, too, have not merited well of France, those brave Irish priests, those jesuits who along all our coasts, in the monasteries of St. Colomban, at St. Waast, St. Bertin, St. Omer, St. Amand, Douai, Dunkirk, and Antwerp,† organised the Irish missions? Popular orators, ardent conspirators, lions and foxes, who were ready alike to practise craft and to fight, to lie, and to die for their native land.

The struggle against England rendered France an immense service; it confirmed its nationality and made it definite. By dint of rallying together against the common enemy the provinces found themselves become a nation. It was by looking closely at the English that they came to feel themselves to be France.

It is with nations as with an individual; he knows and distinguishes his personality by the resistance he encounters from that which is not it, he remarks the *ego* by the *non ego*. France was thus formed under the influence of the great English wars, by opposition and by composition simultaneously. The principle of opposition is more obvious in the provinces of the west and of the north, which we have just traversed; composition is the work of the central provinces, of which it now remains for us to speak.

To find the centre of France, the nucleus round which every thing was to aggregate, we must not take the central point in space: this would be about Bourges, about the Bourbonnais, the cradle of the dynasty. We must not look for the principal line of partition of the waters: this would be the plateaux of Dijon or of Langres, between the sources of the Saône, the Seine, and the Meuse. We must not, even, take the point of separation of the races; this would be on the Loire, between Bretagne, Auvergne, and Touraine. No; the centre was marked out by circumstances, political rather than natural, human rather than physical. It is an eccentric centre tending towards the north, the principal theatre of the national efforts, in the vicinity of England, France, and Germany. Pro-

\* Richelieu, Louis XIV., and Bonaparte.

† The victim of England, Mary Stuart, has left her portrait to St. André d'Anvers, where it is still admired.



tected and not isolated by the rivers that encompass it, it is characterised with strict truth by the name of Isle of France.

One would say, looking upon the great rivers of our country, and the great lines of territory that hem them in, that France flows with them to the ocean. On the north the slopes are not very rapid; the rivers are easily manageable; they have not hindered the free action of policy from grouping the provinces round their centre of attraction. The Seine is, in every sense, the first of our rivers; the most civilisable, the most perfectable. It has neither the capricious and perfidious gentleness of the Loire, nor the abruptness of the Garonne, nor the terrible impetuosity of the Rhone, that plunges, like a wild bull, from the Alps, dashes through a lake eighteen leagues wide, and leaps along to the sea rending its banks as it runs. The Seine early receives the impress of civilisation. From Troyes downwards it suffers itself to be cut and divided at will to carry its waters to the various manufactories. Even after Champagne has poured the Marne into it, and Picardy the Oise, it has no need of strong embankments; it suffers itself to be compressed between our quays without any increased chafing. Between the manufactories of Troyes and those of Rouen, it waters Paris; from Paris to Havre is, in fact, but one city. Behold it between Pont de l'Arche and Rouen, the beautiful river! how it wanders among its countless islands laved at sunset with waves of gold, whilst all along the whitish masses of its banks, the apple-trees mirror in it their yellow and red fruit. I know nothing to compare to this spectacle, but that of the Lake of Geneva. The lake, it is true, has, in addition, the vineyards of Vaud, Meillerie, and the Alps; but the lake has no current, it is motionless, or, at most, exhibits agitation without visible progress; the Seine flows, and carries with it the mind of France from Paris to Normandy, to the ocean, to England and far America.

Paris has for its first girdle, Rouen, Amiens, Orleans, Chalons, and Rheims, all which take part in its movements. With this is connected an external girdle, Nantes, Bordeaux, Clermont, and Toulouse, Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and Strasbourg. Paris repeats itself in Lyons to reach the eccentric Marseilles through the Rhone. The vortex of the national life has all its density in the north; in the south, the circles it describes relax and enlarge.

The true centre was early marked; we find it designated in the age of St. Louis, in the two works which began our jurisprudence, *ÉTABLISSEMENTS DE FRANCE ET D'ORLEANS*,—*COUTUMES DE FRANCE ET DE VERMANDOIS*.<sup>\*</sup> It is between l'Orleanais and le Vermandais, between the elbow of the Loire and the sources of the Oise, between Orleans and St. Quentin, that France at last found her centre, her settled point of repose. She had sought it in vain in the

<sup>\*</sup> To Orleans belongs the science and the teaching of Roman law; in Picardy we have the originality of feudal and customary law; two Picardians, Beaumanoir and Desfontaines, open our jurisprudence.

Druidical countries of Chartres and Autun, and in the chief places of the Gallic lands, Bourges and Clermont (*Agendicum, urbs Arvernorum*); she had sought it in the capitals of the Merovingian and Carolingian church, Tours, and Rheims.\*

The Capetian France of the *King of St. Denys*,† between feudal Normandy and democratic Champagne, extends from St. Quentin to Orleans and Tours; the king is Abbot of St. Martin de Tours, and first canon of St. Quentin. Orleans being situated at the place where the two great rivers approach each other, the fate of that city was often the fate of France. The names of Cæsar, Attila, Joan of Arc, and the Guises, remind us of the many wars and sieges that city has beheld. The grave Orleans‡ is near Touraine, near the voluptuous and laughing country of Rabelais, as cholerick Picardy lies by the side of ironic Champagne. The history of ancient France seems heaped up in Picardy. Royalty under Fredegonde and Charles the Bald, resided at Soissons,§ Crépy, Verbercy, and Attigny; when vanquished by feudalism it took refuge on the mountain of Laon.|| Laon, Peronne, and St. Medard de Soissons, alternately asylums and prisons, received Louis le Débonnaire, Louis d'Outremer, and Louis XI. The royal tower of Laon was destroyed in 1832;¶ that of Peronne is still standing. So, too, is the monstrous feudal castle of the Coucy. "No king, duke, prince, nor count am I, I am the lord of Coucy."\*\* But in Picardy the nobility entered early into the grand idea of France; the heroic

\* Bourges was also a great ecclesiastical centre. The Archbishop of Bourges was patriarch, primate of the Aquitaines, and metropolitan. He extended his jurisdiction as patriarch, over the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, as primate over those of Bordeaux and Auch (metropolitan see of the 2nd and 3rd Aquitaine); as metropolitan, he had anciently eleven suffragans, the bishops of Clermont, St. Flour, Puy, Tulle, Limoges, Mende, Rodez, Vabres, Castres, Cahors. But the erection of the bishopric of Alby into an archbishopric, left under his jurisdiction only the first five of these sees.

† As he is often called in the chivalric poems of the middle ages.

‡ The Orleans raillery was hard and bitter. The people of Orleans had the nickname of *gucpins* (hornets) applied to them. It is a saying, too, "The Orleans gloss is worse than the text." Sologne has a similar character: "A Sologne booby, who never blunders but for his own advantage."

§ Pepin was elected there in 750. Louis d'Outremer died there.

|| This mountain rises fifty fathoms above the plain, ninety above the level of the Seine, at Paris, and a hundred above the level of the sea. Peuchet et Chaulaire, *Statistique de l'Aisne*. Three leagues from Laon is Notre Dame de Liesse, founded in 1141. Three knights of the Laonnois, prisoners in the hands of the soldan, refuse to abjure their faith. The soldan sends his daughter to seduce them; they convert her, and cause a miraculous image of the Virgin to appear to her; she escapes with them, carrying away the image, which, on arriving at the town of Notre Dame de Liesse, becomes too heavy to be carried further.

¶ See in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, two articles by Victor Hugo, and by M. de Montalembert.

\*\* The castle of the Coucy is 172 feet high, and 305 in circumference. The walls are 32 feet thick. Mazarin blew up the outer wall in 1652, and on the 18th of September, 1692, an earthquake split the tower from top to bottom. An old romance makes one of the ancestors of the Coucy nine feet high. Enguerrand

house of Guise, a Picardian branch of the princes of Lorraine, defended Metz against the Germans, took Calais from the English, and went near, too, to take France from the king. The monarchy of Louis XIV. was narrated and judged by the Picard St. Simon.\*

Strongly feudal, strongly communal and democratic, was that fiery Picardy. The first communes of France were the great ecclesiastical towns of Noyon, St. Quentin, Amiens, and Laon; the same country produced Calvin, and began the league against Calvin. A hermit of Amiens† carried away all Europe, princes and peoples, to Jerusalem, by the impulsive force of religion. A legist of Noyon‡ changed that religion in one half of the Western countries. He founded his Rome in Geneva, and introduced Republicanism among the principles of faith. Republicanism was hurried forward in its wild career by Picard hands, from Condorcet to Camille Desmoulins, from Desmoulins to Gracchus Babeuf.§ It was sung by Béranger, who so happily puts forth the motto of new France: *Je suis vilain et très vilain*. Among these *vilains* let us place in the foremost rank our illustrious General Foy, the man of pure soul, the incarnation of the noble sentiments of our army.||

Eloquence, we see, is not the exclusive privilege of the south, and of the wine-growing countries; Picardy is fully equal to Burgundy; here, there is wine in the heart. We may lay it down as an established fact, that we find the blood grow livelier, as we advance from the centre towards the Belgian frontier, and that the temperament increases in warmth towards the north.¶ Most of our great

---

VII., who fought at Nicopolis, had portraits of himself and his first wife, of colossal size, placed in the church of the Celestins at Soissons. Among the Coucy, we note particularly, Thomas de Marle, author of the Law of Vervins (favourable to vassals), who died in 1130: Raoul I., the trouvère and lover, real or pretended, of Gabrielle de Vergy; he died a crusader in 1191: Enguerrand VII., who refused the constable's sword, and had it given to Clisson; he died in 1397. It has been erroneously asserted that Enguerrand III. wished to seize the throne in 1228, during the minority of St. Louis. *Art de vérifier les Dates*, xii. 219, 399.

\* This recent family, which pretended to trace its lineage back to Charlemagne, may very well content itself with having produced one of the greatest writers of the seventeenth century, and the boldest thinker of ours.

† Peter the Hermit. See further on.

‡ Calvin, born 1509, died 1564.

§ Condorcet, born at Ribemont, in 1745, died 1794. Camille Desmoulins, born at Guise, 1762, died 1794. Babeuf, born at St. Quentin, died 1797. Béranger was born in Paris, but of a Picard family. See the *Biographie de l'Aisne*, by De Vismes.

|| Born at Pithon, or at Ham. Several of the revolutionary generals came from Picardy: Dumas, Dupont, Serrurier, &c. To the list of those who have shed lustre on this land, fruitful of every species of glory, let us add, Anselme, of Laon; Ramus, killed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; Boutellier, author of the *Somme Rurale*; the historian Guibert de Nogent; the jesuit Charlevoix; the d'Estrées, and the Genlis.

¶ I say the same of Artois, which has produced so many mystics; Arras is the native place of the Abbé Prevost. The Boulonnais has produced in one and the same man, a great poet and a great critic; I speak of our Sainte Beuve.

artists, Claude Lorrain, Poussin, Lesueur,\* Goujon, Cousin, Mansard, Le Nôtre, David, belong to the northern provinces; and if we pass the Belgic territory, and enter the district of Liège, that little France isolated in the midst of the foreign tongue, there we find our Grétry.†

As for the centre of the centre, Paris and the Isle of France, there is but one way of making them known, and that is by relating the history of the monarchy. We should give but a false idea of them if we cited a few proper names; they have received, they have given the tone of mind proper to the nation. They are not a country, but an epitome of the country. The very feudalism of the Isle of France expresses general relations. Speak of the Montforts, and you speak of Jerusalem, the crusade of Languedoc, the commons of France and of England, and the wars of Bretagne. Name the Montmorency, and you call to mind feudalism attached to the royal power, a genius of moderate scope, loyal and devoted. As for the numerous writers born in Paris, they owe much to the provinces from which their kindred come; they belong, above all, to the universal mind of France, which shines in them. In Villon, Boileau, Molière, Rénard, and Voltaire, we discern the French genius in its most general form; or, if we look in them for any thing local, the most we shall be able to discover is a remnant of that old bourgeois spirit and way of thinking, midway between extremes, not so much comprehensive as judicious, critical, and sarcastic, which first grew up out of Gaulish good-humour and parliamentary bitterness, between the precincts of Notre Dame and the steps of La Sainte Chapelle.

But this indigenous and special character is, after all, secondary; the general spirit of France predominates; speak of Paris, and you speak of the whole monarchy. How was this grand, complete symbol of the country formed in one city? It would require the whole history of the country to explain this; the description of Paris would be its last chapter. The Parisian genius is, at once, the most complex and the most consummate manifestation of France. It would seem as though a thing resulting from the annihilation of all local spirit, of all provinciality, would of necessity be purely negative; this is not the case. Out of all those negations of ma-

---

\* Claude Lorrain, born at Chamagne, in Lorraine, in 1600, died 1682. Poussin, whose ancestors were of Soissons, was born in Audelys, in 1594, died in 1665. Lesueur, born in Paris, 1617, died 1655. Jean Cousin, founder of the French school, born at Soucy, near Sens, about 1501. Jean Goujon, born in Paris, died 1572. Germain Pilon, born at Loué, six leagues from Mans, died at the end of the sixteenth century. Pierre Lescot, the architect, to whom we owe the Fountain of the Innocents, born in Paris, 1510, died 1635. Mansard, the architect of Versailles and of the Invalides, born in Paris, in 1645, died 1708. Le Nôtre, born in Paris, 1613, died, 1700, &c.

† Born in 1741, died in 1813. It is a great and curious originality, that which Liège displays. When will it have a historian?

terial, local, and special ideas, results a living generality, a positive thing, a vivid force. We saw this in July.

It is a grand and marvellous spectacle we behold, when we glance from the centre to the extremities, and survey that vast and potent mechanism, the various parts of which are so skilfully applied, opposed, and linked together, the weak with the strong, the negative with the positive; when we behold the eloquent and wine-bearing Burgundy between the ironic simplicity of Champagne, and the critical, polemic, martial asperity of Franche-Comté and Lorraine; when we see the fanaticism of Languedoc placed between the levity of Provence and the indifference of Gascony, and the covetousness and conquering spirit of Normandy compressed between stubborn, resisting Bretagne, and massive, inert Flanders.

Considered in longitude, France undulates in two long organic systems, just like the human frame with its double system, the gastric and the cerebro-spinal. On one hand, are the provinces of Normandy and Bretagne, Poitou, Auvergne, and Guienne; on the other, those of Languedoc, of Provence, Burgogne, and Champagne; lastly, those of Picardy and Flanders, in which the two systems unite. Paris is the sensorium.

The force and beauty of the whole body, consist in the reciprocal aid and the sympathy between the several parts, in the distribution of functions, in the division of social toil. The resisting and warlike force, the active virtue, is at the extremities, the intelligent power in the centre. The centre knows itself, and knows all the rest. The frontier provinces, co-operating more directly in the task of defence, preserve the traditional habits of military life, continue the heroism of the barbarous ages, and ceaselessly supply an energetic population, to make up for the wear and tear sustained by the centre through the rapid friction of the social machinery. The centre, sheltered in war, thinks, and innovates in industry, in science, in policy; it transforms all it receives, it imbibes life crude and elementary, and assimilates it to itself. It is the mirror in which the provinces behold themselves; in it they love and admire themselves under a superior form; they hardly recognise themselves:

“*Miranturque novas frondes et non sua poma.*”

This fine centralisation, whereby France is France, produces a painful impression at first sight. Life is in the centre and at the extremities; the points between are feeble and pale. Between the rich environs of Paris and rich Flanders, you traverse old and melancholy Picardy; its fate is that of the centralised provinces which are not the very centre. It seems as though this potent attraction has weakened and attenuated them; they look solely to the centre, they are great only through it. Yet greater are they through this strong sense of central interest, than the eccentric provinces can be through the originality they retain. Centralised Picardy has produced Condorcet, Foy, Béranger, and many others in modern

times. Can rich Flanders or rich Alsace match these names in our day? In France, the first of glories is to be a Frenchman. The extremities are opulent, strong, heroic; but frequently they have interests different from the national interests; they are less French. The Convention had to vanquish provincial federalism before vanquishing Europe. Carlism is strong in Lille and Marseilles. Bordeaux is French, no doubt, but quite as much colonial, American, English; it must import sugars, it must dispose of its wines.

It is, nevertheless, one among the grand peculiarities of France, that on all her frontiers she possesses provinces which mingle with the national genius something of that of the foreigner. Opposite Germany, she has a German France; over against Spain and Italy, she presents a Spanish and an Italian France. There is an analogy, and yet an opposition between these provinces and the adjoining countries. We know that various shades of the same colour frequently agree less than opposite colours; the strongest hostilities are those subsisting between relations; thus, Iberian Gascony loves not Iberian Spain. Those analogous, and at the same time dissimilar provinces, which France presents to the foreigner, oppose an alternately resisting or neutralising force to his attacks. They are so many various faculties whereby France has contact with the world. Stretch out then, beautiful and vigorous France, stretch out the long floods of thy undulous territory to the Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean; cast before hard England, hard Bretagne, and tenacious Normandy; set bombastic Gascony in opposition to grave and solemn Spain; to Italy oppose the impetuosity of Provence; to the massive Germanic empire, the solid and deep battalions of Alsace and Lorraine; to frothy and choleric Belgium, the dry and sanguine choler of Picardy, the sobriety, the reflection, the disciplinable and civilisable spirit of the Ardennes and of Champagne.

The first impression produced on one who crosses the frontiers, and compares France with the countries round her, is not favourable. There are few sides on which the foreigner does not seem superior; from Mons to Valenciennes, from Havre to Calais, the difference is painful. Normandy is an England, a pale England. What are Rouen and Havre for trade and manufactures compared with Manchester and Liverpool? Alsace is a Germany, all but what makes the glory of Germany, omniscience, philosophic depth, poetic *naïveté*.\* But we must not take France to pieces in this way, we must regard her collectively; it is precisely because centralisation is potent in her, because the general life is strong and energetic, that the local life is weak. I will even assert that in this consists

\* I do not mean to say that there is nothing of all this in Alsace, but only that it exists there in a lower degree than in Germany. She has produced, and still possesses several distinguished philosophers. The vocation of Alsace is, nevertheless, rather practical and political. The second house of Flanders, and that of Lorraine-Austria, were of Alsacian origin.

the beauty of our country. She cannot show that monstrous accumulation of industrial power and wealth which England possesses in her manufacturing countries; but neither has she the deserts of the Scotch Highlands, nor the cancer of Ireland. You do not find in France, as in Germany and Italy, twenty centres of science and of art; she has but one such, one centre of social life. England is an empire; Germany a country, a race; France is a person.

Personality, unity: this it is that gives high rank in the scale of being. I cannot better explain my meaning than by quoting the language of an ingenious physiology.

In the lower orders of animals, fishes, insects, molusca, and so forth, local life is strong. "In each segment of the leech is found a complete system of organs. A nervous centre, vascular sack, a pair of gastric lobes, respiratory organs and seminal vesicles. Accordingly, it has been remarked that one of these segments can live for some time though separated from the rest. As we ascend the animal scale, we see the segments unite more intimately one with the other, and the individuality of the great whole become more obvious and definite. Individuality in composite animals, does not consist merely in the conjunction of all the systems of organs, but, furthermore, in the intercommunion of a number of parts, a number which becomes greater in proportion as we approach the higher degrees of the scale. The more the animal ascends in the scale, the more complete is centralisation."\* Nations may be classed like animals; the intercommunion of a great number of parts, the mutual sympathy and support of those parts, the reciprocal functions which they exercise with regard to each other, herein consists social superiority. Such is the superiority of France, a country of all others wherein national personality approaches most nearly to the character of individual personality.

To diminish, without destroying, local, special life, in favour of general, common life, is the grand problem of human sociability. The human race daily approaches nearer and nearer to the solution of this problem. The formations of monarchies and of empires are the steps by which it advances. The Roman empire was a first step, Christianity a second. Charlemagne and the crusades, Louis XIV. and the revolution, and the French empire which issued from the latter, these were new advances in the same route. The people most thoroughly centralised is likewise that, which by its example and by the energy of its action, has most advanced the centralisation of the world.

This unification of France, this extinction of the provincial spirit is frequently considered as the mere result of the conquest of the provinces. Conquest may link hostile parts together by force, but it can never make them coalesce into one. Conquest and war did no more than open province to province; they gave the several

---

\* *Mémoire lu à l'Académie des Sciences, par M. Dugès. See Le Temps, French newspaper, of October 31, 1881.*

isolated populations opportunities of knowing each other; the vivid and rapid sympathy of the Gallic genius and its social instinct did the rest. Strange to tell, these provinces, differing from each other in manners, climate, and language, comprehended and loved each other; they all felt themselves members of the same body. The Gascon felt anxious about Flanders, the Burgundian rejoiced or grieved for what was passing in the Pyrenees, the Breton, seated by the shore of the ocean, felt the blows struck upon the Rhine.

Thus was formed the general, the universal spirit of the country; the local spirit daily disappeared, the influence of soil, climate, and race, gave way to social and political action. The fatality of place was overcome; men escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances; the Frenchman of the north tasted the pleasures of the south, and was cheered by its sunshine; the men of the south adopted something of the tenacity, the gravity, and reflection of the north. Society and freedom subdued nature, history effaced geography. In this marvellous transformation mind triumphed over matter, the general over the special, and the ideal over the real. Individual man is materialist, he is prone to attach himself to local and private interests; human society is spiritualist, and tends ceaselessly to emancipate itself from the petty things of local existence, and to attain the lofty abstract unity of the fatherland.

The further we go back into the past, the more we leave behind us this pure and noble generalisation of the modern spirit. The barbarous eras exhibit scarcely any thing but what is local, special, material; man still clings to the soil, he is bound to it, he seems to make a part of it. History, in those times, concerns the land and the race, the latter, itself, so potently influenced by the former. By-and-by man's native strength will free him, will unroot him from the soil; he will quit it, reject it, spurn it. He will need, instead of his native village, his town, his province, a great country, through which he may count himself for something in the destinies of the world. The idea of that country, an abstract idea which owes little to the senses, will lead him by a new effort of thought to the idea of an universal country, of the city of Providence.

At the period at which this history is arrived, the tenth century, we are very far remote from this light of modern times. Humanity must suffer and have patience; it must deserve to reach the desired consummation. Alas! how long and how painful an initiation must it yet endure! What rude trials has it yet to undergo! Through what painful travail must it bring forth its new birth! With bloody sweat it must toil to bring the middle ages to light, and it must see them die after so long rearing, nursing, and caressing them. Unhappy progeny! torn from the very bowels of Christianity, brought forth in tears, reared in prayer, and reverie, and anguish of heart, and doomed to die without accomplishing any thing. But they have left us so poignant a memory of themselves, that all the joys, all the grandeurs of modern ages will not suffice to console us.



# ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

## BOOK THE THIRD.

ON THE COLLIBERTS, CAGOTS, CAQUEX, GÉSITAINS, &c.

(See page 279).

THERE are found in the west and south of France some remnants of an oppressed population, of which frequent mention is made in our ancient documents, and which is still regarded with traditional horror and disgust. The learned who have sought to discover the origin of these people, have as yet arrived only at contradictory conjectures, more or less plausible, but far from decisive.

Ducange derives the word *Collibert* from *cum* and *libertus*. "It seems," he says, "that the Colliberts were neither quite slaves nor quite free. Their masters could, it is true, sell or give them away, and confiscate their lands." "*Iratus graviter contra eum, dixi ei quod meus Colibertus erat, et poteram eum vendere vel ardere, et terram suam cuicumque vellem dare, tanquam terram Coliberti mei.*" (*Charta juelli de Meduana*, ap. Carpentier, Supplem. Gloss.) They were emancipated in the same way as slaves. (See *Tabul. Burgul.*, *Tabul. S. Albini Andegav.*, *Chart. Lud. vi.*, an. 1103, ap. Ducange.) Lastly, an author says:

"*Libertate carens Colibertus dicitur esse;  
De servo factus liber, Libertus,*" etc.

(Ebrardus Betun. ib. Vid. *Acta pontif. Cenoman.*, ap. Scr. Fr. x. 385.) But again the law of the Lombards counts the Colliberts among the freemen. (*L. i.*, tit. 29; *L. ii.*, t. 21, 27, 55.) They were doubtless in general *serfs under conditions*, and in a situation not differing much from that of the *homines de capite*. Doomsday Book calls them *coloni*. We often find them mentioned as subject to dues: "*De Colibertis S. Cyrici qui unoquoque anno solvere debent de capite tres denarios.*" (*Liber. Chart. S. Cyrici Nivern.* No. 83, ap. Ducange.)

It is especially in Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and Aunis, that we meet with the word *Collibert*. The author of a history of the Isle of Mailleisais represents them as a tribe of fishermen who had settled on the Sèvre, and he assigns a singular etymology for their name. "*In extremis quoque insulae, supra Separis alveum quoddam genus hominum, piscando queritans victum, nonnulla tuguria confecerat, quod a majoribus Collibertorum vocabulum contraxerat. Collibertus a cultu imbrium descendere putatur.*" He adds that the Normans destroyed a great number of them, and that this destruction was still the subject of song. "*Deleta cantatur maxima multitudo.*"

In Bretagne there were the *Caqueux*, *Caevs*, *Cacous*,\* *Caguins*. We read in an ancient register that they were not allowed to travel in the duchy unless dressed in red. (D. Lobineau, ii. 1350. Marten. Anecd., iv. 1142.) The parliament of Rennes was obliged to interfere, to obtain for them the right of burial. It was forbidden them to cultivate any other lands than their gardens: but this prohibition, which reduced those who had no land to famine, was modified in 1477, by duke Francis.

In Guienne, there were the *Cahets*; among the Basques and Béarnese, in Gascony and Bigorre, the *Cagots*, *Agots*, *Agotas*, *Capots*, *Caffos*, *Crétins*; in Auvergne, the *Marrons*.

By the ancient *for* of Béarn, the testimony of seven Cagots, or Crétins, was reckoned only as one. (Marca, Béarn, p. 73.) They had a door, and a holy water font set apart for them in the church; and a decree of the parliament of Bordeaux forbade them, under pain of flogging, to appear in public, except dressed and shod in red (as in Brétagne). In 1460, the estates of Béarn petitioned Gaston, that they should be prohibited from walking barefoot in the streets, under pain of having their feet pierced with an iron, and that they should be compelled to wear on their garments the old mark of a goose's or duck's foot. The prince returned no answer to this petition. In 1606, the estates of Soule forbade them to exercise the calling of millers. (Marca, p. 71.)

Marca derives the word Cagots from *caas goths* (dogs, goths). According to this, they would be Goths. The name Cagots, however, is found only in the new customs of Béarn, reformed in 1551, whereas the ancient manuscript *fors* give that of *Chrestiaas*, or Christians; in current usage they are more frequently called Christians than Cagots. The spot where they dwell is called the quarter of the Christians.

Oihenart conjectures that the Cagots were formerly called Christians (Crétins) by the Basques, when the latter were still pagans. They were also called *pelluti* and *comati*; yet the Aquitanians likewise let their hair grow long.

Another fact that might be adduced, as tending to prove them remnants of a Germanic race, is, that the *agot* families among the Basques are generally fair-complexioned and comely. According to M. Barrault, a physician, the Cagots in his town are handsome, fair-complexioned men. (Laboulinière, i. 89.)

Marca thinks they are descendants of the Saracens, left behind after the retreat of the infidels, who were, perhaps, derisively surnamed *Caas Goths*, meaning expellers of the Goths. They would have been named Christians, as new converts. The isolation in which they live, seems to remind us of the seclusion of the catechumens. It is said in the acts of the council of Mayence, chap. v.: "The catechumens must not eat with the baptized, or kiss them; still less the gentiles." Again, a letter from Benedict XII., addressed in January, 1340, to Peter IV. of Aragon, proves that the dwellings of the Saracens, like those of the Cagots, were situated in sequestered places. "We have learned," says this pope, "by report of several faithful inhabitants of your states, that the Saracens, who are very

\* The supreme chief of the Truands was called in their language *coître*, and his principal officers *cagours*, or arch-satellites.

numerous therein, used to have in the towns, and other places of their abode, separate dwellings enclosed with walls, in order to be removed from too great commerce with the Christians and their dangerous familiarity; but that, at present, these infidels are extending their quarter, or quit it altogether, and lodge promiscuously with the Christians, and sometimes in the selfsame houses. They cook at the same fires, and use the same benches, and keep up with them a scandalous and dangerous communication." (La-boulinière, i. 82.)

The word *Crétin*, according to Fodéré (Ap. Dralet, t. i.), comes from *Chrétien* (Christian), good Christian, Christian *par excellence*, a name given to these idiots because, as it is said, they are incapable of committing any sin. They are also called *Bienheureux* (fortunate, blessed), and their crutches and clothes are carefully preserved after their deaths.

In a memorial they presented, in 1514, to Leo X., complaining that the priests refused to hear their confession, they say themselves, that their ancestors were Albigeois. In the year 1000, however, the *Cagots* are called Christians in the Capitulary of the Abbaye de Luc, and the old *for* of Navarre. But a fact that supports their assertion is, that in Dauphiné and the Alps, the descendants of the Albigeois are still called *Caignards*, a corruption of *canards* (ducks), because they were compelled to wear on their garments the duck's foot, of which mention is made in the history of the *Cagots* of Béarn. Rabelais, for the same reason, calls the Savoyard *Vaudois Canards de Savoie*.\*

The descendants of the Saracens, continues Marca, appear to have been called also *Gésitans*, as lepers, from the name of *Giéxi* (*Geheni*), the Syrian, who was smitten with leprosy for his avarice. The Jews and Agareniens, or Saracens, believed, according to the writers of the middle ages, that they could get rid of the offensive odour, inherent in their race, by submitting to Christian baptism, or by drinking the blood of Christian children. Father Grégoire de Rostrenen (*Dict. Celt.*) says, that *cacod*, in Celtic, signifies leprous. In Spanish, *gaso* is leprous, *gasí*, leper. The old *for* of Navarre, compiled about 1074, in the time of King Sancho Ramirez, speaks of *Gaffos*, and treats them as lepers. The *for* of Béarn, however, makes a distinction between *Cagots* and leprous persons, the latter being allowed, and the former forbidden, to carry arms.

De Bosquet, lieutenant-general at the siege of Narbonne, argues in his notes on the letters of Innocent III., that the *Capots* were identical with certain Jewish merchants, designated in the Capitularies of Charles the Bald by the name of *Capi*. (*Capit. ann. 877, c. 31.*)

Dralet thinks that it was persons affected with goltre who were the parents of these races. The first inhabitants, he says, must have been more subject to goltre, because the climate must then have been more moist and cold. In fact, few goltrous individuals are found on the Spanish side of the mountains, where the nights are not so cold, glaciers and snow are less

---

\* Bullet thinks this fact is related to the history of Berthe, *la reine Pédaque*, the Duckfoot Queen (*pes aucæ, pied d'oie*. See Book iv., Chap. 1). A passage in Rabelais indicates that there was a statue of the Duckfoot Queen to be seen in Toulouse. We find from Eutrapel's Tales, that they used to swear in Toulouse *par la quenouille de la reine Pédaque*. This phrase calls to mind the proverb: "In the days when Queen Berthe span."—(Bullet, *Mythologie Française*.)

abundant, and the climate is tempered by the south wind. According to M. Boussingault, this disease is caused by drinking the waters which flow down from the high mountains, where they are subjected to a very slight atmospheric pressure, and cannot become impregnated with air. In like manner there are numerous cases of goitre in Chantilly, because people drink there the water of subterraneous conduits, on which the pressure of the air takes little effect. (*Annal. de Chimie*, Février, 1832.)

After all, we ought, perhaps, to admit simultaneously all the various opinions we have cited; all these elements, doubtless, passed successively into those execrated races, which seem the pariahs of the West.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

### CHAPTER I.

The Year 1000—The King of France and the French Pope—Robert and Gerbert—Feudal France.

THAT vast revelation of France, which we have just indicated in space, and which we are about to follow in time, begins in the tenth century, with the accession of the Capets. Each province has thenceforth its history, each assumes a voice, and tells its own tale. This immense concert of untaught and barbarous voices, like a Christmas chant at night in a sombre cathedral, is at first harsh and discordant. There mingle in it strange accents, voices grotesque, terrible, scarcely human, and you might sometimes be at a loss to know whether they were celebrating the birth of the Saviour, or the festival of fools, or the festival of the ass. It is a fantastic and whimsical harmony, unlike every thing else, in which you seem to hear every canticle at once, and the *Dies iræ* mingling with hallelujahs.

It was an universal belief in the middle ages, that the world was to end with the year 1000.\* The Etruscans, likewise, before the introduction of Christianity, had fixed the term of their duration at ten centuries, and the prediction was accomplished. Christianity, a wayfarer upon this earth, an exiled stranger from heaven, would easily adopt these notions. The world of the middle ages had not the outward regularity of the antique city; it was very difficult to discern its intrinsic and profound order. That world saw in itself but chaos; it aspired to order, and fixed its hope of it on death. Moreover, in those times of miracles and legends, when every thing appeared oddly coloured, as if seen through dim glass, one might

\* Concil. Troslej, ann. 909 (Mansi, xviii. p. 266). Dum jam, jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili, ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum pastoris æterni, etc.—Trithemii Chronic. ann. 960. Diem jamjam imminere dicebat (Bernhardus, eremita Thuringiæ) extremum, et mundum in brevi consummandum.—Abbas Floriacensis, ann. 990 (Gallandius, xiv. 141): De fine mundi coram populo sermonem in ecclesia Parisiorum audiui, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet.—Will. Godelli Chronic. ap. Sc. Fr., x. 262.: Ann. Domini mx., in multis locis per orbem tali rumore audito, timor et mœror corda plurimorum occupavit, et suspicati sunt multi finem sæculi adesse.—Rad. Glaber, l. iv., ibid. 49: Æstimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum præterita ab initio moderans sæcula in chaos decidisse perpetuam, atque humani generis interitum.

doubt, whether the visible reality before him was any thing else than a dream. Marvels were the stuff of every-day life ; the army of Otho had actually seen the sun fainting, and yellow as saffron.\* King Robert, excommunicated for having married his kinswoman, received a monster in his arms, when the queen was delivered. In those times, the devil did not even take the pains to conceal himself ; he was seen in Rome presenting himself in ceremony before a pope who was a magician. Amidst so many apparitions, visions, and strange voices, between the miracles of heaven and the delusions of the demon, who could say, but that some morning the earth would dissolve into smoke at the sound of the fatal trumpet? It might then very well have been, that what we call life was, in reality, death, and that the world coming to an end should, like the saint of the legend, *begin to live, and cease to die*. “ Et tunc vivere incepit, morique desiit.”

This dismal thought of the world's end was at once the hope and terror of the middle ages. Look at the old statues in the cathedrals of the tenth and eleventh centuries ; meagre, mute, grinning with the stiffness of spasm, painful in appearance as life, and ugly as death. See how they pray with folded hands for that longed for and terrible moment, that second death and resurrection, which should free them from their unspeakable sorrows, and make them pass from nothingness into being, from the grave to God. This is an image of that poor world, hopeless, after so many ruins. The Roman empire had broken down ; that of Charlemagne had also passed away ; Christianity had thought it its first duty to remedy the evils that afflict men here below, and they continued. Woe on woe, ruin on ruin ! It could not be but that something else should come, and that something was expected. The captive expected in the black dungeon, in the sepulchral *in pace* ; the serf expected on the lea, under the shadow of the hated castle ; the monk expected in the abstinences of the cloister, in the solitary tumults of his heart, amidst temptations and lapses, remorse and strange visions, a miserable sport of the devil who gamboled cruelly round him, and who, plucking aside his bed-clothes at night, whispered merrily in his ear, *Thou art damned*.†

All longed to escape from anguish, no matter at what cost. It were better for them, they thought, to fall once for all into the hands of God and rest for ever, though it were on a fiery bed. It must, too, have had its charm for the imagination, that moment when the shrill

\* Rad. Glaber., l. iv. c. 9.

† Rad. Glaber., l. v. c. 1. Astitit mihi ex parte pedum lectuli forma hominuli terrimæ speciei. Erat enim statura mediocris, collo gracili, facie macilenta, oculis nigerrimis, fronte rugosa et contracta, depressis naribus, os exprorectum, labellis tumentibus, mento substracto et perangusto, barba caprina, aures hirtas et præacutas, capillis stantibus et incompressis, dentibus caninis, occipitio acuto, pectore tumido, dorso gibbato, clunibus agitantibus, vestibus sordidis, conatu æstuans, ac toto corpore præceps; arripiensque summitatem strati in quo tubabam, totum terribiliter concussit lectum . . .

and piercing trumpet of the archangel was to ring upon the ears of tyrants. At that moment, from dungeon, from cloister, and from the field tilled by the villain, a fearful burst of laughter would have risen amidst the weeping.

This dreadful hope of the last judgment increased amidst the calamities that preceded the year 1000, or that closely followed it. It seemed as if the order of the seasons were inverted, and that the elements followed new laws. A terrible pestilence desolated Aquitaine, the flesh of the patients seemed scorched with fire, and rotted from their bones. The unfortunate sufferers thronged the roads to the places of pilgrimage, and besieged churches, particularly that of St. Martin at Limoges; they thronged round the gates in stifling multitudes, nor could the stench that surrounded the church repel them. Most of the bishops of the south repaired thither, carrying with them the relics of their own churches. The throng augmented, and so did the infection; the sufferers died upon the relics of the saints.\*

It was still worse some years afterwards. Famine ravaged the whole world from the East, overspreading Greece, Italy, France, and England. "The bushel of wheat," says a contemporary author,† "rose to sixty gold sols. The rich wasted away and grew pale; the poor devoured the roots of the forests; horrible to relate, men even devoured human flesh. The strong seized upon the weak on the highways, tore them in pieces, roasted and ate them. Some offered children an egg or a fruit, and enticed them aside to devour them. This delirium, this rabid frenzy, rose to such a pitch, that the brute was safer than man. As if it had thenceforth become an established custom to eat human flesh, there was one who even dared to expose it for sale in the market of Tournus. He did not deny the fact, and he was burnt. Another went by night, dug up that same flesh, ate it, and was burned likewise.—"In the forest of Mâcon, near the church of St. Jean de Castanedo, a miscreant had built a hut, in which he cut the throats by night of those who demanded hospitality of him. One man, who perceived bones in the hut, contrived to escape. There were found in it forty-eight heads of men, women, and children. The torment of hunger was so frightful, that many persons, digging chalk out of the ground, mixed it with flour.‡

\* Translatio S. Genulfi, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 361. Chronic. Ademari Cabannens., ibid. 47.

† Glaber, iv. 4. In seventy-three years there were forty-eight famines and epidemics. In 987, a great famine and epidemic; 989 a great famine; 990-994, famine and *morbus ardentium*; 1001, a great famine; 1003-1008 famine and mortality; 1010-1014 famine, *morbus ardentium*, mortality; 1027-1029 famine (cannibalism); 1031-1033 horrible famine; 1035 famine, epidemic; 1043-1046 famine in France and in Germany; 1053-1058 five years famine and mortality; 1059 famine and mortality for seven years.

‡ Chronic. Virdunense, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 209. It is known that the savages of South America, and the negroes of Guinea, habitually eat marl, or clay, during a part of the year. It is sold cooked in the markets of Java.—(Alex. v. Humboldt, Tableaux de la Nature, i. 200.)

Another calamity supervened. The wolves, attracted by the multitude of unburied corpses, began to attack men. Thereupon, the people who feared God dug pits, whither the son dragged his father, the brother his brother, the mother her son, when they saw their strength failing; and the survivor himself, despairing of life, often threw himself into it after them. Meanwhile, the prelates of the cities of Gaul having assembled in council to devise a remedy for such evils, resolved, that since it was impossible to feed all the famishing, those of them who seemed the most robust, should be supported as well as could be done, lest the land should remain uncultivated."

These excessive miseries broke the stubborn hearts of men, and gave them some touch of gentleness and pity. They sheathed the sword, themselves trembling under the sword of God. It was no longer worth while to fight, or to war for that accursed earth which men were about to leave. Vengeance was a thing no longer wanted; every man saw clearly, that his foe, as well as himself, had but a short while to live. Upon the occasion of the pestilence of Limoges, they threw themselves at the feet of the bishops, and pledged themselves heartily and sincerely to remain peaceable thenceforth; to respect the churches; no longer to infest the high roads, and, at least, not to molest those who travelled under the safeguard of the priests or the monks. All warfare was prohibited during the sacred days of each week, from Wednesday evening to Monday morning. This is what was called the *peace*, afterwards the *truce of God*.\*

In this general dismay, the majority found a little repose only under the shadow of the churches; they thronged to them, and deposited upon the altar donations of lands, houses, and serfs. All these deeds bear the impress of one common belief. "The evening of the world is at hand," they say, "every day accumulates fresh ruins; I, count or baron, have given to such a church, for the weal of my soul . . ." or, again, "Considering that serfdom is contrary to Christian liberty, I enfranchise such an one, my serf, himself, his children, and his heirs."

But in most cases, all this was not enough to reassure them; they aspired to quit the sword and baldric, and all the signs of mundane warfare. They took refuge among the monks, and under their garb, asking them for a very small place in their convents, wherein to

---

\* Glaber, l. v. c. 1. "Presently, too, the people of Aquitaine, and all the provinces of Gaul, following their example and yielding to fear, or to the love of the Lord, successively adopted the measure with which they were inspired by divine grace. It was ordained, that from Wednesday evening till the Monday morning following, no one should presume to carry off any thing by violence, or to satisfy any private vengeance, or even to exact bail, and that whoever should dare to violate this public decree should pay the forfeit of his life or should be banished from his country and the society of Christians. Accordingly, every one agreed in giving this law the name of *treugue* (trêve) *de Dieu*."



hide themselves. The only trouble the secular clergy now had, was to prevent the great ones of the earth, the dukes and the kings, from becoming monks or lay brothers. William I., Duke of Normandy, would have left every thing, and retired to Jumièges, if the abbot had allowed him. At any rate, he found means to carry off a hood and serecloth, which he took with him, and deposited in a small coffer, the key of which he always kept in his girdle.\* Hugh I., Duke of Burgundy, and the Emperor Henry II. before him, would likewise fain have become monks. Hugh was prevented by the pope. Henry, on entering the church of the abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun, exclaimed with the Psalmist, "This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have desired it." A monk overheard him, and informed the abbot. The latter called the emperor into the monk's chapter, and asked him what was his intention. "I desire," he replied, in tears, "with the grace of God, to renounce the garb of the world, to put on yours, and, thenceforth, to serve God only, with your brethren." "Well, then," replied the abbot, "promise according to our rule, and after the example of Jesus Christ, obedience until death." "I will," replied the emperor. "Well, then, I receive you as a monk; from this day I take upon me the care of your soul, and I desire that you do with the fear of the Lord what I shall command you. Now, I command you to return to the government of the empire which God has confided to you, and to watch with all your might, with fear and trembling, for the weal of the whole realm."† The emperor, bound by his vow, obeyed with regret. After all, he had long been a monk; he had always lived like a brother with his wife. The church honours him by the name of St. Henry.

996—1031. Another saint, whom she has not canonised, was our Robert, King of France. "Robert," says the author of the chronicle of St. Bertin, "was most pious, sage, and lettered, passably versed in philosophy, and an excellent musician. He composed the prose invocation of the Holy Ghost, *Adsit nobis gratia*, and the hymns, *Judæa et Hierusalem, Concede nobis qui sumus*, and *Cornelius centurio*, which he laid, arranged to music, and noted, upon the altar of St. Peter of Rome, as well as the antiphone *Eripe*, and several other fine things. He had for wife Constance, who asked him one day to do something in memory of her; thereupon, he wrote the rhythm, *O constantia martyrum*, which the queen supposed to have been made for her, by reason of the name Constantia. The king used to enter the church of St. Denis in his royal garments and crowned with his crown, to lead the choir at matins, at vespers, and at the mass, to chant with the monks, and to challenge them to the contest in chanting. Thus, when he was besieging a certain castle, upon the festival of St. Hippolitus, for whom he had an especial devo-

\* Willelm. Gemet., iii. 8.

† Vita S. Richardi, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 373.

tion, he quitted the siege to repair to St. Denis and direct the choir during the mass; and whilst he was devoutly singing with the monks, *Agnus Dei dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell, and the king's army took possession of it, which things Robert always attributed to the merits of St. Hippolitus.\*

"One day, as he was returning from his devotions, in which he had shed a shower of tears, as usual with him, he found his lance adorned by his vain spouse with silver ornaments. Whilst considering the said lance, he looked about to see if he could find any one to whom that silver might be necessary, and finding a poor man in rags, he asked him, prudently, for some tool to take off the silver. The poor man did not know what he wanted to do with it, but the servant of God told him to look for one with all speed. Meanwhile, he addressed himself to prayer; the other returned with the tool, the king and the poor man shut themselves up together, and stripped the silver from the lance, and the king himself put it, with his blessed hands, into the poor man's wallet, advising him, according to his custom, to take good care lest his wife saw it. When the queen came, she was very much astonished to see his lance thus stripped, and Robert swore, in jest, by the name of the Lord, that he did not know how that had happened.†

"He had a great abhorrence for lying; accordingly, to justify those whose oaths he received, as well as himself, he had caused a shrine of crystal to be made, all covered with gold, in which he took care not to put any relic. Upon this shrine he made his grantees swear, not acquainting them with his pious fraud; in like manner, he made the common people swear upon a shrine in which he had placed an egg. Oh! how exactly applicable to this holy man are the words of the prophet:‡ "He shall dwell in the tabernacle of the Most High, who speaketh the truth from his heart, who hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour."

Robert's charity extended to all sinners. "As he was at supper at Etampes, in a castle which Constance had built for him, he ordered the doors to be opened to all the poor. One of them came and set himself at the feet of the king, who fed him under the table. But the poor man, not forgetting himself, cut off a gold ornament weighing six ounces that hung at the king's knee, and ran off as fast as he could. When they rose from table, the queen saw her lord despoiled, and, in her indignation, she broke out into violent words against the saint. 'What enemy of God, my good lord, has dishonoured your golden robe?' 'No one,' he replied, 'has dishonoured me. The thing was, no doubt, more needful to him who took it than to me, and with the help of God it will profit him.'§—Another robber having cut off half the fringe of his mantle, Robert turned round and said to him, 'Get thee gone, get thee gone; be satisfied with that thou hast taken,

\* Chronic. Sith. S. Bertini, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 299.

† Helgaldi Vita Roberti, c. 8. *ibid.*, 102.

‡ Helgaldus, c. 11.

§ *Ibid.*, c. 3.

another may want the rest ! The thief went away quite confused.\* —He showed the same indulgence to those who stole sacred things. One day as he was praying in his chapel, he saw a clerk named Ogger go up furtively to the altar, lay one of the candles upon the ground, and carry off the candlestick under his robe. The clerks, who should have prevented this theft, were in great confusion, and they acquainted the seigneur king, who protested that he had seen nothing. This came to the ears of Queen Constance, who, in a burning fury, swore by the soul of her father, that she would have the wardens' eyes torn out if they did not restore what had been stolen from the treasure of the saint and the righteous. As soon as the king, that sanctuary of piety, was aware of this, he sent for the thief, and said to him, ' Friend Ogger, get thee gone from hence, lest my inconstant Constance eat thee up. What thou hast will be enough to carry thee to thy native place; the Lord be with thee !' he even gave him money to pay the expenses of his journey, and when he thought the thief was in safety, he said gaily to his own people, ' Why do you torment yourselves so much, hunting for this candlestick; the Lord has given it to his pauper !'†—Another time, as he rose at night to go to the church, he saw two lovers lying down in a corner, and immediately he took off a rich fur garment that hung round his neck and threw it over those sinners; then he went and prayed for them."‡

Such was the gentleness and innocence of the first Capetian king, I say the first king, because his father, Hugh Capet,§ doubted his own right and would never wear the crown, contenting himself with wearing the *chappe* as abbot of St. Martin de Tours. It was under this good Robert that the terrible epoch of the year 1000 took place, and it seemed as though the divine wrath was disarmed by that simple man, in whom the peace of God was, as it were, incarnate. Humanity took courage and hoped to endure yet a little while; it saw, like Hezekiah, that the Lord was pleased to add to its days. It recovered from its agony, and began again to live, to labour, to build, and, in the first place, to build God's churches.

\* Helgaldus, c. 7.

† Ibid., c. 9.

‡ Ibid., c. 18.

§ Some have supposed that Capet was an opprobrious appellation, derived from *Capito*, big head. A large head, we know, is often a sign of imbecility. A chronicler calls Charles the Simple, *Capet* (*Karolus Stultus vel Capet*. Chron. Saint Florent., ap. Scr. Fr., ix. 55). But it is evident that Capet is used for *Chapet* or *Coppatus*. Several French chronicles, written long after, have given the translation *Hue Chapet* or *Chappet* (Scr. Fr., x. 298, 303, 313). Chron. S. Medard. Suess., *ibid.*, ix. 56. Hugo, cognominatus *Chapet*. See also Richard de Poitiers, *ibid.*, 24, and Chron. Andegav., x. 272. &c. Alberci. Tr. Font., ix. 286: Hugo *Cappatus*; and again *Cappet*.—Guill. Nang., ix. 82. Hugo *Capucii*.—Chron. Sithl., vii. 269.—Chron. Sirozz., x. 273: Hugo *Caputius*. This latter chronicle adds, that Hugh's son, the pious Robert, chanted vespers clad in a *chappe*. The ancient standard of the kings of France was the *chappe* of St. Martin; thence it was, says the Monk of St. Gall, that they gave the name of *chapet* to their oratory. *Capella quo nomine Francorum reges propter cappam S. Martini quam secum ob sui tuitionem et hostium oppressionem jugiter ad bella portabant, Sancta sui appellare solebant.*—L. i. c. 4.

"Nearly three years after the year 1000," says Glaber, "the basilicæ of the churches were renovated throughout nearly the whole universe, especially in Italy and in Gaul. They most of them were still fine enough to have no need thereof, and yet the Christian nations seemed to vie with each other in erecting the most magnificent. One would have said, that the world was shaking off the slough of its old age to clothe itself in the white robe of the churches."\*

And in recompense for this, there were countless miracles ; revelations and marvellous visions in every quarter brought to light holy relics long thrust aside and hidden from all eyes. "The saints came and demanded the honours of a resurrection upon earth, and appeared before the eyes of the faithful, whom they filled with consolation."† The Lord himself descended upon the altar. The doctrine of the real presence, until then obscure and half concealed, shone forth in its full lustre in the creed of the nations. It was like a torch of mighty poetry that illuminated and transfigured the West and the North. "All this was announced as by a certain presage, by the very position of the Lord's cross when the Saviour was suspended upon it on Calvary. In fact, whilst the East, with its ferocious peoples, was hidden behind the Saviour's face, the West, placed before him, received from his eyes the light of the faith with which it was soon to be filled. His omnipotent right hand, stretched out for the great work of mercy, pointed to the North, which was about to be softened by the effect of the divine word ; whilst his left hand was directed towards the barbarous and tumultuous nations of the South."‡

The strife between the West and the East, that grand idea emitted in childish words from the ignorant mouth of the monk, was the great principle of the future, the main tendency of humanity. Great signs appear ; multitudes of men already take their way one by one, as pilgrims to Rome, to Mount Cassino, and to Jerusalem, Gerbert, the first French pope, already proclaims the crusade. His fine letter, in which he summons all princes in the name of the Holy City,§ precedes by a century the preaching of Peter the

\* Glaber, iii. 4, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 29. Igitur infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet pleræque decenter locatæ minime indignissent. Æmulabatur tamen quæque gens christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui : erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret.

† Ibid., c. 6. Revelati sunt diversorum argumentorum indicia, quorsum diu latuerant, plurimorum sanctorum pignora. Nam veluti quoddam resurrectionis decoramen præstolantes, Dei nutu fidelium obtutibus patuère, quorum etiam mentibus plurimum intul re solamen.

‡ Ibid., i. 5.

§ Gerberti epist. 107, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 426. "Ea quæ est Hierosolymis, universalis Ecclesiæ sceptris regnorum imperanti :

"Cum bene vigeas, immaculata sponsa Domini, cujus membrum esse me fateor, spes mihi maxima per te caput attollendi jam pene attritum. An quicquam diffiderem de te, rerum domina, si me recognoscus tuam ? Quisquamne tuorum famosas cladem illatam mihi putare debebit ad se minime pertinere,

hermit. The grand common enterprise of the middle ages, then preached by a Frenchman and under a French pope, Urban II., and executed, above all, by Frenchmen, that enterprise which made one nation of all the Franks, was to belong to us, was destined to reveal the profound sociability of France. But it needed yet another century to bring it about; it was necessary that the world should settle down and find its firm bearings before it began to act. In the year 1000, a statesman fixes the position of the papacy, and a saint that of royalty; I mean the two Frenchmen, Gerbert and Robert.

This Gerbert, they tell us, was no less than a magician.\* A monk at Aurillac, expelled from thence, and taking refuge in Barcelona, he lays aside his frock to go and study letters and algebra in Cordova. Thence he proceeds to Rome, where the great Otho makes him preceptor of his son and of his grandson. Then he professes in the famous schools of Rheims, where he has for disciple our good King Robert. Become the secretary and confidant of the archbishop, he has him deposed, and obtains his place through the influence of Hugh Capet. It was a great thing for the Capets to have such a man on their side; if they aided in making him archbishop, he aided in making them kings.

Obliged to retire to the protection of Otho III., he becomes Archbishop of Ravenna, and finally pope; he judges grandees, he nominates kings (Hungary and Poland), and gives laws to republics; he reigns by virtue of the pontificate and of science. He preaches the crusade, an astrologer having predicted that he was to die only in Jerusalem. Every thing goes on well; but one day, as he is sitting in Rome, in a chapel called Jerusalem, the devil appears and claims the pope, in pursuance of a bargain passed

*utque rerum infima abhorreere? Et quam vis nunc dejecta, tamen habuit me orbis terrarum optimam sui partem; penes me Prophetarum oracula, Patriarcharum insignia: hinc clara mundi lumina prodierunt Apostoli; hinc Christi fidem repetit orbis terrarum, apud me redemptorem suum invenit. Etenim quamvis ubique sit divinitate, tamen hic humanitate natus, passus, sepultus, hinc ad cœlos elatus. Sed cum Propheta dixerit: 'Erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum,' pagani loca cuncta evertentibus, tentat Diabolus reddere ingloriosum. Enitere ergo, miles Christi, esto signifer et compognator, et quod armis nequis, consilii et opum auxilio subveni. Quid est quod das, aut cui das? Nempe ex multo modicum, et ei qui omne quod habes gratis dedit, nec tamen gratis recipit; et hic eum multiplicat et in futuro remunerat; per me benedicit tibi ut, largiendo crescas; et peccata relaxat, ut secum regnando vivas.'—The Pisans set out on receipt of this letter, and massacred, it is said, a prodigious number of infidels in Africa. Scr. Fr., x. 426.*

\* Guill. Malmesbur., ii. Non absurdum, si litteris mandemus quæ per omnium ora volitant. . . . Divinationibus et incantationibus more gentis familiari studentes ad Saracenos Gerbertus perveniens, desiderio satisfacit. . . . Ibi quid cantus et volatus avium portendit, didicit; ibi excire tenues ex inferno figuras. . . . Per incantationes Diabolo accersito, perpetuum paciscitur hominum.—Fr. Andræ Chronic., Scr. Fr., x. 289. A quibusdam etiam nigromanciâ arguitur. . . . a Diabolo enim percussus dicitur obiisse.—Chron. Reg. Franc., ibid. 300. Gerbertum monachum philosophum, quin potius nigromanticum.

between them in Spain among the Mussulmans. Gerbert had been engaged in his studies at the time, and finding them tedious, he gave himself to the devil in order to abridge them. It was from him he learned the marvels of the Arabian ciphers and of algebra, and the art of constructing a clock, and the art of making himself a pope. Could he have done all this without such aid? He gave himself to the devil, and was therefore his master's property. The devil proves his case, and then carries him off. "Thou didst not know that I was a logician."\*

Saving their friendship for this diabolical man, there was no guile in the first Capets. The good Robert, indulgent and pious, was a king like other men, a king after the manner of the people and of the monks. The Capets were generally regarded as a plebeian race of Saxon origin. Their ancestor, Robert the Strong, had defended the country against the Normans; Eudes fought incessantly against the emperors, who supported the last Carolingians; but the succeeding kings down to Louis le Gros show nothing of a military character. The chronicles fail not to tell us, at the accession of each of these princes, that he was very knightly. We see, however, that they hardly kept their ground, but through the aid of the Normans and of the bishops, especially the Bishop of Rheims. Probably the bishops paid, and the Normans fought for them. These princes, friends to the priests, to whom they owed their greatness, sought, in pursuance doubtless of their advice, to connect themselves with the past, and to outdo the Carolingians in antiquity by remote alliance with the Greek world. Hugh Capet demanded for his son the hand of a princess of Constantinople;† his grandson, Henry I., married the daughter of the Czar of Russia, a Byzantine princess through one of her female ancestors who belonged to the Macedonian family. That family pretended to trace back its lineage to Alexander the Great and Philip, and through them to Hercules. The King of France called his son Philip, and the name has continued to be common amongst the Capets down to our day. These genealogies flattered the Romanesque traditions of the middle ages, which explained, after their own fashion, the real relationship between the Indo-Germanic races, by deducing the Franks from the Trojans, and the Saxons from the Macedonians, Alexander's soldiers.‡

\* Dante, *Inferno*, c. 28.

Tu non pensavi qu'io logico fossi!

Gerbert and Albertus Magnus are, in the legends of the middle ages, the two grand myths of the sage identified with the magician. One thing is remarkable, viz.: that France in this matter anticipates Germany by two centuries; on the other hand, the German sorcerer leaves a deeper trace, and revives, in the fifteenth century in the person of Faust, the inventor of printing.

† Gerberti epist., ap. Scr. Fr., x. 400. Quoniam unicus nobis filius et ipse rex, nec ei parem in matrimonio aptare possumus, propter affinitatem vicinorum regum filiam sancti Imperii præcipuo affecti quaerimus.

‡ In the German panegyric of Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, Cæsar in pur-

The elevation of this dynasty was, as we have said, the work of the priests to whom Hugh Capet gave back his numerous abbeys. It was the work also of the Duke of Normandy, Richard Sans-Peur,\* who, having been ill-treated in his childhood by Louis d'Outremer,† and often betrayed by Lothaire, had good reason to hate the Carolingians. Hugh Capet was his ward and his brother-in-law. It was convenient, moreover, for the Norman to connect himself with the ecclesiastical party, and with the dynasty set up by that party. He hoped, doubtless, to rule it by dint of the sword. This was, likewise, the expectation of the Norman house of Blois, Tours, and Chartres. That family, which possessed, besides, the distant establishments of Provins, Meaux, and Beauvais, were descended from one Thiébolt, a relation, according to some, of Rollo, but connected with King Eudes as Rollo was with Charles the Simple. Thiébolt had married Eudes' sister, with whom he obtained Tours, and had taken Chartres from the old pirate Hastings.‡ His son, Thibault the Trickster, married the daughter of Herbert of Vermandois, an enemy of the Carolingians, and supported the Capets against the emperors of Germany. The Normans of Blois, jealous rivals of those of Normandy, for some time refused to recognise Hugh Capet, from their aversion to those who made him king. But he appeased them by making his son Robert wed the famous Berthe, the widow of Eudes I. of Blois (son of Thibault the Trickster). That widow being heiress to the kingdom of Burgundy, through King Rodolph, her brother, could give the Capets some pretensions to that kingdom which Rodolph had bequeathed to the Empire. Accordingly, the German pope, Gregory V., a creature of the emperor's, seized upon the pretext of a remote relationship, to force Robert to separate from his wife, and to excommunicate him upon his refusal to do so. We know the story, or fable, of Robert's abandonment by his servants, who threw every thing he had touched into the fire; and the legend of Berthe, who was delivered of a monster. Upon the portal of several cathedrals is seen the statue of a queen with a goose's foot; it is, probably, meant to represent Robert's wife.§

---

suance of the orders of the senate, invades Germany, and beats the Swabians, Bavarians, and Saxons, old soldiers of Alexander. At last he encounters the Franks, descendants like himself of the Trojans, gains their good-will, leads them to Italy, drives Cato and Pompey out of Rome, and founds the barbarian monarchy.—Schiller, vol. i.

\* Willelm. Gemetic., l. iv., ap. Scr. Fr., x. 184. Mortuo Francorum rege Lothario, in illius locum ab omnibus subrogatur Hugo Capeth, adminiculante ei duce Richardo.

† Louis kept him prisoner, but one of his servants saved him by carrying him away in a truss of hay.—Willelm. Genr. Hist., c. 4 and 5.

‡ Alberic. ad ann. 904. Hastings, præ timore, vendit Theobaldo civitate Carnotenâ, clam discessit.

§ P. Damiani epist., l. ii., ap. Scr. Fr., x. 492. Ex qua suscepit filium, asserinum per omnia collum et caput habentem. Quos etiam, virum scilicet et

Berthe had borne to the Count of Blois, her first husband, a son named Eudes like his father, and surnamed *Le Champenois*, because he added a part of Brie and of Champagne to his vast domains. Eudes ventured to undertake a war against the Empire. He took possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, to which he was entitled through his mother, made himself master everywhere as far as the Jura, and was received in Vienne. Invited at the same time by Lorraine and by Italy, which desired him for its king,\* he made pretensions to revive the old kingdom of Ostrasia. He took Bar, and marched towards Aix-la-Chapelle, where he reckoned upon being crowned at the festival of Christmas. But the Duke of Lorraine, the Count of Namur, the bishops of Liège and Metz, and all the grandees of the country, gave him battle, and defeated him. Being slain in flight, he could only be recognised by his wife, who found a secret mark upon his body (1037).†

His dominions, thenceforth divided into the counties of Blois and Champagne, ceased to constitute a formidable power. The counts of Blois and Champagne, a family more amiable than warlike, a family of poets, pilgrims, and crusaders, had neither the continuity of purpose, nor the tenacity of their rivals of Normandy and Anjou.

The house of Anjou was neither Norman, like those of Blois and Normandy, nor Saxon, like the Capets, but indigenous. It claimed for its founder a Breton of Rennes, Tortulf, the strong hunter.‡ His son took service with Charles the Bald, and fought violently against the Normans, in recompense for which he received some lands in Gatinais, and the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy. Ingelger, the grandson of Tortulf, and the two Foulques, who came afterwards, were implacable enemies of the Normans of Blois and Normandy, as well as of the Bretons, disputing with the first and second, the possession of Touraine and Maine, and with the third, that of the country extending from Angers to Nantes. More united and more disciplinable than the Bretons, more violent than the men of Poitou and Aquitaine, the Angevins obtained great advantages over the South, extended their sway to the Loire, and pushed their conquests as far as Saintes. They succeeded to the preponderance which had been for a while enjoyed by the counts of Blois and

---

uxorem, omnes fere Galliarum episcopi communi simul excommunicavere sententia. Cujus sacerdotalis edicti tantus omnem undique populum terror invasit, ut ab ejus universi societate recederent, etc.—See *Bullet's Dissertation sur la reine Pédaque* (on the goosefoot queen).

\* Glaber, iii. 9. Præstolabantur illum legati ex Italia directi, deferentes ei aram principatus, ut aiebant, totius Italiæ regionis. Mediolanenses... existimabant eundem Odonem posse percipere regnum Austrasiorum atque ad eos transire, ut illic gereret principatum.

† Ibid. The same story as that of Harold, discovered by his mistress Edith. It is repeated after the death of Charles the Bold.

‡ *Gesta Consul. Andegar.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, vii. 256. *Habitator rusticanus fuit, ex copia silvestri et venatico exercitio victitans.*



Champagne. When King Robert was obliged to part from Berthe, the widow and mother of these counts, the Angevin Foulques Nerra made him marry his niece Constance, the daughter of the Count of Toulouse.\* Bouchard, the brother of Foulques, was already Count of Paris, and possessed the important castles of Melun and Corbeil; Bouchard's son became Bishop of Paris.† Thus, the good Robert, a tool in the hands of the Angevins, and docile to his wife Constance and her uncle Bouchard, had plenty of time to compose hymns and to busy himself with his chapel. Hugh of Beauvais, one of his servants, who endeavoured to bring back Berthe, was slain with impunity before his eyes.‡ Beauvais belonged to the counts of Blois, of whom Berthe was the widow and the mother. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, wrote Foulques a letter, in which he denounced him as the originator of that crime. Foulques, already in very bad odour with the Church, by reason of the property he wrested from it every day, set out for Rome with a large sum of money, purchased absolution from the pope, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return built the abbey of Beaulieu, near Loches. Upon the refusal of the bishops to consecrate it, a legate performed the ceremony. The whole life of this wicked man was an alternation between signal victories, crimes, and pilgrimages. He went thrice to the Holy Land, the last time on foot, and died of fatigue at Metz.§ Of his two wives, he put away the one at Jerusalem, and burned the other as an adulteress; but he founded a multitude of monasteries (Beaulieu, St. Nicolas d'Angers, &c.), and built numerous castles (Montrichard, Montbazou, Mirebeau, Château-Gonthier). They still show his black *Tour du Diable* at Angers. He was the real founder of the power of the counts of Anjou. His son, Geoffroy Martel, defeated and slew the Count of Poitiers, took the Count of Blois prisoner, and exacted Touraine for his ransom; he also governed Maine as guardian of the young count. In spite of its intestine discords, the house of Anjou prevailed, at last, over those of Blois and Champagne. Both became connected by marriage with the Norman conquerors of England; but the counts of Blois occupied the throne of England only for a brief space, whereas the Angevins retained it from the

\* Historical fragment, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 211. *Filiam Guillelmi Tholosani comitis nomine Constantiam*. . . Will. Godellus, *ibid.*, 262. *Cognomento, ob sum pulchritudinis immensitatem, Candidam*. Rad. Glaber, iii. 2.—William Taille-Fer had her by Arsinde, daughter of Geoffroy Grise-Gonelle, Count of Anjou, and sister of Foulques.—Raoul Glaber complains, that the new queen attracted to the court a multitude of Aquitanians and Auvergnians, "full of frivolity, odd in garb and manners, shaved like players, without faith or law." Glaber, l. iii., ad calcem.

† Vita Burchardi, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 353.

‡ Rad. Glaber, iii. 2. *Missi a Fulcone*. . . Hugonem ante regem trucidaverunt. Ipse vero rex, licet aliquanto tempore tali facto tristis effectus, postea tamen, ut decebat, concors regine fuit.

§ *Ibid.*, ii. 4.

twelfth to the thirteenth century under the name of Plantagenet,\* added to it for some time all our seaboard from Flanders to the Pyrenees, and went near to annex it to the realm of France.

The Isle of France and the king, both which the Angevins had for some time in their hands, was soon lost to them. In the year 1012, we find the Angevin Bouchard retiring to the abbey of St. Maur des Fossés, and leaving Corbeil to the Normans. The latter then had sway in the name of King Robert, and endeavoured to give him Burgundy, which would have rendered them masters of the whole course of the Seine. Poor Robert, whom they kept with them, seeing the bishops and the abbots of Burgundy against him, asked pardon of them for making war against them.† The connexion between the Capets and the dukes of Burgundy was an old one; the first duke, Richard le Justicier, the father of Boson, King of Cisjuran Burgundy, had for son Raoul, who made Duke Robert King of France in the year 922, and was afterwards king himself. Then a son-in-law of Richard's transferred the duchy of Burgundy to the two brothers of Hugh Capet. The last of the brothers adopted his wife's son Otto William, a Lombard by the father's side, but a Burgundian by the mother's. This Otto William, founder of the house of Franche-Comté, being attacked by the Normans and Robert, and threatened in another direction by the emperor, who claimed the kingdom of Burgundy, was forced to renounce the title of that dukedom. I say the title, for the seigneurs were so potent in that country, that the ducal dignity was then little more than an empty name. Robert's eldest son, named after himself, was the first Capetian Duke of Burgundy (1032). We know that this house gave kings to Portugal, as did that of Franche-Comté to Castile.

At the period when the Angevins were governing the Capetians in the reigns of Hugh Capet and Robert, they seem to have endeavoured to make use of them against Poitou, as the Normans afterwards employed them against Burgundy; but, notwithstanding what we are told of the alleged victory obtained by Hugh Capet over the Count of Poitou, the south remained very independent of the north; nay, it even exercised some influence over the manners and government of the latter. Constance, the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, and niece of the Count of Anjou, reigned, as we have seen, under Robert. In order to prolong her sway after the death of her husband (1031), she wished to raise her second son, Robert, to the throne, to the prejudice of Henry, her eldest son; but the Church declared itself for the first born. The bishops of Rheims,

\* This name is significant to one who has seen the Loire.

† He was about to besiege the convent of St. Germain d'Auxerre, when a thick fog rose from the river; the king thought that St. Germain was coming to give him battle in person, and the whole army fled.—Rad. Glaber, ii. 8. After having besieged the convent of Sainte Bénigne at Dijon, "Rex ut erat mente benignus, cum cognovit propter se monachos dispersos, valde doluit."—*Chron. S. Benigni Divion.*, p. 174.

Laon, Soissons, Amiens, Noyon, Beauvais, Châlons, Troyes, and Langres, attended his coronation, as well as the counts of Champagne and Poitou. The Duke of the Normans took him under his protection, and forced Robert to content himself with the duchy of Burgundy. From him sprang that first house of Burgundy which founded the kingdom of Portugal. The Norman, however, did not bestow the royal authority on Henry till he had weakened and disarmed it, so to speak ; he forced Vexin to be given up to him, and thus obtained a position within six leagues of Paris. Henry endeavoured in vain to escape from this thralldom, and to recover Vexin by means of the revolts which took place against the new Duke of Normandy, William the Bastard. This William, of whom we shall speak at length in the following chapter, defeated his barons and the king. It was, perhaps, the salvation of the latter that the duke turned his arms and his policy against England.

Henry and his son, Philip I. (1031—1108), remained inert and impotent spectators of the great events that convulsed Europe during their reigns. They took no part either in the Norman crusades of Naples and England, nor in the European crusade of Jerusalem, nor in the struggle between the popes and the emperors. They let the Emperor Henry III. quietly establish his supremacy in Europe, and they refused to back the counts of Flanders, Holland, Brabant, and Lorraine, in the great war of the Low Countries against the Empire. At this period the French monarchy is as yet little more than a hope, a title, a right ; feudal France, which will ultimately be absorbed into it, has hitherto a movement wholly eccentric. If we would follow this movement, we must turn our eyes away from the yet impotent centre ; we must behold the grand struggle between the Empire and the priesthood ; we must follow the Normans into Sicily and England, under the banners of the Church ; and, lastly, we must pursue our way to the Holy Land with all France. It will then be time to return to the Capets, and to see how the Church took them as an instrument in place of the too indocile Normans ; how it made their fortune and raised them so high that they were in a condition to lay herself low.

## CHAPTER II.

Eleventh Century—Gregory VII.—Alliance between the Normans and the Church—Conquests of the Two Sicilies and of England.

NOT without reason did the popes call France the eldest daughter of the Church. It was through her they everywhere combated political and religious opposition in the middle ages. In the eleventh century, at the period when the Capetian monarchy, feeble and inert, was as yet unable to back them, the swords of the French of Normandy repulsed the emperor from the walls of Rome, drove the Greeks and Saracens out of Italy, and subjugated the dissenting Saxons of England. And when the popes succeeded in hurrying all Europe into the crusade, France had the principal part in that event which contributed so powerfully to their greatness, and armed them with so mighty a force in the struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire.

In the eleventh century, the quarrel was between the holy Roman pontificate and the holy Roman empire. Germany, which had overthrown Rome by the invasion of the barbarians, assumed its name and became its successor. Not only did it claim to be its successor in temporal dominion (already all kings recognised the supremacy of the Empire), but furthermore it affected a moral supremacy; it entitled itself the *Holy Empire*; out of the Empire no order, no holiness. As on high, the heavenly powers, thrones, dominations, archangels, depend one on the other, in like manner the emperor possessed a right over kings, kings over dukes, and these over margraves and barons. This was an arrogant pretension, but at the same time an idea pregnant with great results. A secular society assumes the title of a holy society, and claims to reflect the heavenly and divine order and hierarchy in civil life, to set up heaven on earth. The emperor holds the globe in his hand on days of ceremony; his chancellor calls the other sovereigns *provincial kings*;\* his jurisconsults declare him the *living law*;† he makes pretensions to establishing a sort of perpetual peace on earth, and substituting a state of law for the state of nature still existing among the nations.

---

\* It was thus the chancellor of the empire designated all the kings in a solemn diet under Frederic Barbarossa: *Reges provinciales*. Ad imperatorem spectat totius orbis patrociniū (Otto Frising., vii. 34). It was by this title that Boris, King of Hungary, solicited aid of the emperor, in 1146.—Alberic. 309, ap. Raumer, Die Hohenstaufen, v. 63.

† Imperator est *animata lex* in terris.—Urk. in Meichelb. Histor. Frising., ii. 1, 7.

Now, has he a right to do this great thing? Is he worthy of it, this feudal prince, the barbarian of Franconia or Swabia? Does it belong to him to be on earth the instrument of so great a revolution? Is it, indeed, the Emperor of Germany who is to realise that ideal of peace and order so long sought after by the human race, or is it to be adjourned to the end of the world, to the consummation of time?

They say that their great emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, is not dead; he is only asleep in an old deserted castle upon a mountain. A shepherd saw him there, having forced his way through thickets and brambles. He was clad in his mail, with his elbow leaning upon a stone table, and, no doubt, he had been there a long while, for his beard had grown round the table and enfolded it nine times. The emperor, hardly raising his heavy head, said merely to the shepherd, "Are the crows still flying round the mountain?" "They are." "Very good; then I can go to sleep again."

Let him sleep. Neither to him, nor to kings, nor to emperors, nor to the Holy Empire of the middle ages, nor to the Holy Alliance of modern times, does it belong to realise the ideal of the human race: peace beneath the law, the definitive reconciliation of the nations.

Doubtless, a noble world it was, that feudal world which sleeps with the house of Swabia. One cannot pass through it, even after Greece and Rome, without giving it a look and a sigh of regret. There were in it companions most faithful, most loyally devoted to their lord, and to the lady of their lord; joyous at his table and his hearth, to the full as joyous when they had to pass with him the defiles of the Alps, or to follow him to Jerusalem, and the desert of the Dead Sea. Pious and ingenuous hearts beat beneath those steel cuirasses. And those magnanimous emperors of the house of Swabia, that race of poets and of perfect knights, had they so very little right to pretend to the Empire of the world? Their foes admired them whilst they fought them; everywhere they were recognised by their beauty. Those who were looking for Enzo, the fugitive son of Frederic II., discovered him on seeing a lock of his hair. "O!" they said, "no one in the world besides King Enzo has such beautiful fair hair.\* That beautiful fair hair, that poetry, and that mighty courage, all availed nothing. They hindered not the brother of St. Louis from cutting off the head of poor young Conradin, and the house of France succeeded to the preponderance of the emperors.

The emperor and the Empire are doomed to perish, and the feudal world, of which the Empire is the centre and the consummate expression. There is something in that world which con-

---

\* A young girl visited him in his prison to comfort him. They had a son who was called *Bentivoglio* (*I wish thee well*). Tradition states, that he was the founder of the illustrious family of that name.

demns it and devotes it to destruction, and that is its profound materialism. Man has become attached to the earth ; he has taken root in the rock upon which his tower is reared. *No land without a lord* ; no lord without land ; every man belongs to a place, he is judged according as he may be, of *high or low place*. Thus, then, he is localised, immoveable, fixed under the mass of his heavy castle, his heavy armour.

The land takes the place of man ; to it belongs the real personality. As a person it is indivisible ; it must remain one and pass to the first born. Immortal, indifferent, un pitying in its personality, it knows neither nature nor humanity. The first born shall be sole possessor. What do I say ? It is he who is possessed ; the usages of his land rule him, the haughty baron ; his land governs him and dictates his duties ; according to the strong expression of the middle ages, *he must serve his fief*.

The son, the eldest son, takes every thing ; the daughter must expect nothing. Has she not her dowry in the little rose-decked hat, and in her mother's kiss.\* As for the younger children, oh ! their heritage is vast. They have nothing less than all the highways ; and, in addition to this, the whole dome of the sky ; their bed is the threshold of the paternal house. Thence, shivering and famished in the winter nights, they may behold their elder brother seated alone at the hearth, where they, too, sat in the happy times of their childhood ; and, perhaps, he will have some morsels thrown them, notwithstanding the snarling of his dogs. Gently, my dogs, they are my brothers, it is but right that they should have something too.

I counsel the younger children to keep quiet and not run the risk of settling under another lord. From paupers they might become serfs ; after a year's sojourn they would belong to him, body and goods. *A good aubaine* (waif) for him ; they would become his *aubains*, which is nearly the same as saying his *serfs*, his *Jews*. Every wretch who seeks an asylum, every vessel shattered on the coast, belong to the lord ; he has the *aubaine* and the *bris*.

There is but one safe asylum, the Church. Thither the younger sons of the great houses betake themselves. The Church, unable to repulse the barbarians, has been obliged to leave feudalism in force ; she becomes herself by degrees wholly feudal ; the knights remain knights under the garb of priests. In Charlemagne's day, the bishops are indignant when the pacific mule is offered to them, and when one attempts to help them to mount. It is a *destrier* they must have, and they spring unaided into the saddle.† They

\* For example, in the ancient customs of Normandy.

† Mon. S. Gall., l. i., ap. Scr. Fr., v. 109. " A young clerk had just been nominated to a bishopric by Charlemagne. As he was departing in great joy his servants, having regard to the episcopal gravity, brought his horse to a mounting-block ; but he indignant, and thinking they took him for an infirm person, sprang on horseback with such agility, that he was near going clear over.

ride, they hunt, they fight; they bestow benedictions with the edge of the sword, and *lay on heavy penances with their iron mace*.\* A good clerk and a brave soldier was the funeral panegyric pronounced upon a bishop. A Saxon abbot led twelve monks to the battle of Hastings, and all the thirteen fell on the field. The bishops of Germany deposed one of their body as being pacific and *lacking valour*.† The bishops became barons, and the barons bishops; every prudent father managed to procure a bishopric or an abbey for his younger sons; they caused their little children to be elected by their serfs to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. A six years' old *archbishop* stands up upon a table, babbles two or three words of the catechism,‡ and is elected. He takes upon him the cure of souls and governs an ecclesiastical province. The father sells benefices in his name, receives tithes and money for masses, which he takes care not to have read. He makes his vassals confess, and make wills and bequeath whether they like or not, and gathers their inheritance. He smites the people with the two swords; fighting, excommunicating, killing, and damning, by turns, at his pleasure.

One thing only was wanting to this system, viz.: that these noble and valiant priests should no longer be forced to purchase the enjoyment of the good things of the Church by the privations of celibacy;§ that they should enjoy the splendour of the priesthood, the

The king saw him through the lattices of the palace, and had him called to him immediately: 'Friend,' said he to him, 'thou art quick and light, very nimble and agile. Now thou knowest how many wars disturb the quiet of our empire; I have need of such a clerk in my ordinary staff: be therefore the companion of all our labours.'—Acts of the Council of Vernon, in 845, art. 8 (Baluze, ii. 17): *Quosdam episcoporum ab expeditionibus corporis defendit imbecillitas, aliis autem vestra indulgentia cunctis optabilem largitur quietem; præcavendum est utrisque ne per eorum absentiam res militaris dispendium patiatur.*

\* See a Swiss song inserted in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

† This was Christian, Archbishop of Mayence: in vain he cited the words of the gospel: "Put up thy sword within its sheath;" his enemies obtained his deposition from the pope.—Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, iv. 392.—Dithmar, *Chron.*, l. ii. 34. A bishop of Ratisbonne accompanied the princes of Bavaria in a war against the Hungarians, lost an ear in battle, and was left among the dead on the field, where a Hungarian attempted to finish him. "Tunc ipse confortatus in Domino post longum mutui agonis luctamen victor hostem prostravit; et inter multas itineris asperitates incolumis notos pervenit ad fines. Inde gaudium gregi suo exoritur, et omni Christum cognoscenti. Excipitur ab omnibus miles bonus in clero, et servatur optimus pastor in populo, et fuit ejusdem mutilatio non ad dedecus, sed ad honorem magis."—Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, t. ii., P. i. 197.

‡ Atto Vercellens., ap. d'Achery, *Spicileg.*, i. 423. *Ipsos etiam parvulos ad pastorem promovere curam non dubitant.....Rident plurimi, alii quasi de infantis honore gaudentes. ....Ipse quoque parvulus de aliquibus interrogatus capitulis, quæ si præparare potuerit, memoriter reddet, vel in aliquo tremens leget pitatio (pinacio?).*

§ Nicol. a Clemangis, de *Præsul. Simon.*, p. 165. *Denique laici usque adeo persuasum habent nullos cælibes esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint presbyterum tolerare, nisi concubinam habeat, quo vel sic suis sit consummum uxoris, quæ nec sic quidem usquequaque sunt extra periculum.* See also Muratori, vi. 333. It was declared that the children of a priest by a free woman should

dignity of saints, and, moreover, the consolations of marriage; that they should raise around them swarms of little priests; that they should enliven their family repasts with the wine from the altar, and fill the bellies of their little ones with the consecrated bread. Sweet and blessed hope! They will grow up, those little ones, if it please God; they will succeed, as a matter of course, to their father's abbeys and bishoprics; it would be hard to deprive them of these palaces, these churches; the church belongs to them, it is their fief. Thus, inheritance succeeds to election, birth supplants merit; the Church imitates feudalism, and outdoes it. Many a time it endowed daughters; a girl had a bishopric for her dowry.\* The priest's wife walks by his side to the altar; the bishop's wife disputes precedence with the count's lady.

Assuredly, I have no intention of declaiming against marriage; wedded life, too, has its own sanctity. Nevertheless,† is not the virginal wedlock between the priest and the Church in some degree troubled by a less pure marriage? Will he to whom nature has given children according to the flesh, be mindful of the people he has adopted according to the spirit? Will the mystic paternity hold good against the other? The priest might subject himself to privations in order to give to the poor, but he will not entail privations on his children; and even should he resist, should the priest vanquish the father, even should he accomplish all the works of the priesthood, I should still fear that he would not preserve its spirit. No, there is in the holiest marriage, there is in a wife and a family, something softening and enervating, that breaks

be serfs of the church; they could not be admitted into the clerical body, or inherit by the civil law, or be heard as witnesses.—Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 22, ap. Voigt, *Hildebrand, als Papst Gregorius der Siebente, und sein Zeitalter*, 1815.

Rex immortalis! quam longo tempore talis  
Mundi risus erunt, quos presbyteri genuerunt?

(Carmen pro Nothis, ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 444.)

\* Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i. 303. There were four married bishops in Bretagne, those of Quimper, Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes; their children became priests and bishops; the Bishop of Dôle robbed his church to endow his daughters.—Letters of the clergy of Noyon, 1079, and of Cambrai, 1076, preserved by Mabillon. Clerks complained of it as an injustice, that ordination was refused to their children. They even bestowed benefices by way of dowry on their daughters (in the 9th century). Their wives publicly assumed the title of priestesses.—D. Lobineau, 110. D. Morice, *Preuves*, i. 463, 542. It was the same in Normandy, according to the biographers of the blessed Bernard de Tiron and Harduin, Abbot of Bec. Per totam Normanniam hoc erat ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus hereditatis jure ecclesias relinquerent, et filias suas nuptui traductas, si alia deesset possessio, ecclesiam dabant in dotem.

† The author has felt himself bound here to take his stand strictly upon the Catholic point of view of the middle ages. It is proper to recall to mind all the grandeur of that point of view, at the moment when Saint Simonism is proposing to us a reconciliation of spirit with matter, which would be nothing else than the domination of matter over spirit.



the iron and bends the steel; the firmest heart loses something of itself in such a condition; it was more than human; now it is but human. The married man will say like Christ, when a woman touched his garments, "I feel that a virtue has gone out of me."

And all the poetry of solitude; the manly pleasures of abstinence; the plenitude of charity, a life wherein the soul embraces God and the world, think not that they subsist undiminished in the conjugal bed. Doubtless there is there, too, a pious emotion, when one awakens and beholds his children's little cot, and, on the pillow by his side, the loved and honoured head of their sleeping mother. But what has become of the lonely meditations, the mysterious reveries, the sublime tempests of the soul, wherein God and man fight within it? "He who hath never wept through a sleepless night, who hath never bathed his bed with his tears, he knows you not, O heavenly powers!"\*

It would have been all over with Christianity if the Church, enervated and rendered prosaic by marriage, had been materialised by feudal hereditary succession; the salt of the earth would have lost its savour. Thenceforth farewell all internal force, all soaring to the sky; never would such a Church have reared the vaulted choir of Cologne nor the steeple of Strasburg; it would neither have engendered the soul of St. Bernard, nor the penetrating genius of St. Thomas. Lonely and devout meditation is indispensable for such men. Thenceforth, too, there would have been no crusade; before it could be entitled to attack Asia, it was needful that Europe would subdue Asiatic sensuality, should become more truly Europe, more pure, more Christian.

The Church, conscious of its peril, narrowed itself to preserve its existence; life concentrated itself at the heart. Since the tempest of the barbarian invasion, the world had taken refuge in the Church, and had sullied it; the Church took refuge in the monks, that is to say, in its most severe and most mystic part; let us add, its most democratic part. A life of abstinence was less in favour with the nobles; the cloisters were peopled by the sons of serfs.† Face to face with that splendid and haughty Church, which decked itself with aristocratic pomp, rose the other, pure, gloomy, solitary; the Church of suffering over-against the Church of enjoyment. The former judged the latter, condemned it, purified it, and gave it unity. The episcopal aristocracy was succeeded by the pontifical monarchy; the Church became incarnate in a monk.

---

\* Goethe, *Willhelm Meister*.

† The clergy of Laon one day reproached their bishop with having said to the king: "*Clericos non esse reverendos, quia pene omnes ex regia forent servitute progeniti.*"—Guibertus Novigentinus, *de vita sua*, iii. 8. See *supra* how the Church was recruited under Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnaire. Ebbou, Archbishop of Rheims, was the son of a serf. See *supra* a passage from Theganus.

The reformer of the Church, like its founder, was the son of a carpenter.\* He was a monk of Cluny, an Italian, born at Saona. He belonged to that poetic and positive Tuscany which produced Dante and Machiavel. This enemy of Germany bore the Germanic name of Hildebrand.†

While he was still at Cluny, Pope Leo IX., a relation of the emperor, and nominated by him, visited that monastery; and such was the religious influence of the monk, that he determined the prince to repair barefooted as a pilgrim to Rome, to renounce the imperial nomination, and to submit to election by the people.‡ He was the third pope nominated by the emperor, and there hardly seemed any reason to complain of the choice: these German popes were exemplary. Their nomination had put an end to the horrible scandals of Rome, when two women alternately bestowed the popedom on their lovers, when the son of a Jew, when a child twelve years old was placed at the head of Christendom. Nevertheless, it was still worse, perhaps, that the pope should be nominated by the emperor, and that the two powers should be thus united in the same hands; it would naturally ensue, as in Bagdad and Japan, that the spiritual power should be annihilated. Life consists in the conflict and balance of forces; unity, identity, is death.

That the Church might escape from the sway of the laity, it was necessary that she herself should cease to be lay, that she should recover her strength by virtue of abstinence and of sacrifices, that she should plunge in the cold waters of Styx, and temper herself in chastity. This was the point at which the monk began. Already, under the popes who preceded him in the pontificate, he caused it to be declared that a married priest was no longer a priest.§ Great was the uproar thereupon. The priests wrote, they banded together, emboldened by their numbers, and loudly declared that they would keep their wives. "Sooner," they said, "will we give up our bishoprics, our abbeys, our cures; let him keep his benefices." The reformer was not dismayed; the carpenter's son did not hesitate to set on the people against the priests.¶ Everywhere the multitude declared against married pastors, and tore them from the altar. The people

\* Voigt, Hist. of Gregory VII., initio.

† Son of flame, or flame of the son.

‡ Otto Frisingens., vi. 33. *Inclinatus Leo admonitum ejus, purpuram deponit et . . . a clero et populo in summum Pontificem eligitur.* See Wibert, in *Vita Leonis IX.*, l. ii. c. 2. Bruno, *Vita Leonis IX.*, ap. Voigt, p. 14.

§ Berthold. Constant., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 23. *Hujus constitutionis maxime fuit auctor Hildebrandus.*

¶ Marten. *Thes. Anecd.*, i. 231. *Plebeius error.....usque ad furoris sui satietatem injuncta sibi, ut ait, in clericorum contumelias obedientia crudeliter abutitur.* This character of Gregory VII. is put in its full light in M. Villemain's fine work. I will say but one word of this book, a word which, in my meaning, conveys the most comprehensive eulogium: it is profoundly true. Contemporary chroniclers lighted on this truth in detail; but to find it again after the lapse of so many centuries is a great effort of erudition, a rare instance of the power of art and talent.

being once let loose, a brutal levelling instinct made it take pleasure in outraging what it had adored; in trampling upon those whose feet it had kissed; in rending the priestly robe and breaking the mitre. The clergy were buffeted, beaten, and mutilated in their cathedrals; their consecrated wine was drunk, their consecrated wafers scattered.\* The monks bestirred themselves and preached; a bold mysticism became diffused among the people, which grew used to despise forms and break them, as if to free the spirit from their incumbrance. This revolutionary purification of the Church, produced in it an immense convulsion. The means were atrocious. Dunstan the monk caused the wife, or the concubine, of the King of England, to be mutilated. Pietro Damiani, the fierce anchorite, roamed over Italy, defying threats and maledictions, careless of his life, and unveiling with pious cynicism the turpitude of the Church.† This was marking out married priests for death. Manegold, the theologian, taught that the adversaries of reform might be slain without hesitation.‡ Gregory VII. himself approved of the mutilation of a revolted monk.§ The Church, armed with a ferocious purity, resembled the sanguinary virgins of druidic Gaul and Tauris.

There was a strange thing then in the world. As the middle ages repudiated the Jews and buffeted them as the murderers of Christ, in like manner woman was scorned as the murderess of the human race; poor Eve paid still for the apple; she was looked upon as the Pandora who had let loose every mischief on earth. The doctors taught that the world was sufficiently populated, and they declared that marriage was a sin, at the very least a venial sin.]

\* Marten. *Thes. Anecd.*, i. 231. *Hi clamores insultantium, digitos ostendentium, colaphos pulsantium perferunt.—Illi autem, laicos dico, ecclesie mysteria contemnere, parvulos suos lavacro salutari fraudare, ipsi absque humili peccatorum confessione et solemnibus ecclesie viatico migrare, religiosum deputant.* Sig. Gembl., ann. 1074. *Laici sacra mysteria temerant, et de his disputant, infantes baptizant, sordido humore aurium pro sacro oleo et chrismate utentes, corpus Domini a presbyteris conjugatis consecratum saepe pedibus concalcaverunt, et sanguinem Domini voluntarie effuderunt, etc.*

† Damiani says, in one of his declamations on this subject: "When the fat oxen of the church surrounded me at Lodi, when many rebellious calves gnashed their teeth, as if they would have spat their gall in my face, they supported their views upon the canon of a council held at Tibur, which allowed the marriage of priests; but I replied to them: Little care I for your council, I regard as null and void all councils which do not agree with the decisions of the bishops of Rome." In another place, addressing the wives of clerks, he says: "It is you I address, seducers of clerks, bait of Satan, acum of paradise, poison of souls, sword of hearts, lapwings, screech owls, she-wolves, insatiable leeches." &c. "*Venite itaque, audite me, scorta, prostibula, volutabra porcorum pinguium, cubilia spirituum immundorum, sirenae, lamiae,*" etc.

‡ Manegold. *epist. Theoderici*, c. 38, ap. Gieseler, ii. 25. *Hi qui excommunicatos non pro privata injuria, sed Ecclesiam defendendo interficiunt, non ut homicidae poeniteantur vel puniantur.*

§ He declared his approval of the abbot's conduct, and shortly afterwards made him a bishop.—*Chronic. Casin.*, iii. 27, ap. Gieseler, ii. 9.

|| I believe, however, it was Peter Lombard, who lived somewhat later.

Thus was accomplished the purification of the Church; it deemed itself from the flesh by execrating it. Then it was that it attacked the Empire. Then, in the stern pride of its virginity, having recovered its virtue and its strength, it called the world to account, and summoned it to give back the primacy which was the Church's due. The adultery and simony of the King of France,\* the schismatic isolation of the Church of England, the feudal monarchy itself, personified in the emperor, were called to an account. That land which the emperor dares to bestow in fee upon the bishops, of whom does he hold it but of God? By what right does matter presume to rule mind? Virtue has subjugated nature; the ideal must command the real, intellect brute force, election the principle of hereditary succession. God has set two great lights in the heavens, the sun and the moon, which borrows its light from the sun; on earth, there are the pope and the emperor, who is the reflection of the pope.† Let that mere reflection, that pale shadow, know itself for what it is; then, when the world shall have returned to its rightful order, God will reign and the vicar of God; there will be a hierarchy according to the spirit and to holiness. Election will elevate the most worthy, the pope will lead the Christian world to Jerusalem, and upon the rescued tomb of Christ, his vicar will receive the oath of the emperor and the homage of kings.

Thus did the strife between law and nature appear in the Church under the form of the Pontificate and the Empire. The emperor was the fiery Henry IV., as hot and impetuous on the one side, as Gregory VII. was stern and obdurate on the other. The respective strength of the two parties seemed at first very unequal. Henry III. had bequeathed to his son vast patrimonial dominions; the feudal omnipotence in Germany, and immense influence in Italy, and a claim to the right of making popes. Hildebrand had not even Rome; he had nothing, and he had every thing: it is the true nature of the spirit to occupy no place. Everywhere persecuted and triumphant, he had not a stone whereon to lay his head, and he died uttering

\* Gregor. VII., epist. ad Episc. Francorum. Rex vester qui non rex, sed tyrannus dicendus est, omnem ætatem suam flagitiis et facinoribus polluit.... Quod si vos audire noluerit, per universam Franciam omne divinum officium publice celebrari interdicite.—Bruno de Bello Sax., p. 121, *ibid.*: Quod si in his sacris canonibus nolisset rex obediens existere.... se eum velut putre membrum anathematis gladio ab unitate S. Matris Ecclesie minabatur abscindere.

† Gregorii VII. epist. ad regem Angl., *ibid.* 6. Sicut ad mundi pulchritudinem oculis carnis diversis temporibus representandam, Solem et Lunam omnibus aliis eminentiora disposuit (Deus) luminaria, sic. ....—See also Innoc. III. 1 epist., 401. Bonif. VIII., epist. *ibid.*, 197. Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, scilicet Solem, id est, ecclesiasticam potestatem, et Lunam, hoc est, temporalem et imperialem. Et sicut Luna nullum lumen habet, nisi quod recipit a Sole, sic, etc. The gloss on the Decretals makes the following calculation: "Cum terra sit septies major luna, sol autem octies major terra, restat ergo ut pontificatus dignitas quadragies septies sit major regali dignitate." Laurentius goes further: "Papam esse millies septingentes quater imperatore et regibus sublimiorem." Gieseler, ii., P. 2, p. 98.

these words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore it is I die in exile!" (1073—86.)\*

Both parties have been accused of obstinacy, the objectors not considering that their struggle was not a mere strife between man and man. The men strove to be mutually reconciled, and never could effect this. When Henry IV. remained three days in his shirt upon the snow in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa,† the Pope could not but admit him; peace was desired on both sides. Gregory took the communion with his enemy, praying for death if he were guilty, and invoking the judgment of God.‡ God did not decide; judgment was as impossible in the case as reconciliation. Nothing can reconcile spirit and matter, flesh and spirit, law and nature.

The party of the flesh was vanquished, and we men of the flesh feel our hearts bleed at the thought. Nature was vanquished, but in an unnatural manner. It was the son of Henry IV. who executed the decree of the Church. When the poor old emperor was seized at the interview at Mayence, and when the bishops who had remained pure of simony, tore off his crown and his royal garments,§

---

\* Paul. Bernried., c. 110. Otto Frising, l. vi. c. 36. He wrote to the abbot of Cluny: "My grief and desolation are extreme when I see the Church of the East separated by the wiles of the devil from the Catholic faith; and if I turn my eyes towards the West, the South, or the North, I find there scarcely any bishops who are so legitimately, whether by their conduct in the episcopacy, or by the manner in which they have arrived at it. They rule their flocks not for the love of Jesus, but with a wholly profane ambition; and, among the secular princes, I find not one who prefers God's honour to his own, and justice to his interest. The Romans, the Lombards, and the Normans, among whom I live, will soon be, and I tell them so frequently, more execrable than the Jews and the Pagans. And, when I turn my eyes upon myself, I see that my vast enterprise is above my strength, so that I must lose all hope of ever securing the welfare of the Church, if the mercy of Jesus Christ come not to my aid; for, if I hoped not for a better life, and if it were not for the welfare of the holy Church, I take God to witness, I would no longer remain at Rome, where I have now lived twenty years against my will. I am, then, like one struck with a thousand thunderbolts, like a man who suffers an agony ceaselessly renewed, and whose hopes are, unhappily, but too remote."

† Greg. epist. ap. Gieseler, ii. 21. Ad oppidum Canusii cum paucis advenit .....ibique per triduum deposito omni regali cultu, miserabiliter, utpote discalceatus et laneis indutus persistens.....cum multo fletu.—Donizo, *Vita Matildis*, ap. Muratori, v. 366. He threw himself at the pope's feet with his arms spread out in the shape of a cross, and asked for pardon. "It was the first time," says Otto of Freysingen, "that a pope had dared to excommunicate an emperor. In vain I read our histories over and over again, I find no example of the kind."—Chron., l. vi. c. 35. De Gestis Frederici I., l. 1. c. 1.

‡ See Villemain's History.

§ He wrote to the King of France in 1106: "As soon as I saw him, touched to the heart's core with grief, as well as with paternal affection, I threw myself at his feet, beseeching him and conjuring him in the name of his God, of his faith, of his soul's salvation, that, even though my sins should have made me deserving of punishment at the hand of God, he, at least, should abstain from sullying his soul, his honour, and his name in my person. For, no sanction, no divine law, ever appointed the son to be the avenger of his father's faults."—Sismondi, *Republiques Italiennes*, i. 198.

he supplicated with tears that son whom he still loved, and conjured him by his eternal salvation to abstain from such parricidal violence. Stripped, deserted, abandoned to cold and hunger, he repaired to Spire, to the very church of the Virgin which he had himself built, and begged to be allowed his bread as a clerk, alleging that he knew how to read, and that he could chant in the service. He did not obtain that favour; the earth even was refused to his dead body. He remained five years unburied in a cave by Liège.

In this terrible conflict which the holy see waged throughout all Europe, it had two auxiliaries, two temporal instruments. First, the famous Countess Matilda, so potent in Italy, the chaste and faithful friend of Gregory VII. That princess, of French descent, had been reared in exile under the persecution of the Germans. She was connected with the family of Godefroy de Bouillon, but Godefroy was on the side of Henry IV. He carried the banner of the Empire at the battle in which Rodolph, Henry's rival, was slain, and it was Godefroy who killed him. Matilda, on the contrary, knew no other banner than that of the Church; she retrieved the character of woman in the eyes of the world. Pure and courageous as Gregory himself, that heroic woman constituted the grace and the strength of his party; she supported the pope, combated the emperor, and interceded for him.\*

The pope's best supporters, after this princess, were our Normans of Naples and of England. Long before the crusade of Jerusalem, that adventurous people had been waging a crusade throughout all Europe. It is curious to investigate the manner in which these pious brigands became the soldiers of the holy see.

I have elsewhere spoken of the origin of the Normans; they were a mixed people in whom the Neustrian element greatly predominated over the Scandinavian. Doubtless, to see them in the Bayeux tapestry with their scaly armour, their pointed casques, and their *nazaires*,† one would be tempted to believe that these iron fish are the legitimate and pure descendants of the old pirates of the North. Nevertheless, they spoke French from the third generation, and had no longer any one among them who understood Danish; they were obliged to send their children to learn it among the Saxons of Bayeux.‡ The names of those who followed William

\* At the interview at Canossa. See Donizo, *Vita Mathildis*, ap. Muratori, v. 366.

† See the Bayeux tapestry. It has been described in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. viii. p. 602, and more exactly in Ducarel, *Antiquités Anglo-Normandes*.

‡ Guill. Gemetic., iii. 8. Quem (Richard I.) confestim pater Baiocas mittens .... ut ibi lingua eruditus Danica suis exterisque hominibus sciret aperte dare responsa. See Depping, *Hist. des Expéditions Normandes*, ii.; Estrup, *Remarques faites dans un Voyage en Normandie*, Copenhagen, 1821; and *Antiquités des Anglo-Normands*. *Saon* and *Saonet* are in the neighbourhood of Bayeux. Several families bear the name of *Suine*, *Serne*. A capitulary of Charles the Bald (Scr. Fr., vii. 616) calls the canton of Bayeux *Oilingua Saxonica*.

the Bastard, are purely French.\* "The conquerors of England," says Ingulf, "abhorred the Anglo-Saxon tongue,† their preference was for the Roman and ecclesiastical civilisation." We discover in them as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that scribe and lawyer genius which has rendered their name proverbial in Europe. This fact accounts in part for the prodigious multitude of ecclesiastical foundations among a people who, in other respects, were not devout. The monk, William of Poitiers, tells us, that Normandy was an Egypt, a Thebaid, for the multitude of its monasteries.‡ These monasteries were schools of writing, philosophy, art, and law. The famous Lanfranc, who gave so much lustre to the school of Bec, before he crossed the Straits with William, and became in a manner Pope of England, was an Italian legist.§

Those who have written the history of the conquests of England and of Sicily have been pleased to represent their Normans under the forms and the colossal stature of the heroes of chivalry; in Italy one of them kills the horse of the Greek envoy with a blow of his fist.|| In Sicily, Roger, fighting with 130 knights against 50,000 Saracens, is knocked down with his horse over him, but cuts his way through his assailants single-handed, and, moreover, carries off his saddle.¶ The enemies of the Normans, without denying their valour, do not attribute to them such supernatural strength. The Germans, who fought with them in Italy, ridicule their small

---

Caen is also a Saxon name: *Cathin*, house of council.—*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, xxxi. 242. Many Normans have assured me that in their province yellow and red hair are found only in the district of Bayeux and Vire.

\* See the Roll of Battle Abbey, Duchesne, Script. Normann., x. 1023: "Aumerle, Archer, Avenans, Basset, Barbason, Blundel, Breton, Beauchamp, Bigot, Camos, Colet, Clarvaile, Champaine, Dispencer, Devaus, Durand, Estrange, Gascogne, Jay, Longspes, Lonschampe, Malebranche, Musard, Mastravers, Perot, Picard, Rose, Rous, Rond, Saint-Amand, Saint Leger, Sainte Barbe, Truffot, Trusbut, Taverner, Valence, Verdon, Vilan," &c. &c. We observe in this list several names of provinces and towns of France. Several other lists are extant. In some the names are grouped by rhyme in pairs or by threes, in order to aid the memory.

† Ingulf. Croyland., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 155. *Ipsium (Anglicanum) idioma abhorrebant.*

‡ Guill. Pictav., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 89. *Æmulabatur Ægyptum regularium cœnobiorum collegiis.*—"William," says the same author, "never withheld his sanction from any one who desired to make gifts to the churches." Orderic. Vital., iv. 237. *Cœnobis plurima devote construxit.*

§ Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened., sæc. vi. p. 642.

|| Gaufréd. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9, ap. Muratori, Scr. Rer. Italic., v. 552. *Normannus Hugo, cognomento Tudebufem (Oxkiller)....nudo pugno equum in cervice percussit uno ictu quasi mortuum dejecit.* Another seized by the tail a lion holding a goat in its fangs, and flung both over a wall. Chron. Reg. Franc., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 393.

¶ Gaufréd. Malaterra, ii. 30, *ibid.* 567. *Ensem, in modum falcis virens pratum resacantis, vibrando ducens, ut sicut in condensis saltibus jacerent a voto diruta ligna, sic circumquaque sibi adjacerent perempta cadavera. Ipse equo amisso.....sellam asportans.*

stature.\* In their war against the Greeks and the Venetians, these descendants of Rollo and of Hastings showed themselves poor seamen, and very much frightened by the tempests of the Adriatic.†

Mingling audacity and craft, conquerors and pettifoggers, like the ancient Romans, scribes and knights, shaven like the priests,‡ and good friends to the priests (at least in the beginning), they made their fortune through the Church, and despite the Church. The lance did its part, but it was the *lance of Judas*, as Dante says.§ The hero of this race was Robert L'AVIAK (Guiscard, *Wise*).

Normandy was a small region, and kept under too good a system of policy to allow of its inhabitants obtaining any great plunder one from another.|| They were, therefore, obliged to go and make gain,¶ as they said, through Europe. But feudal Europe, bristling with castles, was not easily overrun in the eleventh century. The times were passed when the little horses of the Hungarians could gallop to the Tiber and to Provence; every river ford, every commanding post had its castle. At every defile some man-at-arms, with his varlets and his mastiffs, was seen descending from the mountain, and calling for toll or battle. He inspected the traveller's little baggage, and took a part of it; sometimes he took the whole, and the man besides. There was not much to gain in travelling in this fashion; the Normans adopted a better course. They joined together in large bodies well mounted and well armed, but equipped, moreover, as pilgrims, with scollop-shell and scrip; they were even fond of taking some monk with them. Then, if any one attempted to stop them, they would reply mildly, with their drawling and nasal accent, that they were poor pilgrims on their way to Mount Cassino, to the Holy Sepulchre, or to St. James of Compostella; and devotion so well armed was usually treated with respect. The fact is, they liked these distant pilgrimages; there was no other way of escaping from the wearisome monotony of the manor: and then these pilgrim routes were much frequented; there were good strokes to be made by the way, and absolution at the end of the

\* Guill. Apulus, l. ii. ap. Muratori, v. 259.

Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora  
Esse videbantur.

† Gibbon, xi. 151.

‡ Guill. Malsbur., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 183.

§ Ibid. Ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecunia corrumpere.

|| Guillaume de Jumièges narrates (l. i. c. 10), that a girl's bracelet remained suspended three years on a tree by a river's side, without any one touching it.

¶ Wace, Roman de Rou.—Gaufrid. Malaterra, l. i. c. 3. Est gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix; spe alias plus lucrandi, patrios agros vilipendens, quæstus et dominationis avida, cujuslibet rei simulatrix: inter largitatem et avaritiam quoddam medium habens. Guill. Malsbur. Cum fato ponderare perfidiam, cum nummo mutare sententiam. Guill. Apulus, l. ii. ap. Muratori, 259.

Audit.....quia gens semper Normannica prona

Est ad avaritiam; plus, qui plus præbet, amatur.

Thus who could not make their fortunes in their own country, or who had fallen into disgrace with their duke, immediately set off for Italy.—Guill. Gemet, l. vii. c. 19. 30.—Guill. Apul., i. 259.



journey. At the very least, as these pilgrimages were also fairs, a little trade could be done, and they might gain more than cent. per cent. whilst securing their salvation.\* The best traffic was that in relics; the pilgrims brought back a tooth of St. George, or a single hair of the Virgin, and these they found means to get rid of at great profit. There was always some bishop who wished to gain custom for his church, or some prudent prince who was not sorry, in case of the worst, to have some relic under his cuirass in battle.

It was a pilgrimage that first led the Normans into Southern Italy, where they were to found a kingdom. There were in that region, if I may so speak, three fragments, three ruins of peoples; Lombards in the mountains, Greeks in the ports, and Saracens from Sicily and Africa, hovering along all the coasts. About the year 1000, some Norman pilgrims assisted the inhabitants of Salerno to drive away the Arabs who persecuted and plundered them. These Normans, being well paid for their services, attracted others to the same quarter. A Greek of Bari, named Melo, or Meles, hired some of them to fight the Byzantine Greeks, and emancipate his town. Then the Greek republic of Naples established them in the fortress of Aversa, between her and her enemies, the Lombards of Capua (1026). Last came the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a poor gentleman of Cotentin.† Tancred had twelve children, seven of whom were by the same mother.

During the minority of William, when so many barons endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the Bastard, the sons of Tancred took their way to Italy, where it was said that a simple Norman knight had become Count of Aversa. They went off without money, paying their way with their swords (1037).‡ The Byzantine governor (or *kata pan*) engaged them, and led them against the Arabs. But in proportion as they found their strength increase, by the accession of others of their countrymen, they turned round on those whose pay they received, seized Apulia and divided it into twelve counties. This republic of condottieri had its assemblies at Melfi.¶ The Greeks strove in vain to defend themselves; they assembled as many as 60,000 Italians against the Normans.¶ The latter, whose numbers amounted, it is said, to some

\* Baron. Annal. Eccles., ad ann. 1064.

† Chron. Malleac., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 644. Wiscardus....cum generis esset ignoti et pauperuli. Richard Cluniac.: Robertus Wiscardi, vir pauper; miles tamen. Alberic ap. Leibnitzii Access. Histor., p. 124. Mediocri parentela.

‡ Gaufred. Malaterra, i. 5. Per diversa loca militanter lucrum quærentes.

§ *Karâ pân*, commander-general. This meaning is given by William of Apulia in the verse—

*Quod Catapan Græci, nos juxta dicimus omne.*

(L. i. p. 254.)

¶ Each of the twelve counts had his separate quarter there, and his house:

*Pro numero comitum bis sex statuere plateas,*

*Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.*

(Ibid., p. 256.)

¶ Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9. Græci.....maximâ multitudinē ex Calabria et Apulia tibi coadunatâ usque ad sexaginta millia armatorum.

hundred well-armed men, scattered that multitude. Thereupon the Byzantines called in the aid of their foes, the Germans. The two empires of the East and of the West leagued together against the sons of the gentleman of Contances. The all-potent emperor, Henry the Black (Henry III.) ordered his pope, Leo IX., who was a German of the imperial family, to exterminate those brigands. The pope led against them some Germans and a host of Italians. The Italians vanished at the moment of the fight, and left the warlike pontiff in the hands of the Normans, who, far from maltreating him, knelt devoutly at the feet of their prisoner, and constrained him to bestow on them, as a fief of the Church, all they had taken and might yet take in Apulia, Calabria, and on the other side of the straits.\* The pope became, in spite of himself, suzerain of the Two Sicilies (1052—53). This strange scene was renewed a century afterwards. A descendant of these same Normans once more made the pope a prisoner, forced the holy father to receive his homage, and, furthermore, made himself, his heirs, and his successors legates of the holy see in Italy. This nominal dependence rendered them actually independent, and secured them that right of investiture which was throughout all Europe the object of the war between the priesthood and the Empire.

The conquest of Southern Italy was completed by Robert *l'Avisé*, (Guiscard). He made himself Duke of Apulia and Calabria, in spite of his nephews,† who asserted their own claims as the sons of the elder brother. Robert dealt no better by his youngest brother, Roger, who had come rather late to demand his share in the conquest. Roger lived for some time by stealing horses;‡ he then went over into Sicily, which he conquered from the Arabs after the most unequal and most romantic contest. Unfortunately, these events are known to us only through the panegyrists of that family. One of Roger's descendants united Southern Italy with his insular dominions and founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

That feudal kingdom, situated at the extremity of the peninsula, amongst the Greek cities, in the midst of the world of the Odyssey, was of great utility to Italy. The Mohammedans durst scarcely approach it any longer, until the creation of the Barbary states in the sixteenth century. The Byzantines left it, and their empire itself was invaded by Guiscard and his successors. Lastly, the Germans, in their endless expeditions into Italy, came more than

\* Gaufr. Malat., i. 14. Guill. Apul., ii. 261. Hermann. Contract., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 21.

† Gauthier d'Arc, p. 295. "Guiscard sent word to his nephew Abailard, that he had just seized his young brother, but that if the fortress of San Severino was restored to his troops he would set the captive at liberty as soon as he, Guiscard, should arrive at Mount Gargano." Abailard did not hesitate; the gates of San Severino were opened by his orders, and he went in all haste to his uncle to entreat him to execute his promise, by repairing to Gargano. "I do not expect, nephew," said Guiscard, "that I shall reach it these seven years."

‡ Gaufr. Malaterra, i. 25.

once into violent collision with our French of Naples. The truly Italian popes, like Gregory VII., shut their eyes to the brigandages of the Normans, and entered into strict union with them against the Greek and German emperors. Robert Guiscard drove the victorious Henry IV. from Rome, and hospitably received Gregory VII., who died under his protection at Salerno.

This prodigious fortune, achieved by a family of simple gentlemen, excited the emulation of the Duke of Normandy, (1035—87). William *the Bastard* (he styles himself thus in his charters)\* was of low birth by the mother's side, who was the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. Robert, his father, was not ashamed of the connexion, and willingly surrounded himself with the other sons of William's mother. He had some trouble at first in mastering his barons, who despised him, but he succeeded at last. He was a corpulent, bald-headed man,† very brave, very avaricious, and very *saige* after the manner of the times, that is to say, horribly perfidious. It was alleged, that he had poisoned the Duke of Bretagne, his guardian. A count, who disputed with him the possession of Maine, died after a dinner of reconciliation, and William laid hold upon the province. Anjou and Bretagne, rent by civil wars, left him undisturbed. He had the art to suspend an inveterate quarrel between Flanders and Normandy by marrying his cousin Matilda, the daughter of the Count of Flanders. This alliance was the main-spring of his strength.‡ Accordingly, he broke out into a violent rage, when he heard that Lanfranc, the famous Lombard theologian and legist, who taught in the monastic school of Bec, spoke against this marriage between relations. He gave orders to burn the farm from which the monks drew their subsistence, and to drive out Lanfranc. The Italian was not dismayed; like a clever man, as he was, instead of flying, he went straight to the duke. He was mounted on a wretched lame horse. "If you want me to quit Normandy," he said, "give me a better one."§ William perceived the advan-

\* Ego Guillelmus, cognomento Bastardus.....See a charter cited in the twelfth volume of *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 568.—This appellation of Bastard was undoubtedly not considered offensive in Normandy. We read in Raoul Glaber, vi. 6: "Robertus ex concubina Willelmum genuerat.....cui .....universos sui ducaminis principes militaribus adstrinxit sacramentis..... Fuit enim usui a primo adventus ipsius gentis in Gallias, ex hujus modi concubinarum commixtione illorum principes extitisse." The author of the *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium* copied this passage (*Scr. Fr.*, xi. 265): "Willelmus singulare nothorum decus." (*Chronic. Neubrig.*, *Scr. Fr.*, xiii. 93). We know, besides, that William did not easily endure taunts upon the baseness of his maternal origin. Certain persons he was besieging shouting at him, "The hide! the hide!" at the same time beating skins (his mother was a tanner's daughter), he cut off the hands and feet of thirty of them.—Guill. de Jumièges, vii. 3.

† Will. Malmabur., l. iii. *Justæ fuit staturæ, immensæ corpulentæ, facie fers, fronte capillis nuda, roboris ingentis in lacertis, magnæ dignitatis sedens, quanquam obesitas ventris minium protensa.*

‡ Order. Vital., ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 252.

§ Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., sæc. vi., pars 2, p. 635.

tage he might derive from such a man, and sent him to Rome, commissioning him to induce the pope to approve of the marriage against which he had preached: Lanfranc succeeded; William and Matilda were let off on condition of founding the two magnificent abbeys we still see at Caen.

The fact was, William's friendship was extremely important to the Roman Church, which was already governed by Hildebrand, who soon afterwards was Gregory VII. Their projects coincided. The Normans had before them, on the other sides of the Straits of Dover, another Sicily to conquer,\* which, though not occupied by the Arabs, was scarcely less hateful to the holy see. The Anglo-Saxons, at first docile to the popes, and set up by them against the independent Church of Scotland and Ireland, had soon adopted that spirit of opposition which was, it would seem, necessary and fated to exist in England. But this opposition was not philosophical, like that of the old Irish Church in the time of St. Colomban and St. Johannes Erigena. The Saxon Church seems to have been, like the people, coarse and barbarous.† The island had been for centuries the

\* England had long regarded Normandy with fear. Ethelred sent an expedition against the Normans in 1003. When his men returned he asked them, did they bring the Duke of Normandy with them? "We have not seen the duke," they replied; "but we fought to our loss with the tremendous population of a single county. We found there not only tall, valiant fighting men, but warlike women, who break the heads of the stoutest enemies with their pitchers." At this tale the king, recognising his folly, reddened with vexation.—Will. Gemet., v. 4, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 186. King Canute is said, from fear of Robert of Normandy, to have offered, in 1034, to restore half England to the sons of Ethelred.—Ibid., v. c. 12.

† "The Anglo-Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had long before the arrival of the Normans, abandoned the study of letters and of religion. The clerks were content with a random instruction; they could hardly stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all in amazement if one among them knew grammar. They all drank together, and that was the study to which they devoted their days and nights. They ate up their revenues at table in small and wretched houses, differing greatly in this respect from the French and the Normans, who make but little expenditure in their vast and superb edifices. Thence followed all the vices that accompany drunkenness, and render men's hearts effeminate. Accordingly, having fought against William with more rashness and blind fury than military science, being easily beaten in one battle, they and their country fell into hard slavery. The garments of the English then reached to the middle of the knee; they wore their hair short and shaved their beards; their arms were adorned with golden bracelets; their skin was tricked out with painting and coloured punctures; their gluttony amounted to crapulousness; their love of drink was indulged to brutal excess. They communicated these vices to their conquerors; in other respects it was they who adopted the manners of the Normans. The latter were and still are (William of Malmesbury wrote in the middle of the twelfth century) particularly attentive to their dress, delicate in their victuals, but without excess, accustomed to the military life, and unable to live without war; hot in attack, when their strength is not sufficient they know how to employ alike craft and corruption. At home, as I have said, they erect great edifices and expend but moderately on their tables. They are envious of their equals, they would fain surpass their superiors, and while they plunder their inferiors they protect them against strangers. True to their lords, the least

theatre of continual invasions; it seemed to be the rendezvous of all the races of the North, Celts, Saxons, and Danes, as Sicily was that of the races of the South. The Danes had ruled there for fifty years, living at discretion upon the Saxons, the most valiant of whom fled into the forest and became *wolf-heads*, as such proscribed men were called. The dissensions among the victors allowed of the return and establishment of Edward the Confessor, the son of a Saxon king by a Norman lady, and brought up in Normandy. This good, easy man, whom they made a saint of because he lived in platonic intercourse with his wife, could neither do good nor harm; but the people were grateful to him for his good will, and regretted in him their last national sovereign, as Bretagne cherished the memory of Anne of Bretagne, and Provence that of René. His reign was but a short interlude between the Danish and the Norman invasions. Amicably disposed towards the more civilised Normans among whom he had passed his youth, he made vain efforts to escape from the tutelage of a potent Saxon chief named Godwin, who had re-established him by driving out the Danes, but who in reality himself exercised the sovereignty, since he possessed, either by himself or by his sons, the duchy of Wessex and the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hereford, and Oxford, that is to say, the whole south of England.\* Godwin was accused of having formerly inveigled Alfred, Edward's brother, into his power, and given him up to the Danes. That potent family cared neither for king nor law. Sweyn, one of the Godwins, had killed his cousin Bearn, and the poor king Edward was unable to avenge that murder.† The Normans, whom he opposed to Godwin, were driven out by force; Godwin's sons became masters,‡ and one of them, named Harold, who indeed possessed some great qualities, acquired influence enough over the weak king to induce him to name him, Harold, for his successor.

The Normans, who counted upon reigning after Edward, persevered with all the tenacity of their race. They averred that he had nominated William as his heir; Harold alleged that his own rights were better, that Edward had named him upon his death-bed, and that bequests made at the last moment of life were re-

offence, nevertheless, renders them unfaithful. They know how to weigh perfidy against fortune, and to sell their oaths. They are of all peoples the most capable of benevolence; they pay as much honour to strangers as to their countrymen, and do not disdain to contract marriages with their subjects."—Willelm. Malmesb., *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. iii.—Math. Paris (ed. 1644), p. 4. *Optimates (Saxonum) . . . more Christiano ecclesiam mane . non petebant, sed in cubiculis et inter uxorum amplexus, matutinarum solemnium ac missarum a presbytero festinanti, auribus tantum prælibant. . . . Clerici . . . ut esset stupori qui grammaticam didicisset.*—Order. Vital., l. iv. ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 242. *Anglos agrestes et pæne illiteratos invenerunt Normanni.*

\* Thierry, *Conqu. de l'Angleterre*, &c., i. 223.

† Lingard, *Hist. of England*, i. 448.

‡ Will. Malmesb., xi. p. 174. *Godwinus tantum brevi valuit, ut Normannos omnes ignominie notatos ab Anglia effugaret.*

garded as valid in England.\* William declared, however, that he was ready to submit his claims to legal decision, according to the laws of Normandy and those of England.† A singular chance had given the Norman duke an apparent right over England and Harold, its new king.

Harold, cast by a tempest on the lands of the Count of Ponthieu, William's vassal, was delivered up by him to his suzerain. He alleged that he had left England to claim back from the Duke of Normandy his brother and his nephew, whom the former retained as hostages. William treated him well, but did not let him go so easily. First of all, he made him a knight, and thus Harold became his son in arms; then he made him swear upon relics that he would aid in conquering England‡ after the death of Edward. Harold was, moreover, to marry William's daughter, and to bestow his sister in marriage upon a Norman count. The better to confirm the promise of dependence and vassalage, William took him with him against the Bretons. It is just in this way that, in the *Niebelungen*, Siegfried becomes the vassal of King Gunther, by fighting for him.§ Harold then had become William's man, according to the ideas of the middle ages.

After Edward's death, as Harold was quietly establishing himself in his new royalty, a messenger from Normandy appeared before him and addressed him in these terms: "William, Duke of the Normans, reminds thee of the oath thou hast plighted to him with thy mouth, and with thy hands, upon good and holy relics."|| Harold replied, that the oath had not been free; that he had promised what did not belong to him; that the monarchy was in the gift of the nation. "As to my sister," he said, "she died within the year. Does he want me to send her body?" William replied

\* *Guill. Pictav.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 94.

† *Ibid.*, 95.

‡ *Ibid.*, 87. *Haraldus ei fidelitatem sancto ritu Christianorum juravit.... Se in curia Edwardi, quamdiu superesset, ducis Guillelmi vicarium fore; enlurum.... ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardi decessum in ejus manu confirmaretur; traditurum interim.....castrum Doveram.* (See also William of Malmesbury, *ibid.* 176, &c.)—"According to some," says Ware (*Roman du Rou*) "King Edward dissuaded Harold from that journey, telling him that William hated him and would play him some trick." (See also Eadmer, xi. 192.) According to others, he sent him to confirm his promise of the throne of England to the duke.

N'en sai mie voire ocoison,

Mais l'un et l'autre escrit trovons.

Guillaume de Jumièges (ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 49). Ingulf de Croyland (*ibid.*, 154). Orderic Vital. (*ibid.* 234). The chronicles of Normandy, &c., affirm that Edward nominated William as his successor. Eadmer even does not deny it (xi. 192). Edward on his death-bed, beset by Harold's friends, retracted his promise. (Roger de Hovenden, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 312. *Roman de Rou*, and *Chron. de Normandie*, xiii. 224.)

§ Gunther's wife casts this up against Siegfried's wife to humble her.

|| *Chron. de Normandie*, *Scr. Fr.*, xiii. 229. "Sire, I am messenger from William, the Duke of Northmandie, who sends me to you, and does you to know

mildly and amicably,\* requesting the king to fulfil at least one of the conditions of his oath, and to accept in marriage the girl he had promised to wed. But Harold took another wife. Hereupon William swore that he would come within the year and exact the whole amount of his debt, and pursue the perjured man even to the places where he might think his footing most secure.†

Nevertheless, before taking up arms, the Norman declared, that he referred his cause to the judgment of the pope,‡ and the suit respecting England was pleaded before the conclave of the Lateran in due form. Four grounds of aggression were alleged; the murder of Alfred, whom Godwin betrayed; the expulsion of a Norman promoted by Edward to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and superseded by a Saxon; lastly, Harold's oath, and a promise alleged to have been made by Edward, that he would bequeath the crown to William. The Norman envoys appeared before the pope; Harold was in default, and England was adjudged to the Normans. This bold decision was adopted at the instigation of Hildebrand, and contrary to the advice of several cardinals. The record was sent to William with a blessed standard and a hair from the head of St Peter.

The invasion thus assuming the character of a crusade, a multitude of men-at-arms flocked from all Europe round William's banner. They came from Flanders and from the Rhine, from Burgundy, Piedmont, and Aquitaine. The Normans, on the contrary, were slow to aid their lord in a hazardous enterprise, the success of which might convert their country into an English province. Normandy was, moreover, threatened by Conan, Duke of Bretagne. That young man offered the most insulting defial to William; all Bretagne put itself in motion as if for the conquest of Normandy, whilst the latter was proceeding to conquer England. Conan, at the head of a great army, solemnly entered Normandy; young, full of confidence, and blowing his horn as if to summon the enemy. But as he blew, his strength gradually failed him; the reins fell from his hand—the horn was poisoned. His death occurred at a critical moment for William, and relieved him of a great embarrassment. The multitude of Bretons took service with him instead of attacking him, and followed him to England.

William's success then became almost certain. The Saxons were divided. Harold's own brother invited the Normans, and then the Danes, who actually attacked England on the north, whilst William was invading it on the south. The abrupt attack of the

---

that you remember the oath you made to him in Northmandie publicly, and on so many good relics of the saints."

\* Eadmer, ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 193. *Iterum ei amica familiaritate mandavit.*

† Guill. Malmab., l. iii. *Se illic iturum, quo Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret.*

‡ "As for Harold he set little store by the pope's judgment." *Judicium papæ parvipendens.* Ingulf, ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 154. Guill. Malmab., l. iii.

Danes was easily repulsed by Harold, who cut them to pieces. William's attack was slow; the wind failed him for a long while, but England could not escape him. In the first place, the Normans were greatly superior to their enemies in arms and discipline. The Saxons fought on foot with short axes, the Normans on horseback with long lances.\* William had for a long time been buying up the finest horses in Spain, Gascony, and Auvergne.† It was he, perhaps, who thus created our handsome and strong race of Norman horses. The Saxons built no castles;‡ thus a battle being lost, all was lost; they could hardly defend themselves any longer, and the probability of their losing that battle was great, seeing that they fought in a level country against an excellent cavalry. Nothing but a fleet could defend England; but Harold's fleet was so ill provisioned, that after having cruised for a while in the straits, it was obliged to put back to victual.§

William had thus no fleet to oppose him, nor when he disembarked at Hastings, did any army encounter him. Harold was then at the other extremity of England, engaged in repulsing the Danes. He returned at last with troops, victorious indeed, but harassed, diminished, and dissatisfied, it is said, with his parsimony in the partition of the booty: he himself was wounded. Yet still the Norman made no haste. He ordered a monk to go tell the Saxon that he would be content to divide the kingdom with him; "If he obstinately persist," added William, "in not accepting what I offer him, you will tell him before all his people, that he is a perjured man and a liar, that he and all those who shall support him, are excommunicated by the pope's mouth, and that I have the bull to that purport."¶ This message had its effect; the Saxons doubted their own cause; Harold's own brothers urged him not to fight in person, since after all, they said, he had sworn.¶

The Normans employed the night in devoutly confessing themselves; whilst the Saxons drank and made a great din, and sang their national songs. In the morning, William's brother, the Bishop of Bayeux, clad in a hauberk under his rocket, celebrated mass, and blessed the troops. William himself wore suspended from his neck the most revered of those relics upon which Harold had sworn, and had the standard blessed by the pope carried near him.

At first, the Anglo-Saxons, intrrenched behind palisades, remained immovable and impassable under the arrows of William's

---

\* See the Bayeux tapestry.

† Guill. Pictav., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 181.

‡ Ord. Vit., xi. 240. *Munitiones, quas Galli castella nuncupant, anglicis provinciis paucissimæ fuerant.*

§ Victu deficiente. Roger de Hovenden, ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 312.

¶ Chron. de Normandie, ap. Sc. Fr., xiii. 231.

¶ William, on the contrary, proposed a single combat. *Proponebat Willelmus.... soli rem gladiis ventilarent.* Math. Paris, p. 2, col. 2, ed. 1644.



archers. Though Harold was shot in the eye with an arrow, the Normans at first had the worst of the fight; a panic spread amongst them; the rumour ran that the duke was killed. It is true, he had three horses killed under him in the action;\* but he showed himself, threw himself before the fugitives, and stopped them. The advantage gained by the Saxons was precisely what lost them the day; they descended into the plain, and the Norman cavalry regained the upper hand. The lances prevailed over the axes; the redoubts were broken down; the Saxons were all slain or dispersed (1066).

Upon the hill on which old England had perished with the last Saxon king, William built a fine rich abbey, *Battle Abbey*, according to the vow he had made to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul. It is not long since the names of the conquerors were still to be seen there, engraved on tables; they constituted the golden book of the English nobility. Harold was buried by the monks upon that hill opposite the sea. "He kept the coast," said William, "let him keep it still."†

The Norman at first proceeded with some gentleness and with some regard for the vanquished. He degraded one of his men who had smitten the corse of Harold with his sword.‡ He took the title of King of the English, promised to maintain the good laws of Edward the Confessor, attached London to him, and confirmed the privileges of the men of Kent. This was the most warlike of the counties, that which occupied the advanced-guard in the English army; that in which the old Celtic liberties had been the best preserved. When Lanfranc, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, advocated the privileges of the men of Kent, in opposition to the tyranny of William's brother, the king heard him with favour. The conqueror even endeavoured to learn English,§ that so he might be able to render good justice to the men of that tongue. He

\* Ord. Vit., xi. 236. Tres equi sub eo confossi ceciderunt. Guill. Pictav., ibid. 98. Guill. Malmsh., ibid. 184.

† Lingard, Hist. of England, i. 501.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 3. Jacentis femur regis gladio præcidit..... militia pulsus. Alberic. Tr. Font., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 361.

§ Order. Vital., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 243. Anglicam locutionem plerumque mater ediscere..... Ast a perceptione hujusmodi durior ætas illum compescebat. He began by checking the licentiousness of his mercenaries by rigid regulations. Guill. Pictav., ibid. 101. "Tutæ erant a vi mulieres; etiam illa delicta que fierent consensu impudicarum..... vetabantur. Potare militem in tabernis non multum concessit..... seditiones interdixit, cædem et omnem rapinam, etc. Porus et quælibet itinera negotiatoribus patere, et nullam injuriam fieri jussit." This passage has been copied from William's panegyrist by the conscientious Orderic Vital., ibid. 238.—"The weak and unarmed man," says William of Poitiers again, "went along singing on his horse wherever he pleased, without trembling at the sight of troops of knights."—"A girl loaded with gold," says Huntingdon, "might have safely traversed the whole kingdom." (Scr. Fr., xi. 211.) The resistance of the Anglo-Saxons afterwards irritated William, and prompted him to those acts of violence with which all the chronicles are filled.

piqued himself on being strict in the administration of justice, to the length of deposing his uncle from an archbishopric for conduct that was not edifying. Meanwhile, he founded a multitude of castles, and secured all the places of strength.

Perhaps William would have desired no better than to treat the vanquished with mildness; that was his interest, it would have made him but the more absolute in Normandy. But this did not accord with the views of so many persons to whom he had promised spoil, and who expected it. They had not fought at Hastings in order to let William come to an amicable arrangement with the Saxons. He went back into Normandy, and remained there several years, doubtless to evade and postpone the fulfilment of his promises, and to give the strangers who had followed his banners time to become disheartened and to disperse. But a great revolution broke out during his absence. The Saxons could not persuade themselves that they had been beaten beyond recovery in a single battle. William had now great need of his men-at-arms, and a partition was now absolutely necessary. All England was measured out and described; 60,000 knights' fees were created there at the expense of the Saxons, and the result was registered in Domesday-book, the black book of the conquest. Then began those frightful scenes of spoliation, of which we possess so vivid and dramatic a history.\* We must not, however, believe, that the vanquished were robbed of every thing; many of them preserved their estates, and this in all the counties; a single one of them is set down as possessing forty-one manors in the county of York.†

It is not uninteresting to see what the Saxons themselves thought of the conqueror.

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the lord, we will describe him as we have known him; for we looked on him, and some while lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his foregangars. He was mild to good men, who loved God; and stark beyond all bounds to those who withsaid his will. On the very stede, where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery, and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year, when he was in England; at Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and in mid-winter at Gloucester. And then were with him all the rich men over all England: archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. Moreover, he was a very stark man, and very savage: so that no man durst do any thing against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had done against his will; bishops he set off their bishoprics, abbots off their abbotries, and thanes in prisons: and at last he did not spare his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet among

---

\* See the work of M. Augustin Thierry.

† Hallam, *Hist. of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. 57.

other things we must not forget the good frith\* which he made in this land: so that a man that was good for aught might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation: and no man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so mickle evil from the other. He ruled over England: and by his cunning he was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that there is not a hide of land, of which he did not know, both who had it, and what was its worth: and that he set down in his writings. Wales was under his weald, and therein he wrought castles: and he wielded the Isle of Man withal: moreover he subdued Scotland by his mickle strength: Normandy was his by kinn: and over the earldom called Manns he ruled: and if he might have lived yet two years, he would have won Ireland by the fame of his power, and without any armament. Yet truly in his time men had mickle suffering, and very many hardships. Castles he caused to be wrought, and poor men to be oppressed. He was so very stark. He took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver: and that he took, some by right, and some by mickle might, for very little need. He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal. . . . He let his lands to fine as dear as he could: then came some other and bade more than the first had given, and the king let it to him who bade more. Then came a third, and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands of the man who bade the most. Nor did he reck how sinfully his reeves got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. For the more men talked of right law, the more they did against the law. . . . He also set many deer-friths:† and he made laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind, him man should blind. As he forbade the slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he loved the high-deer, as if he had been their father. He also decreed about hares, that they should go free. His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured: but he was so hard that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was need they should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to live, or to have lands, or goods, or his favour. Alas, that any man should be so moody, and should so puff up himself, and think himself above all other men! May Almighty God have mercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins."‡

Whatever were the evils of the conquest, the result was, in my opinion, immensely beneficial to England and to the human race.§ For the first time, there was a government; the social bond, lax and fluctuating in France and Germany, was made tense to excess in England. The barons, few in numbers amidst a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to rally round the king. William received the oaths of the sub-vassals as well as of the vassals.]

\* Frith is the king's peace or protection, the violation of which subjected the offender to a heavy fine.

† Deer-friths were forests in which the deer were under the king's protection or *frith*.

‡ Saxon Chron., 189—191.

§ Such was the opinion of Gibbon and of the authors of *l'Art de Verifier les Dates*.

|| Chron. Sax., Scr. Fr., xiii. 51. Omnes prædia tenentes, quotquot essent

The King of France easily obtained the homage of the vassals, but he would not have been well received had he demanded of a Duke of Guienne or a Count of Flanders that of the barons and knights depending on them. Yet, this was every thing; a monarchy that rested only on the homage of the great vassals was purely nominal. Removed by its elevation in the scale from the inferior ranks which constituted its real strength, it remained solitary and feeble at the summit of the pyramid, whilst the great vassals, placed in the middle, had the strong base of the edifice beneath them.

This continual danger in which the Norman aristocracy felt itself placed in the first century, made it endure strange things at the king's hands. As the depository of the common interests of the conquest, and defender of that immense and perilous injustice, he was allowed every means of assuring himself that the land would be well defended. He was the universal guardian of all noble minors; he gave noble heiresses in marriage to whomsoever he pleased; he made money of every thing; guardianships and marriages; consuming the property of the children under his ward, and exacting money from those who wished to marry rich women, and from the women who refused his protégés.\* These feudal rights existed over the whole continent, but under a very different form. The King of France could put his veto upon any marriage that would be injurious to his interests; but he could not force a husband upon his vassal's daughter. The royal guardianship of minors was exercised, but in conformity with the gradations of feudal rank; that of the sub-vassals belonged to the vassals, and not to the king.

Independently of the *danegeld* levied on all, under pretext of providing for the defence against the Danes, independently of the *taillies* exacted from the vanquished and from the non-nobles, the King of England extracted a tax from the nobility themselves, under the honourable name of *scutage*. This was the price of dispensation from going to the wars. The barons, wearied with continual calls to arms, chose rather to pay some money than to follow their adventurous sovereign in his various enterprises, and he, for his part, was very well satisfied with the exchange. Instead of the capricious and uncertain service of the barons, he purchased that of the Gascon, Brabançon, Walloon, and other mercenaries. These men looked only to the king, and constituted his strength against the aristocracy, which thus had to pay for the bit and bridle the king put into its mouth.

Thus the monarchy became consolidated, and along with it the

---

note melioris per totam Angliam, ejus facti sunt vassali, ac ei fidelitatis jura-  
menta præstiterunt.

\* The Bishop of Winchester paid a vessel of good wine for not having reminded King John to give the Countess of Albemarle a girdle; and Robert de Vaux five horses of the best, that the same king might keep his peace with the wife of Henry Pinel; another paid four marks for permission to eat (*pro licentia comedendi*). Hallam, Middle Ages, ii.

Church ; a strong and politic Church, like that which Charlemagne had founded in Saxony to discipline the ancient Saxons. Nowhere did so large a share fall to the lot of the clergy. To this day, the revenue of the Anglican Church alone exceeds those of all the Churches of the world put together.\* That Church had its unity in the Archbishop of Canterbury ; he was, as it were, a sort of patriarch or pope, who did not always regard the orders of the Pope of Rome, and who frequently interposed between the king and the people, and sometimes, even on behalf of the vanquished Saxons.† “ Archbishop Lanfranc, William’s councillor and confessor, prompted and strengthened by the pope’s favour and the king’s, attacked and overwhelmed the prelates and grantees who showed a disposition to rebel against the royal authority.”‡ It was he who governed England when William crossed over to the continent.

This vigorous organisation of the Anglo-Norman monarchy and Church was an example to the world. All kings envied the omnipotence of those of England, and the nations coveted the tyrannical, but regular police that prevailed in Great Britain.

The vanquished had paid dearly, it is true, for this order and organisation ; but the towns became peopled in the long run by the desolation of the rural districts.§ Their strong and compact population prepared a new destiny for England. The king had maintained the Saxon tribunals of the counties and the hundreds, in order the more to restrict the feudal jurisdictions,|| which again found an obstacle in the sovereign authority of the king’s court. Thus, England, shut up by the conquest within an iron frame, began to know public order, and that order developed a prodigious social force. In the two centuries that succeeded the conquest arose, notwithstanding so many calamities, those marvellous monuments, which all the powers of the present times could scarcely equal ; the low and gloomy Saxon churches shot up into bold spires and majestic towers. If the diversity of races and tongues delayed the rise of literature, art, at least, began its career. It is from these monuments, from the social force they reveal, that we must judge of the conquest, and not from the transient calamities that followed in its train. The conquest was what completed England ; it was the point whence she began her soaring flight ; this is the absolution of the invasion.

Though the Normans were far from fulfilling all the hopes which the Church of Rome had built upon their victories, nevertheless that Church gained infinitely thereby. The Normans of Naples, from the very first, and those of England, from the times of Henry II.

\* According to an English journal, translated by the *Temps* of November 8, 1831, the revenue of the Anglican Church is 236,489,125 francs ; that of the Christian clergy throughout the rest of the world is 224,975,000 francs.

† See *infra* Lanfranc, St. Anselm, Thomas à Becket, Stephen Langton, &c.

‡ Matth. Paris, lib. de Abbat., 8, Albani, p. 29, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 52.

§ Population rapidly decreased in the towns in the times immediately following the conquest. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 95.

|| Ibid.

and John, owned themselves feudatories of the holy see. The Normans of Italy frequently kept the emperors of the East and of the West in check. The Normans of England, formidable vassals of the King of France, for a long while obliged him to give himself up without reserve to the pope. At the same time, the Capetians of Burgundy contributed to the victories of the Cid, became possessed of the kingdom of Castile by marriage, and founded that of Portugal (1094 or 1095). On all sides, the Church was triumphant in Europe by the sword of the French. They had begun or completed in Sicily, Spain, England, and the Greek empire, the crusade waged against the enemies of the pope and of the faith.

These enterprises were, however, too independent one of the other, and also too selfish, too interested, to accomplish that great aim of Gregory VII. and his successors, the unity of Europe under the pope, and the depression of the two empires. To approach that grand aim of unity it was necessary, that the Church should take part in the matter, that Christianity should lend its aid. The world of the eleventh century had in its diversity one common principle of life, viz: religion; one common form, the feudal and martial. A religious war alone could unite it; nothing could make it forget the diversities of races and of political interests that rent it, but its being confronted with a general and greater diversity, one so great that every other disappeared in comparison with it. Europe could only believe itself one, and become so, by seeing itself placed face to face with Asia; this was the purpose for which the popes strove from the year 1000. A French pope, Gerbert, Silvester II., wrote to the princes of Christendom in the name of Jerusalem. Gregory VII. would fain have placed himself at the head of 50,000 knights to deliver the Holy Sepulchre. It was Urban II., a Frenchman like Gerbert, who had the glory of that achievement. Germany had her crusade in Italy, Spain had hers upon her own territory. The holy war in Jerusalem, resolved on in France at the council of Clermont, preached up by the Frenchman, Peter the Hermit, was mainly effected by Frenchmen. The ideal of the crusades is embodied in two Frenchmen: Godefroy de Bouillon begins them; they are closed by St. Louis. It belonged to France to contribute more than all other countries to that great event which made Europe one nation.

## CHAPTER III.

## The Crusade, 1095—1099.

VERY long had those two sisters, those two moieties of humanity, Europe and Asia, the Christian religion and the Mussulman, lost sight of each other, when they were again placed face to face by the crusade. The first glance was one of mutual horror, it needed some time before they could recognise each other, and before the human race could confess its identity. Let us endeavour to appreciate what they then were; to determine the age at which they had arrived in their religious life.

Islamism was the younger of the two, yet already the older and more decrepit; its destinies were short. Born 600 years later than Christianity, it ended in the time of the crusades. What we see of it since then is a shadow, an empty form, from which life has departed, and which the barbarian heirs of the Arabs keep silently without questioning it.

Islamism, the most recent of the Asiatic religions, is also the last important effort of the East to escape from the materialism that crushes it. Persia sufficed not with its heroic opposition of the kingdom of light against that of darkness, of Iran against Turan. Judea sufficed not, wholly wrapt up as it was in the unity of its abstract God, and wholly concentrated and hardened in itself. Neither the one, nor the other, was able to effect the redemption of Asia. What was to be expected from Mohammed, who only adopted the Jewish God; who took that God from the elect people and imposed him upon all? Would Ishmael know more of him than his brother Israel? Would the Arabian desert be more fruitful than Persia, or Judea?

God is God. This is the substance of Islamism, the religion of unity. Let man disappear and the flesh hide itself; no images, no art; that dread God would be jealous of his own symbols; it is his will that he should be alone with man, that he should fill his soul and suffice for it. The principle of the family is almost destroyed; so, too, is that of kindred, of tribe, and all the old bonds of Asiatic society. Woman is hidden in the harem; four wives are allowed, but concubines without number; little intercourse subsists between brothers and relations; the name of Mussulman supplies the place of those names. The families, without a common name, without special distinguishing marks,\* and without perpetuity, seem to arise

\* The Orientals have personal, but no hereditary armorial cognisances. *Description des Monuments Mussulmans du Cabinet de M. de Blacas*, t. i. p. 119.

anew at every generation. Every one builds him a house, and the house dies with the man. Man holds fast neither by man, nor by the land. Isolated, and leaving no trace, they pass away like the sand swept by the desert wind; all equal, like the grains of sand under the eye of a levelling God, who permits of no gradations of rank.

No Christ, no mediator, no God-man. Mahomet suppresses that ladder which Christianity had lowered to us from on high, and which led up to God through the saints, the Virgin, the angels, and Jesus. All idea of hierarchy, both divine and human, perishes. God withdraws from man into the infinite depths of heaven, or comes down to earth to crush him. Miserable atoms, all equal in our nothingness, we lie prostrate upon the arid plain. This religion is, truly, Arabia herself; heaven and earth with nothing between them. No mountain raising us nearer to heaven; no softening vapour, that beguiles the effect of distance; but a dark, azure dome spread pitilessly above us like a hot steel casque.

Islamism, created to extend itself, will not remain in this sublime and sterile isolation; it must overrun the world at the risk of change. That God whom Mahomet stole from Moses, might remain abstract, pure, and terrible upon the Jewish mountain, or in the Arabian desert; but, behold, the Prophet's mounted warriors lead him victoriously from Bagdad to Cordova, from Damascus to Surat! He will begin to grow humanised when the whirling of the scimitar shall no longer fan the flame of his fierce zeal. His austerity, I fear, will not be proof against the paradise of the harem and its solitary roses, and the gushing fountains of the Alhambra. The flesh, denounced by this haughty religion,\* obstinately insists upon its rights; proscribed matter returns under another form, and avenges itself with the violence of an exile who returns as master. They shut woman up in the harem, but she shuts them up with her. They would not have the Virgin, and they have been fighting a thousand years for Fatima.† They rejected the man-God, and repudiated an incarnation in their hatred of Christ; they proclaim that of Ali.‡ They condemned magism, the reign of light, and they teach that Mahomet is uncreated

\* Among the Mussulmans, the words signifying woman, and thing forbidden by religion, may be used synonymously. *Bibl. des Croisades*, t. iv. p. 169.

† Fatima will enter Paradise next after Mahomet; the Mussulmans call her the Lady of Paradise. Some Schiites (followers of Ali) maintain, that though mother, Fatima nevertheless remained a virgin, and that God became incarnate in her children.—*Descript. des Mons. Muss. du Cabinet de M. de Blacas*, par M. Reinaud, t. ii. pp. 180, 202.

‡ To this day whole provinces in Persia and Syria retain the same creed. "Those even among the Schiites who did not venture to say that *Ali was God*, were persuaded that he was little short of being so, and the Persians frequently say, 'I do not think that Ali is God, but I think is very nearly so.'—"The Schiites say on this subject, that such was the lustre that shone from Ali's person, that it was impossible to sustain his glance. As soon as he appeared, the people cried out 'Thou art God!' For these words Ali put them to death, and then resuscitated them, whereupon they vociferated still more vehemently: 'Thou art God! Thou



light.\* According to others, Ali is that light, and the Imans, his descendants and successors, are incarnate rays. Ismail, the last of those Imans, disappeared from the earth, but his race subsists somewhere unknown; it is a duty to seek it out. The Fatimite caliphs of Egypt were the visible representatives of this family of Ali and Fatima. Before their day, these doctrines had prevailed in the eastern mountains of the old Persian empire, where Islamism had been unable to stifle magiam.† They were in great vogue in the eighth and ninth centuries when the fanatic Carmathians, who called themselves ISMAILIS, began to overrun all Asia, sword in hand, seeking their invisible Iman. The Abassides exterminated them by hundreds of thousands; but one of them escaping into Egypt, founded the Fatimite dynasty for the ruin of the Abassides and of the Koran.

Mysterious Egypt resuscitated its old initiations. The Fatimites founded in Cairo a lodge, or *house of wisdom*, an immense and darksome factory of fanaticism, of science, religion, and atheism.‡

---

art God! Hence they have surnamed him the Dispenser of Light, and when they portray him they cover his face."—Reinaud, ii. 163.

\* According to some doctors, the idea of Mahomet was in God's eye at the moment of creation, and that idea, a substance at once spiritual and luminous, emitted three rays; out of the first God created the heavens; out of the second, the earth; out of the third, Adam and all his race. Thus the Trinity is found in Islamism, as well as the incarnation. The Westerns thought they could also detect in it the Christian hierarchy. "These nations," said Guibert de Nogent, "have their pope like ourselves." L. V. ap. Bongars, p. 312—13.

† Von Hammer, Hist. of the Assassins.

‡ Ibid.—The *house of wisdom* is perhaps identical with that palace in Cairo, of which William of Tyre has left us so pompous a description. The progression of wealth and grandeur would seem to correspond to degrees of initiation. Be this as it may, we give a translation of this precious record:

"Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffroy of the soldiers of the temple, entered the city of Cairo, led by the Soudan, to discharge their mission. They went up to the palace, named *Casher* in the language of the country, with a numerous troop of apparitors marching before them sword in hand, with great noise. They were led through narrow, dark passages, and at every door cohorts of armed Ethiopians paid homage to the Soudan with repeated salutations. After passing the first and second post, being introduced into a larger space, which was open to the day, and lighted by the sun, they found galleries flanked with marble columns, decorated with gold, enriched with sculptures in relief, paved with mosaic, and worthy, throughout the whole extent, of royal magnificence. The eye rested involuntarily upon the richness of the materials and of the workmanship, and the eager gaze, delighted with the novelty of the spectacle, could scarcely have enough. There were also basins filled with limpid water. A multitude of birds unknown to our world, and of strange forms and colours, were heard warbling, and for each of them there was a distinct nurture, according to the taste of its kind. Being admitted still further under the conduct of the chief of the eunuchs, they found edifices as superior to the first in elegance as the latter surpassed the most vulgar house. There was there an astonishing variety of quadrupeds, such as the caprice of painters can imagine, or poetic fictions describe, or dreams set before us,—such in short, as are found in all the countries of the east and of the south: whilst the west has seen and scarcely heard of any thing of the like. After many winding passages and corridors, which might have detained the busiest man, they arrived at the palace itself, where more numerous bodies of armed men and satellites, proclaimed by their numbers and their costume the incomparable

The only certain doctrine of these Protei of Islamism was implicit obedience. You had but to suffer yourself to be guided; they led you by nine degrees from religion to mysticism,\* from mysticism to philosophy, to doubt, to absolute indifference.† Their missionaries made their way throughout all Asia, and even into the palace of Bagdad, inundating the caliphate of the Abbassides with their destructive solvent. Persia had been long prepared to receive it. Before the times of Karmath or of Mahomet, under the last Sassa-

magnificence of their master. The aspect of the place announced also his opulence and his prodigious wealth. When they had entered the interior of the palace, the Soudan, to do honour to his master according to custom, prostrated himself twice before him, and in suppliant form rendered him a reverence which seemed due only to him; a sort of adoration. All at once the curtains, embroidered with pearls and gold, which hung in the middle of the hall, and thus veiled the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and the countenance of the caliph was revealed. He appeared upon the golden throne, clad more magnificently than kings, surrounded by a small number of domestics and eunuchs of trust."—William of Tyre, l. xix. c. 17.

\* This mysticism of the Alides often made them apply the language of love to devotion, as well as gave them a tendency to rise from the love of the real to that of the ideal.

A Persian poet says, addressing God:—

"It is your beauty, O Lord, which, hidden as it is behind a veil, has made an infinite number of loving pairs.

"It was by the charm of your perfumes that Leyla ravished the heart of Medjnoun. It was from the longing to possess you that Vamek breathed so many sighs for her he adored."—Reinaud, i. 52.

We will cite, too, the following ode:—

"The tulip has become a wine-cup (from which the most marvellous knowledge has been quaffed), and the rose a fair-complexioned beauty (the delight of lovers); the nightingale, making the garden resound with its joyous tones, is like a musician leading the dance.

"Come into the garden, for without any exertion of thine or mine all is ready for pleasure.

"Since the rose has unveiled her cheek (and has blown), the narcissus has become all eyes to behold her.

"Verdure has succeeded to thorns (spring to autumn), but (oh! thou, whom I adore) the thorn thou hast thrust into my heart still causes terrible suffering there.

"Open thine eyes to consider the narcissus. Thou wouldst say it is the necklace of the pleiades round the sun" (the calyx is yellow and the petals are white).

"Or, thou wouldst say it was a gold cup in the hand of a silvery-skinned beauty, the cup being surrounded with silver fingers.

"The violet is humiliated and hides its head under the purple mantle that covers it. One would say the verdure has formed under foot a carpet inviting to prayer.

"Behold that spring shower; thanks to its bounty, the country is covered with pearls and diamonds.

"But no, I am wrong, I would say that the king (God), by an effect of his bounty, has reared under the crystal vault a tent destined for pleasure.

"Giami, who in this new fruit of his genius celebrates the charms of spring, has drawn the eulogium of the king (God) from the mute language of the plants that adorn the garden."—Reinaud, ii. 468.

† The principle of the esoteric doctrine was—*Nothing is true and every thing is permitted*.—Hammer, p. 87. A celebrated Iman wrote against the Hassanites a book entitled, *On the Madness of the Partisans of Indifference in Matters of Religion*.

rides, some sectarians had preached community of goods and of women, and the absence of all difference between right and wrong.

This doctrine did not bear all its fruit until it was placed again in the mountains of old Persia, towards Casbin, in the same regions whence issued the ancient liberators—Kawe, the blacksmith, with his famous leathern apron, and the hero Feridun, with his buffalo head club.\* This Mohammedan Protestantism introduced among those intrepid populations, became blended with the national spirit of resistance, and taught them an execrable heroism of murder. It was a certain Hassan-ben-Sabah-Homairi, rejected by the Abbassides and the Fatimites, who first, in 1090, possessed himself of the fortress of Alamut (that is to say, *Haunt of the Vultures*), and called it, in his audacity, the *Abode of Fortune*.† He founded there an association of which Fatimitism was the outward mask, but the secret design of which seems to have been the destruction of all religion. This corporation had, like the lodge in Cairo, its learned men and its missionaries. Alamut was full of books and mathematical instruments;‡ the arts were cultivated there; the members of the sect made their way in every direction under a thousand disguises—as physicians, astronomers, goldsmiths, &c. But the art they most exercised was assassination. These terrible men presented themselves one by one to stab a sultan or a caliph, and as fast as they were cut to pieces, others followed without fear or hesitation.§ It is alleged, that in order to inspire them with this delirious courage, their leader practised upon them with intoxicating beverages, had them then carried in their sleep into places abounding with the most exquisite delights, and afterwards made them believe that they had enjoyed a foretaste of the pleasures of Paradise, promised to devoted men.||

Doubtless, to these means was added the old mountaineer heroism, which made that region the cradle of the old liberators of Persia and of the modern Wahabis. There, mothers boasted, as in Sparta, of their dead sons, and wept only for the living. The chief of the Assassins assumed the title of sheikh of the mountain. This was, likewise, the title of those indigenous chiefs who had their fortresses upon the other slope of the same chain.¶

Hassan, who for five-and-thirty years never once left Alamut, not twice quitted his chamber, nevertheless extended his dominion over most of the castles and fortresses of the mountains between the Caspian

\* Hammer, p. 230.

† Ibid., 97.

‡ Ibid., p. 54.

§ Ibid., pp. 108, 104, 109, 133, &c. No fewer than four-and-twenty, one after the other, attempted to assassinate one sultan.

|| Marin. Sanut., l. iii. c. 8. When Henry, Count of Champagne, paid a visit to the grand prior of the Assassins, the latter took him up with him to the top of a lofty tower, at each battlement of which were posted two *fulanis* (devoted men). He made a sign, and two of the sentinels cast themselves from the top of the tower. "If you desire it," he said to the count, "every one of these men will do the same."

¶ Hammer, p. 233.

and the Mediterranean. His assassins inspired inexpressible dismay. The princes who were summoned to deliver up their fortresses, durst neither yield them nor keep them; they demolished them. There was no safety for kings; each of them might at any moment see a murderer rush forth upon him from amongst his most faithful servants. A sultan, who persecuted the Assassins, upon awaking one morning, saw a poignard planted in the ground close by his head. He paid them tribute, and exempted them from all imposts and toll.\*

Such was the condition of Islamism: the caliphate of Bagdad enslaved under a Turkish guard; that of Cairo dying of corruption; that of Cordova dismembered and fallen to pieces. One thing alone was alive and vigorous in the Mohammedan world; it was that horrible heroism of the assassins; a hideous power firmly planted on the old Persian mountain over against the face of the caliphate, like the dagger planted near the sultan's head.

How much more full of life and youth was Christianity at the period of the crusades! The spiritual power, in Asia enslaved to the temporal power, counterpoised or predominated over it in Europe. It had just renewed its vigour by monastic chastity and the celibacy of the priesthood; the caliphate was falling, and the papacy was rising; Mohammedanism was parting into sects, Christianity was becoming united. The former could expect only invasion and ruin, and, indeed, it could only resist by receiving the Monguls and the Turks; that is to say, by becoming barbarous.

The pilgrimage of the crusade is not a new or strange fact. Man is a pilgrim by nature; it is long since he set out, and I know not when he will arrive. It needs no great matter to set him in motion; first of all, nature leads him along like a child, by pointing out to him a beautiful place in the sunshine, by offering him a fruit; to the Gauls the vine of Italy; to the Normans, the orange of Sicily.† Or else, it is under the form of woman that she tempts and allures him; rape is the first conquest. First comes the beautiful Helen; then, as morality rises, the chaste Penelope, the heroic Brynhild, or the Sabine women. When the Emperor Alexis invited our Frenchmen to the holy war, he did not neglect to vaunt the beauty of the Greek women. The lovely women of Milan contributed something, they say, to the perseverance of Francis I. in his scheme for the conquest of Italy.

Our native land, too, is another mistress whom we follow with eager steps. Ulysses was never weary till he had seen the smoke from the house-tops of his Ithaca. The men of the North sought in vain through the Empire for their Asgard, their city of the Ases, of the heroes, and the gods; they found something better; wandering about blindly, they fell in with Christianity. Our crusaders, who marched with such ardent love to Jerusalem, perceived that the heavenly

\* Hammer, pp. 111, 112.

† To this day the Iclander says, a *fig-longing*, to express an ardent desire.

country was not upon the banks of the Kedron, nor in the arid valley of Jehosaphat; they then looked higher, and waited in melancholy hope for another Jerusalem. The Arabs were astonished at seeing Godefroy de Bouillon seated upon the ground; the victor replied to them, sadly, "Well may the earth serve us for a seat, since we are to return for so long a time into its bosom."\* They withdrew, full of admiration. The West and the East had understood each other.

It was fated, however, that the crusade should be accomplished. That vast and manifold world of the middle ages, which comprised within it all the elements of the anterior worlds—Greek, Roman, and barbarian—would naturally reproduce all the struggles of the human race. It was destined to represent under a Christian form, and in colossal proportions, the invasion of Asia by the Greeks, and the conquest of Greece by the Romans; while, at the same time, the Greek column and the Roman arch were to be joined together, and lifted up to the sky, in the gigantic pillars and aerial groins of our cathedrals.

The tide of pilgrimage had already long set in. Since the year 1000 especially, since mankind had begun to think it had some chance of living and some ground for hope, multitudes of pilgrims took their staff, and wended their way, some to St. James, others to Mont Cassino, to the Holy Apostles of Rome, and thence to Jerusalem. The feet turned thither instinctively; yet it was a dangerous and painful journey. Happy the man who returned from it; still happier he who died near the tomb of Christ, and could say in the audacious language of a contemporary, "Lord, thou didst die for me, I die for thee."†

The Arabs, a commercial people, at first gave the pilgrims a good reception. The Fatimites of Egypt, hostile in secret to the Koran, likewise treated them well. Every thing was changed, when the Caliph Hakem, the son of a Christian mother,‡ gave himself out for an incarnation. He cruelly maltreated the Christians, who alleged that the Messiah was already come; and the Jews, who persisted in still expecting him. Thenceforth, there was hardly any possibility of gaining access to the Holy Sepulchre, except on condition of insulting it; as, in later times, the Dutch were admitted into Japan only

\* Willelm. Tyr., ix. 21. Respondit: "Quod homini mortali sufficere merito terra pro sede temporali poterat, cui post mortem perpetuum domicilium est prestitura." Abierunt dicentes: "Quia vere hic est qui universas regiones debeat expugnare, et cui repositum est de vitæ merito, populique et nationibus principari."

† Pierre d'Auvergne, ap. Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 115.—Rad. Glaber, iv. 6, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 50. Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis....mediocres....reges et comites.....præsules....mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus.....Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reverterentur.

‡ Hammer, *History of the Assassins*.

on condition of trampling upon the cross. Every one knows the ludicrous story of that Count of Anjou, Foulques Nerra, who had so much to expiate, and who went so often to Jerusalem. Condemned by the infidels to defile the Holy Sepulchre, he found means to pour choice wine upon it instead of urine.\* He returned on foot from Jerusalem, and died of fatigue at Metz.

But no fatigue or insult could dishearten or repel the pilgrims. Haughty as were those men, and though for a mere word they would have drenched their native land with torrents of blood, they piously submitted to all the indignities which the Saracens were pleased to inflict upon them. The Duke of Normandy, and the counts of Barcelona, Flanders, and Verdun, performed that hard pilgrimage in the eleventh century. The eagerness of the devout increased with the danger, only the pilgrims formed themselves into larger bodies. In 1054, the Bishop of Cambrai attempted the journey with 3000 Flemings, and was unable to arrive at his destination. Thirteen years afterwards, the bishops of Mayence, Ratisbon, Bamberg, and Utrecht, joined some Norman knights, and formed a little army of 7000 men.† They reached the end of their journey with great difficulty, and barely 2000 of them returned to Europe. Meanwhile, the Turks, masters of Bagdad, and partisans of its caliph, having got possession of Jerusalem, massacred there all the partisans of the incarnation without distinction, both Alides and Christians. The Greek Empire, hemmed in more closely day by day, saw the Ottoman cavalry advance as far as the Bosphorus opposite to Constantinople.‡ The Fatimites trembled behind the ramparts of Damietta and Cairo, and like the Greeks, they appealed to the princes of the West. Alexis Comnena had already formed an alliance with the Count of Flanders, to whom he had given a magnificent reception on his passing through Constantinople. The Greek ambassadors vaunted, with the loquacious genius of their people, the wealth of the East, and the kingdoms and empires that might be conquered there. The dastards went even so far as to extol the beauty of their wives and daughters,§ and seemed to promise them to the Westerns.

All these motives would not have been enough to move the people, and to communicate to it that intense impulse that carried it towards the East. It had long heard of holy wars; the whole life of Spain was but a crusade; every day some victory achieved by the Cid was an-

\* *Gesta Consulum Andegav.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, x. 256. Deludendo dixerunt nullo modo apud sepulchrum optatum pervenire posse, nisi super illud mingeret. . . . Quod vir prudens, licet invitus, annuit. Quæsitâ igitur arietis vesica, purgatâ atque mundatâ, et optimo vino albo repletâ; quin etiam apte inter ejus femora posita est, et comes discalceatus. . . . accessit, vinumque super sepulchrum fudit.

† *Ingulfsus* ap. *Gibbon*, xi. 258. *Addimenta Sigiberto Gemblac.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 638. *Baron. Annal. Eccles.*, ad ann. 1064.

‡ *Gibbon*, ix. 228.

§ *Guibert. Novig.*, i. 4, ap. *Bongars*, p. 476. Infert denique (imperator) ut videlicet, præter hæc, universa pulcherrimarum foeminarum voluptate traherentur.

nounced—such as the taking of Tolledo or Valencia, towns far more important than Jerusalem. Had not the Genoese and the Pisans, the conquerors of Sardinia and Corsica, been carrying on a crusade for a century past? When Silvester II. wrote his famous letter on behalf of Jerusalem, the Pisans equipped a fleet, landed in Africa, and massacred, it is said, 100,000 Moors.\* Still, it was clearly understood that religion went for little in all this; the charm of danger prompted the Spaniards; interest the Italians. These latter subsequently conceived the design of cutting short all crusades to Jerusalem, and of intercepting and drawing into their own coffers all the gold which the pilgrims carried to the East. They freighted their galleys with earth from Judea, brought that near which men went in quest of to such a distance, and made themselves a Holy Land in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

But the religious conscience of the people was not to be beguiled in this way, nor could it be turned aside from the Holy Sepulchre. In all the extreme wretchedness of the middle ages, men had tears to weep for the miseries of Jerusalem. That great voice, which had threatened them with the end of the world in the year 1000, was heard again, crying to them to go to Palestine, and pay the ransom for the respite which God granted them. The rumour was abroad, that the power of the Saracens had reached its term; all that was necessary was to go straight forward by the grand road which Charlemagne was said to have constructed in past times;† to march unweariedly towards the rising sun; to gather up the spoils that lay ready to be seized; to collect the good manna provided by God. No more penury, no more serfdom, deliverance was come; there was enough in the East to enrich them all. There was no need of arms, provisions, or vessels; it would have been tempting God to provide them. They declared that they would have for guides the simplest of creatures, a goose and a goat.‡ Pious and affecting confidence of childlike humanity!

1095. A Picard, vulgarly called *Coucou Pietre* (Peter of the Cowl, or Peter the Hermit, *a Cucullo*), is said to have potently contributed by his eloquence to this great popular movement.§ Upon

\* Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. i. See Gerbert's letter, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 426.

† Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus Magnus, mirificus Francorum rex, aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim. Anonymi Gesta Franc. Hierosol. ap. Bongars, p. 1. Robert. Monach., p. 33. Some prophets gave out that Charlemagne would appear in person to head the crusade.

‡ Albert. Aqueus., i. 31. Anserem quemdam divino spiritu asserebant affatum, et capellam non minus eodem repletam; et hoc sibi duces facerant. In like manner the Sabines came down from their mountains under the guidance of a wolf, a jay, or an ox; a cow led Cadmus into Bœotia, &c.

§ Guibert. Nov., l. ii. c. 8. "The lower orders, destitute of resources, but very numerous, attached themselves to a certain Peter the Hermit, and obeyed him as their master, at least as long as matters passed in our country. I have discovered that this man, born, if I am not mistaken, in the town of Amiens, at first led a solitary life under the garb of a monk, in I know not what part of Upper Gaul. Thence he set out, urged by I know not what inspiration, but we

his return from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he induced the French pope, Urban II., to preach the crusade at Plaisance, and afterwards at Clermont.\* The preaching was almost fruitless in Italy; in France every one took up arms. There were 400 bishops or mitred abbots at the Council of Clermont; it was the triumph of the Church and of the people. The greatest names of the earth, the Emperor, and the King of France, were condemned there as well as the Turks, and the cause of investitures was mixed up with that of Jerusalem. Every one set the red cross upon his shoulder; every red garment, every piece of red cloth, was torn up for the purpose, and there was not enough.†

Strange was the spectacle then exhibited; it seemed as though the order of the world was reversed. Men were seen suddenly conceiving a disgust for all that they had before loved—their rich manors and castles, their wives and children; they were in haste to leave all behind. There was no need of preachers, they preached to each other, says a contemporary author, both by word and example. "It was a fulfilment," he says, "of Solomon's words, 'The locusts have no king, and they go together in bands.' These locusts had not taken the flight of good works so long as they remained numbed, torpid, and frozen in their iniquity; but when they were warmed by the rays of the sun of righteousness, they sprang up and took their flight. They had no king; every believing soul took God alone for his guide, his chief, his comrade in war. Though the voice of the preachers had been heard only by the French, where was the Christian people who did not also furnish soldiers? You might see the Scotch, clad in their shaggy mantles, hastening from their marshes. I take God to witness, that there landed in our harbours barbarians of, I know not

---

then saw him visiting the towns and the boroughs, preaching everywhere. The people surrounded him in multitudes, loaded him with presents, and so highly extolled his sanctity, that I do not remember that ever the like honours were paid to any person. He showed great generosity in the distribution of all the things that were given him. He brought back prostitute wives to their husbands, not without adding some gifts from himself, and he re-established, with marvellous authority, peace and good understanding between those who were at variance. In all he did or said, there seemed to be in him something divine, so that people even went the length of plucking out the hair of his mule to keep by way of relics; a fact, which I here relate, not as worthy of praise, but for the vulgar, who love all things that are extraordinary. He wore only a linen tunic, and above it a sackcloth cloak, reaching to his heels; his arms and feet were bare. He ate no bread, or scarcely any, and lived on wine and fish."

\* "Remember, too," he said, "those words which God himself has addressed to the Church, 'I will bring your children from the East, and I will gather you from the West.' God has brought your children from the East, since that land of the East has doubly produced the first principles of our Church, and He is gathering them from the West, repairing the woes of Jerusalem by the arms of those who have been the last to receive the instructions of faith, that is to say, the men of the West."—Guibert. Nov., l. ii. c. 4.

† "Some there were who imprinted the mark of the cross on their bodies with a red-hot iron."—Alberic. Tr. Font. ap. Leibnitz, *Accessiones Historiæ*.



what nation ; no one understood their language. These men, placing their fingers in the form of a cross, made signs that they wished to go to the defence of the Christian faith.

"There were persons, who at first had no wish to set out, and who ridiculed those who disposed of their property, foreboding them a melancholy journey, and a more melancholy return, and behold ! the next day, these mockers themselves, with a sudden impulse, gave all their possessions for some money, and set out along with those whom they had at first ridiculed. Who could enumerate the children and the old women who prepared for war? Who could reckon up the virgins, and the old men trembling under the load of years? You would have laughed to see poor men shoeing their oxen like horses, and drawing their slender stock of provisions and their little children in cars; and these little ones, at every town or castle they perceived, asking in their simplicity, 'Is not that Jerusalem?'"\*

The people set out without more ado, leaving the princes to deliberate, to arm, to count their forces. Men of little faith ! The humbler classes gave themselves no concern about all this ; they were sure of a miracle. Would God refuse to perform one for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre? Peter the Hermit marched at the head of the host barefooted and girt with a rope. Others followed a brave and poor knight whom they called *Gautier sans avoir* (Walter Have-nothing). Amongst so many thousand men, there were not eight horses. Some Germans followed the example of the French, and marched under the guidance of one of their countrymen named Goteschalk ; the whole combined body descended the valley of the Danube, Attila's route, the great thoroughfare of the human race.†

They lived by pillage upon their way, paying themselves before hand for their holy war. All the Jews they could lay hold on they tortured to death, deeming it their duty to punish the murderers of Christ before they rescued his tomb. Thus, they arrived, ferocious, drenched with gore, in Hungary and the Greek Empire. Their savage bands excited abhorrence there, and were pursued and hunted like wild beasts; the emperor furnished vessels to the survivors, and sent them over into Asia, relying upon the Arabs and the Turks. The excellent Anna Comnena is rejoiced to think that they left mountains of bones in the plain of Nice, so that these served to build the walls of a city.‡

Meanwhile, cumbrous armies of princes, grandees, and knights, were slowly in motion. No king took part in the crusade; but many lords more potent than kings. The brother of the King of

\* Guibert. Nov., l. ii. c. 6.

† The environs of the Rhine took little part in the crusade.—*Orientalis Francos, Saxones, Thoringos, Bavaricos, Alemannos, propter schisma quod tempore interregnum et sacerdotium fuit, hæc expeditio minus permovit.* Alberic. ap. Leibnitz.; Access. p. 119. See Guibert, ii. 1.

‡ Ann. Comnen., x. 287. *Ἦντι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἰστανταὶ τετελισμένη διου λίθοις καὶ ὀστοῖς ἀναμίχ' ἔχονσα τὸν περίβολον.*

France, Hugh of Vermandois; the rich Stephen of Blois, son-in-law of the King of England; Robert Curthose, the son of William the Conqueror, and the Count of Flanders, set out at the same time; all were equal, none was chief. These men did little honour to the crusade. Fat Robert,\* the man who lost a kingdom in the merriest way in the world, only went to Jerusalem for pastime; Hugh and Stephen returned without having gone the whole way.

Raymond de St. Gille, Count of Toulouse, was, beyond comparison, the richest of those who took the cross. He had lately conjoined the counties of Rouergue and Nîmes, and the duchy of Narbonne. This accession of greatness inspired him with many other hopes; he swore that he would not return. He took with him enormous sums;† the whole South followed him. The lords of Orange, Forez, Roussillon, Montpellier, Turenne, and Albret, not to mention the ecclesiastical chief of the crusade, the Bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, who was Raymond's subject. These men of the South, men of trade and civilisation, like the Greeks, were hardly in better repute for piety or valour.‡ They were thought

\* Order. Vital., iv. ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 596. *Facie obesa, corpore pingui, brevique statura.* O. V. 606, viii. 624 : *Torpori et ignaviæ subjectus.* See also Guibert de Nogent, ii. 16, Raoul de Caen (ap. Muratori, v. 291), William of Malmesbury, i., William of Newbridge, &c.

† Willelm. Tyr., viii. 6, 9, 10. Guibert. Novig. vii. 8 : At the siege of Jerusalem "he made proclamation through the heralds, that every one who brought three stones to fill up the ditch should receive a denier from him. Now it took three days and three nights to complete the work."—Radulph. Cadom., c. 15, ap. Muratori, v. 291. "He was from the first one of the principal leaders, and afterwards when the money of the others was gone, his arrival and gave him precedence. The fact is, all that nation are thrifty and not prodigal, taking more care of their property than of their reputation; frightened by the example of the others, they laboured not like the Franks to ruin themselves, but to fatten themselves the best they could." Raymond also received abundance of presents from Alexis (.....*quibus de die in diem de domo regis augebatur.* Albert. Aq., ii. 24, ap. Bongars, p. 205). So did Godfrey, but he distributed the whole amongst the people and the other leaders. Willelm. Tyr., ii. 12.

‡ Guibert. Nov., l. ii. c. 18. "Raymond's army was second to none other, unless it were by reason of the eternal loquacity of those Provençals."—Radulph. Cadom., c. 61. "As much as the hen differs from the duck, so much the Provençals differed from the Franks in manner, character, costume, and food. Frugal men, restless and greedy, sturdy to toil, but to say the whole truth, not very warlike. Their foresight stood them in more stead during the famine than did all the courage in the world for many more warlike nations. As for them, they were content with roots for want of bread, thinking no scorn of the cuds of pulse. They carried in their hands a long iron, with which they sought their provender in the bowels of the earth; hence the proverb still sung by children: *The Franks to the battle, the Provençals to the victual.* There was a thing they often committed from cupidity, and to their great shame; they sold the other nations dogs' flesh for hare's, and asses' flesh for goat's, and if they could, unperceived, get near any plump, fat horse or mule, they dealt the animal a mortal wound in the entrails and it died. Great was the surprise of all those who, not knowing the trick, had but lately seen the animal fat, active, robust, and sprightly: there was no trace of the wound, no sign of death. The spectators dismayed at this prodigy, said among themselves: 'Let us away; the spirit of the

to be too knowing, too loquacious; heretics abounded in their half-martial cities, their manners were somewhat Mohammedan. Their princes had great store of concubines; Raymond, on his departure, left his dominions to one of his bastards.\*

The Normans of Sicily were not the last to join the crusade. Less wealthy than the men of Languedoc, they, too, reckoned upon doing good business in the expedition. The successors of Guiscard and Roger would not, however, have abandoned their conquest for so hazardous an enterprise; but a certain Bohemond, a bastard of Robert l'Avisé, and not less *avised* than his father, had succeeded to no other heritage than Tarento and his sword. One Tancred, a Norman by the mother's side, but a Piedmontese, as it is supposed, by the father's, also took up arms. Bohemond was besieging Amalfi, when he was informed of the passage of the crusaders. He inquired eagerly after their names, their numbers, their arms, and their resources;† then, without a word more, he assumed the cross, and left Amalfi. It is interesting to see the portrait drawn of him by Anna Comnena, the daughter of Alexis, who saw him at Constantinople, and was so exceedingly afraid of him. She observed him with a woman's interest and curiosity.‡ "He overtopped the tallest by an ell; he was small in the belly, broad-shouldered, and broad chested; he was neither lean nor fat; he had vigorous arms, fleshy, and rather large hands. Looking closely at him, one saw that he was a little bent; his skin was very white; his hair inclining to blond; it reached no lower than the ears, instead of hanging over his shoulders, like that of the other barbarians. I cannot say what colour his beard was, for his cheeks and chin were shaved; I

demon has breathed upon the beast." Thereupon, the authors of the murder approached, without making believe they knew any thing of the matter, and when they were cautioned not to touch the animal, they said: "We would rather die of this meat than of hunger;" thus the man on whom the loss fell was moved with pity for the assassin, whilst the assassin made sport of him. All of them then falling like crows upon the carcase, they tore away each his morsel, and sent it down into their bellies, or took it to the market."

\* Guibert. Nov., ii. 18. *Naturali cuidam suo filio comitatu quem regebat relicto.*

† Id., l. iii. c. 1. "When that innumerable army, composed of the nations of almost all the countries of the West, had landed in Apulia, Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was soon informed of the fact. He was then besieging Amalfi; he inquired into the motives of the pilgrimage, and learned that they were going to rescue Jerusalem, or rather the Sepulchre of the Lord and the holy places, from the dominion of the Gentiles. Neither was he left in ignorance how many men of noble race and high estate, abandoning, so to speak, the lustre of their honours, devoted themselves with unparalleled ardour to that enterprise. He inquired whether they carried with them weapons and provisions, what ensigns they had adopted for that new pilgrimage; lastly, what were their war cries. He was answered that they were armed in the French manner; that they had stitched upon their garments, upon the shoulder, or any where else, a cross in cloth, or any other stuff, as had been prescribed to them; and, lastly, that, renouncing the pride of battle-cries, they all humbly and faithfully shouted, 'God wills it!'"

‡ *Annæ Comnenæ Alexis*, edit. Paris, p. 404; Venice, p. 319.

believe, however, that it was red. His eye of a blue colour, inclining to green (γλαυκόν), betokened his valour and his violence; his large nostrils freely inhaled the air, satisfying the fiery heart that beat in his huge chest. There was something pleasing in his aspect, but the pleasure was destroyed by terror. There was, in his stature, his look, his whole aspect, something that was not agreeable, and that even seemed not human. His smile seemed to me rather a grin of menace.\* . . . . He was nothing but artifice and cunning. His language was precise; his replies gave no hold against him."

Great as may have been the deeds done by Bohemond, the voice of the people, which is that of God, has given the glory of the crusade to Godefroy,† son of the Count of Boulogne, Margrave of Antwerp, Duke of Bouillon and Lothier, King of Jerusalem. The family of Godefroy, sprung, it is said, from Charlemagne, had already become distinguished for great adventures and great misfortunes. His father, Eustache de Boulogne, brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor, had narrowly missed the throne of England, the Saxons of which country invoked his aid against William the Conqueror.‡ His maternal grandfather, Godefroy the Bearded, or the Bold, Duke of Lothier and Brabant, who failed in like manner in Lorraine, waged war for thirty years against the emperors at the head of all Belgium, and burned the palaces of the Carlovingians at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was several times expelled, proscribed, imprisoned. His wife, Beatrix d'Este, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda, was shamefully kept prisoner by Henry III., who eventually robbed her of her patrimony, and bestowed Lorraine upon the house of Alsace. Nevertheless, when the Emperor Henry IV. was persecuted by the popes, and when so many others abandoned him, the grandson of the proscribed man, the Godefroy of the crusade, did not fail his suzerain at his need. The emperor intrusted to him the standard of the empire,§ that standard which Godefroy's family had made waver, and against which Matilda upheld that of the Church. But Godefroy revived the failing strength of the imperial party, and with the iron point of the flag-staff|| he slew the anti-Cæsar, Ro-

\* Δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ὁ γελῶς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμβρίμμημα ἦν. Annæ Comnenæ Alexias.

† Born at Baisy, near Nivelles, in a castle which was still to be seen at the end of the last century.

‡ See Thierry, *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, t. i.

§ Willelm. Tyr., ix. 8. Convocatis ad se principibus, imperator quærit cui tute possit imperiale committere vexillum et tantorum exercituum committere principatum. Cui de communi consilio datum est responsum: Dominum ducem Lotharingæ Godefridum præ omnibus ad id oneris idoneum et sufficientem esse. Cui.....tradidit Aquilam, multum invito et renitenti. See also Alber. Tr. Font., ap. Leibn. *Access. Hist.*, i. 182.

|| Ibid. Confractâ et dissolutâ acie Radulphi, præsentē imperatore et de principibus aliquot, vexillum, quod gestabat, regi per vitalia pectoris immersit; et eo transverberato, ad terram dejecit exanimem; denuo signum licet cruentatum, erigens imperiale. Alberic. loc. cit.

dolph, the king of the priests (1080), and then carried his victorious banner to the walls of Rome, which he was the first to mount.\* Nevertheless, it was a sore affliction to his pious soul, to have violated the city of St. Peter, and driven out the pope. As soon as the crusade was proclaimed, he sold his lands to the Bishop of Liège, and set out for the Holy Land. He had often said, while still a boy, that he wished to go with an army to Jerusalem.† Ten thousand knights followed him, with seventy thousand men on foot, French, Lorrains, and Germans.

Godefroy belonged to the two nations; he spoke the two languages.‡ He was not tall; his brother Beaudoin surpassed him by a head, but his strength was prodigious.§ It is said, that, with one blow of his sword, he cleft a horseman from the head to the saddle, and with one back-handed blow he would strike off the head of an ox or a camel.|| Having lost his way in Asia, he found one of his men struggling with a bear in a cavern; he drew off the beast from the man, and killed it; but he was a long time confined to his bed by the severe bites he had received. This heroic man was one of singular purity of character; he never married, and died chaste at thirty-eight.¶

The Council of Clermont had been held in the month of November, 1095. On the 15th of August, 1096, Godefroy marched, with the Lorrains and the Belgians, and took his route through Germany and Hungary. The son of William the Conqueror; the Count of Blois, his son-in-law; the brother of the King of France, and the Count of Flanders, set out in September. They proceeded by way of Italy, as far as Apulia, whence some of them proceeded to Du-

---

\* The fatigue he endured caused him a violent fever, he made a vow to take the cross and was cured.—Alberic., p. 180. Godefridus.....in oppugnando Romanam partem muri quæ sibi obtigerat, primus irrupit, postea, præ nimio labore, in nimia siti nimium vitium lauriens, febrem quartanam nactus est. Audita autem fama viæ Hierosolymitanæ, illuc se iturum vovit, si Deus illi redderet sanitatem. Quo voto emissio, vires ejus penitus resoruerunt.

† Guibert. Nov., ii. 12. Dicebat se desiderare proficisci Hierosolymam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut alii, sed cum violentia exercitus, si sibi suppeteret, magis. His mother, St. Ida, had a dream once that the sun descended into her bosom. This signified, says the contemporary biographer, that kings should spring from her. Acta SS., April 13, p. 141.

‡ Alberic. ap. Leibn., Access., i. 180. Hic etiam inter Francos, Germanos, et Teutonicos, qui quibusdam amaris et invidiosis jocis frequenter rixare solent, tanquam in termino utriusque gentis nutritus, utriusque linguæ sciens, medium se interposuit, ac ad comendandum multis modis reformavit.

§ Willelm. Tyr., ix. 5. Will. Tyr., ix. 15. Robustus sine exemplo, c. 22. Alberic., p. 184. Rad. Cadom., 53.

|| Robert. Monach., iv. ix. ap. Bongars, pp. 50, 75. Another time he cut a Turk in two through the middle. Turcus duo factus est Turci: ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter arcitenens in flumine nataret. Rad. Cadom., c. 35, p. 504. Guibert. Nov., vii. 11, 12.

¶ Rad. Cadom., c. 14, p. 291: Humanitate, mansuetudine, sobrietate, justitia, castitate insignis; potius monachorum lux quam militum dux emicabat. He took with him a colony of monks, whom he settled in Jerusalem.

razzo, and others went round Greece. Our countrymen of the South, under Raymond of St. Gille, began their march in October, by way of Lombardy, Frioul, and Dalmatia. Bohemond advanced with his Normans and Italians, through the deserts of Bulgaria. This was the shortest and least dangerous route; it was advisable to avoid the towns, and to meet the Greeks only in the open country. The savage apparition of the first crusaders, under Peter the Hermit, had terrified the Byzantines, who bitterly repented of the invitation they had given to the Franks, but it was too late; they were flocking in, in countless masses, by all the valleys, by all the avenues of the Empire; the rendezvous was at Constantinople. In vain the emperor laid snares for them; the barbarians baffled them all by their masses and their brute force; Hugh of Vermandois was alone entrapped. Alexis saw all those armies he had expected to destroy, arriving one by one before Constantinople to salute their good friend the emperor. The poor Greeks, condemned to see that fearful review of the human race defile before them, could not believe that the torrent would pass away without sweeping them along with it. So many tongues, so many odd costumes—good reason they had to be alarmed! The very familiarity of those barbarians, their gross jocularities, disconcerted the Byzantines. Whilst awaiting till the whole army should have come together, they sat themselves down amicably in the Empire, and made themselves at home, taking, in their simplicity, whatever they pleased; for instance, the lead off the churches, to sell it again to the Greeks.\* The sacred palace was not more respected; little cared they for its whole mob of scribes and eunuchs. They had not sufficient wit and imagination to be overcome by the awful pomps and the tragic ceremonial of the Byzantine majesty. They amused themselves with killing a fine lion belonging to Alexis, the ornament and the terror of the palace.

That wondrous Constantinople was a great temptation for men who had seen only the mud built towns of our West. Those golden domes, those marble palaces, all those master-pieces of antique art, heaped together in the capital since the limits of the Empire had been so much contracted, all these composed an amazing and mysterious whole which confounded their minds. They could make nothing of it; the mere variety, the mere number and diversity of the manufactures and merchandises, were for them an inexplicable problem. What they did understand was, that they had a great longing for all they saw; they doubted, even, that the holy city was worth more. Our Normans and Gascons would have been well content to end the crusade there; they would fain have said, like the little children Guibert talks of, "Is not that Jerusalem?"†

---

\* Guibert., ii. 9. *Detectis ecclesiis quæ plumbo operiebantur, plumbum idem Græcis venale præbebant.* See also Balderic., *Hist. Hierosolym.* ap. Bongars, p. 89. This to be sure relates only to the troop led by Peter the Hermit.

† *Ann. Comnen. Alexiss.*

They then bethought them of all the snares the Greeks had laid for them upon their route. They asserted, that they had furnished them with noxious food, that they had poisoned the fountains,\* and they imputed to them the epidemic diseases which alternate famine and intemperance had produced in the army. Bohemond and the Count of Toulouse maintained, that no terms were to be kept with those poisoners, and that Constantinople ought, by all means, to be taken as a punishment for their misdeeds; after that, the crusaders might conquer the Holy Land at their leisure. The thing would have been easy, had they been agreed among themselves; but the Norman comprehended, that, by overthrowing Alexis, he might, very possibly, do no more than bestow the Empire on the Toulousan; moreover, Godefroy declared, that he had not come to make war upon Christians.† Bohemond spoke to the same effect, and made a good thing of his virtue; for he got the emperor to give him whatever he desired.‡

Such was the ability of Alexis, that he found means to induce these conquerors, who might have crushed him,§ to do him homage, and to submit their conquests to him beforehand. Hugh took the oath first, then Bohemond, then Godefroy. Godefroy knelt before the Greek, in whose hands he placed his own, and made himself his vassal. His humility rendered the act an easy one. In reality, the crusaders could not do without Constantinople; not being masters of it, it was at least necessary that they should have it for an ally and friend. About to commit themselves, as they were, to the deserts of Asia, none but the Greeks could save them from destruction. The Greeks, in their eagerness to get rid of the Latins, promised whatever they pleased—provisions, auxiliary troops, and, above all, vessels to help them across the Bosphorus as speedily as possible.

“Godefroy having set the example, all the others assembled to make oath. Thereupon one of them, he was a count of high degree, had the audacity to seat himself upon the imperial throne. The emperor said nothing, being long aware of the overweening presumption of the Latins; but the Count Beaudoin took the insolent

\* Alberic. Tr. Pont. p. 159. *Toxica vel fluminibus vel cibis vel vestibus infudens.*

† Guibert. Nov., iii. 4. *Dux Godefridus, Hugo Magnus, Rothbertasque Flandrensis et cæteri, dixerunt quia nunquam contra aliquem qui christiano censeatur agnomine, arma portabant. Gest. Franc. Hierosol., ii. ap. Bongars, p. 5. Raymond d'Agiles, p. 141. Albert. Aq., ii. 14.*

‡ “He was led into a gallery of the palace, where, looking through a door that lay open, as if by chance, he perceived a chamber full from top to bottom with gold and silver, jewels, and costly furniture. ‘What conquests,’ he exclaimed, ‘might one not make with such a treasure;’ ‘It is yours,’ he was immediately told. He did not require much pressing to accept the offer.” Anna Comnena, p. 303.

§ They spoke of the Greeks with sovereign contempt.... *Gracules istos omnium inertissimos, etc.* Guibert. Nov., iii. 3.

person by the hand, and removed him from his place, telling him, 'that it was not the custom of the emperors to let those sit beside them who had done them homage, and who had become their men. It was needful,' he said, 'to conform to the usages of the country where one lived.' The other made no reply, but he looked at the emperor angrily, muttering in his own tongue some words, which may be thus translated, 'Look at that varlet, seated alone, while so many captains are standing.' The emperor observed the motion of his lips, and had his words explained to him by an interpreter; but still he said nothing for the moment, only when the counts, having accomplished the ceremony, were retiring, and were saluting the emperor, he took that proud one aside and asked him, 'Who he was? What was his country—his origin?' 'I am a pure Frank,' said he, 'of noble blood. One thing I know, viz., that in my country there is an old church, at a spot where three roads meet, where any man who has a mind to fight a duel goes and prays to God, and waits for his adversary. For my part, it was in vain I waited at the cross roads, no one dared to meet me.' 'Well,' said the emperor, 'if you have not yet found an enemy, now is the time when you shall have no lack of them.\*"

Behold the crusaders now in Asia, and fronting the Turkish cavalry. The cumbrous mass advances, harassed upon its flanks. At first, it sets itself down before Nice; the Greeks, wishing to recover that town, led the crusaders before it. The latter, unpractised in the art of sieges, might, with all their valour, have remained there for ever to no purpose; but, at least, they served to alarm the besieged, who treated with Alexis. One morning, the Franks saw the emperor's banner waving over the city, and they were given to understand, from the top of the walls, that they were to respect an imperial city.†

They pursued their route, then, towards the South, closely accompanied by the Turks, who cut off all the stragglers, but they suffered still more from their own great numbers. Notwithstanding the aid of the Greeks, there was not a sufficiency of any kind of supplies, and water constantly failed them upon the arid hills over which they marched. Five hundred persons died of thirst at one halt. "The hunting dogs of the great lords, which were led in leash, expired upon the road," says the chronicler, "and the falcons

\* Ann. Comn. Alexias, ed. Paris, p. 301. 'Ο δε, Φράγγος μεν εμν καθαρός, ἔφη, τῶν εὐγενῶν, ὃν δε ἐπίσταναι ... Ταῦτα ὁ Βασιλεὺς ακριβοῦς, ἔφη· Εἰ πόλεμον ποτε ἔγνων· οὐχ ἔσπεος, πάρεστι σοι καιρὸς ὁ πολλῶν σε πολέμων ἐμπλήσων, etc.

† "At the same time, he sent great presents to the leaders, soliciting their good will by his letters, and by the voice of his deputies. He gave them a thousand thanks for this loyal service, and for the aggrandisement they had bestowed upon the Empire." Willelm. Tyr., l. iii. c. 12.—"He sent," says Guibert, l. iii. c. 9, "immense gifts to the princes and abundant alms to the poor. Thus, he sowed seeds of rancour among those of middling condition, from whom his munificence seemed to be turned aside." See also Raymond d'Agiles, p. 142.



died upon the fists of those who carried them. Women had premature labours, brought on by their sufferings. They remained naked upon the plain, and their new-born babes were uncared for.”\*

They would have been in a better plight had they possessed light cavalry to act against that of the Turks; but what could heavy armed men do against those clouds of vultures? The army of the crusaders travelled, if I may so speak, captive within a circle of turbans and scimitars. Once, only, the Turks tried to stop them and offered them battle. They gained nothing by this, and only learnt how weighty were the arms of those against whom they fought with so much advantage from a distance. Nevertheless, the loss of the crusaders was immense.

In this way they arrived, through Cilicia, as far as Antioch. The people would have passed on to Jerusalem, but the leaders insisted on halting. They were impatient at last to realise their ambitious dreams; already they had mutually disputed the possession of the town of Tarsus, at the point of the sword. Beaudoin and Tancred each insisted that he had been the first to enter it. Another town, which was about to occasion a similar quarrel, was demolished by the people, which cared little for the interests of the leaders, and did not wish to be retarded.†

The great city of Antioch possessed three hundred and sixty churches, and four hundred and fifty towers; it had been the metropolis of one hundred and fifty-three bishoprics.‡ This was a fine prey for the Count of St. Gille and Bohemond. Antioch, alone, could console them for having lost Constantinople. Bohemond was the more clever of the two; he practised upon the people of the town, and the crusaders, tricked as at Nice, saw the red banner of the Normans wave over the walls.§ But Bohemond could not hinder them from entering the town, nor prevent Count Raymond from taking up a strong position there in some of the towers. They found in that great city an abundance that was fatal to them, after so much fasting; an epidemic carried them off in multitudes. By and by, provisions became exhausted by prodigality, and they found themselves once more reduced to famine, when a countless number of Turks besieged them in their new conquest. A great number of them, among whom

\* Albert. Aq., iii. 2.

† Raym. de Agil., p. 161. *Surgentes debiles et infirmi de cubilibus suis, innixi baculis ad muros usque perveniebant; et illos lapides quos vix tria vel quatuor paria boum trahere possent, facile quidam famelicus revolutos a muro longe projiciebat.*

‡ Guibert. Nov., vi. 16. *Trecentas et sexaginta ecclesias suis cingens ambitibus.....circumpositis eidem quadringentis quinquaginta turribus.—Centum quinquaginta trium episcoporum.....* Alberic reckons only three hundred and forty churches, (p. 159).

§ Gesta Francorum, c. 20. *Summo diluculo audientes illi qui fores erant in ventoris vehementissimum rumorem strepere per civitatem, exierunt festinantes, et viderunt vexillum Boamundi. Fulcher. Carnot., p. 392. Vexillum Boamundi rubicundum.*

were Hugh of France, and Stephen of Blois, thought the army lost beyond redemption, and made their escape to publish the news of the disastrous fate of the crusade.

Such, in fact, was the excessive despondency of those who remained, that Bohemond could find no other means to drive out those who had shut themselves up in the houses, than setting fire to them.\* Religion furnished a more efficacious aid. A man of the lower class, warned by a vision, announced to the leaders, that by digging at a certain place they would find the holy lance that had pierced the side of the Lord.† He put the truth of his revelation to the proof, by passing through fire; he was burned, but still the people did not less cry up the miracle.‡ All the remaining fodder was given to the horses; and whilst the Turks were revelling and taking their ease, thinking themselves sure of that famished multitude, the latter issued forth by all the gates, with the holy lance at their head. It appeared to them, that their numbers were doubled by troops of angels.§ The countless army of the Turks was dispersed, and the crusaders found themselves, once more, masters of the country about Antioch, and of the road to Jerusalem.

Antioch remained in the possession of Bohemond, notwithstanding all Raymond's efforts to retain the towers.|| The Norman thus reaped the best fruits of the crusade. He could not, however, refuse to follow the army, and to aid in taking Jerusalem. That

\* Guibert., v. 21. Cum... vix aliquos suadere valeret.....gravi animadversione citatus, jubet ignem supponi.

† Raymond. de Agil., p. 155. Vidi ego hæc quæ loquor, et Dominicam lanceam ibi (in pugna) ferebam.—Foulcher de Chartres exclaims: *Audite fraudem et non fraudem!* and then: *Invenit lanceam, fallaciter occultatam forsitan*, c. 10.

‡ Ibid., p. 169. "He was burned because he had, himself, doubted for a moment. He told the people so as he came out from the fire, and the people glorified God." According to Guibert de Nogent he came out safe and sound from the fiery ordeal, but the multitude threw themselves upon him to tear his clothes, and kept the shreds of them as relics, and the poor man, battered and bruised, died of fatigue and exhaustion. L. vi. c. 22.

§ Ibid., p. 55. Multiplicavit insuper adeo Dominus exercitum nostrum, ut qui ante pugnam pauciores eramus quam hostes, in bello plures eis fuimus.

|| "Tancred," says his historian, Raoul de Caen, "was, at first, strongly disposed to fall upon the Provençals; but, recollecting that it was forbidden to shed Christian blood, he preferred having recourse to Guiscard's expedients. He caused men to enter the town by night, and when their numbers were strong, they drew their swords and drove out Raymond's soldiers with many blows. The origin of this enmity," he adds, "was a quarrel about fodder at the siege of Antioch. The foragers of the two nations had chanced to meet upon the same spot, and had fought each other for the corn. Since then, whenever they met, they laid down their burdens and belaboured each other with their fists; the stronger party carried away the booty." C. 98 and 99, p. 316. Raymond and his people afterwards maintained the authenticity of the holy lance, "Because the other nations brought offerings to it in their simplicity, and this filled Raymond's coffers; but the cunning Bohemond (*non imprudens, multividus*. Rad. Cad., p. 317; Robert. Mon., ap. Bongars, p. 40) discovered the whole trick. This exasperated the quarrel." C. 101, 102.

prodigious army was then reduced, it is said, to 25,000 men; but these consisted of the knights and their men-at-arms; the people had found their graves in Asia Minor and Antioch.

The Fatimites of Egypt, who, like the Greeks, had called in the Franks against the Turks, like them, repented of what they had done.\* They had succeeded in wresting Jerusalem from the Turks, and they it was who defended it against the crusaders. It is alleged, that they had assembled there as many as 40,000 men. The crusaders, who, in their first burst of enthusiasm at the sight of the holy city, had thought they could carry it by storm, were repulsed by the besieged. They were forced to resign themselves to the tediousness of a siege, and to set themselves down in that desolated region without tree or water. It seemed as though the fiend had burnt up every thing with his breath, at the approach of the army of Christ. Upon the walls appeared sorceresses, uttering evil-working words against the besiegers. It was not with words they were answered; stones, shot by the machines of the Christians, struck one of those magicians whilst she was in the act of performing her conjurations.† The only wood which was found in the vicinity was cut down by the Genoese and the Gascons, who made machines therewith under the direction of the Viscount de Béarn. Two towers on wheels were constructed for the Count of St. Gille and the Duke of Lorraine. At last, after the crusaders had for eight days marched barefooted round the walls of Jerusalem,‡ the whole army began the assault. Godefroy's tower was brought up to the walls, and on Friday the 15th of July, 1099, at three o'clock; on the day, and at the very hour of the Passion, Godefroy de Bouillon descended from his tower upon the walls of Jerusalem. The city being taken, the massacre was frightful.§ The crusaders, taking no account of time, in the blind fervour of their zeal, thought that in every infidel they met in Jerusalem, they smote one of the murderers of Jesus Christ.||

\* Willelm. Tyr., vii. 19. Unde factum est, ut hostes quos prius quasi fortiore horruerant, nunc per nostrorum operam dejectos, et contractis viribus, in uno videntes constitutos, nostrorum auxilium, quod prius instanter nimis expetierant, contemnebant.

† Ibid., viii. 15.

‡ Ibid., vii. 16. Memores Jhericontini quondam casus.....cum multa spirituum et corporum contritione processiones agendo, Sanctorum nomina scilicet inclamando, nudipedalia exercendo, Jherusalem circum eunt. Alberic. ap. Leibn. Access., i. 175.

§ The native Christians had suffered the most cruel treatment at the hands of the infidels during the siege. See William of Tyre, l. viii. c. 1.

|| After the capture of Jerusalem, a Mussulman poet, Abivardi, composed some verses to the following effect (Bibliothèque des Croisades, Extraits des Auteurs Arabes, par M. Reinaud):

"We have mingled blood with the abundance of our tears; there remains for us no shelter against the woes that threaten us. Sad weapons, for a man to shed tears when war is kindling every thing with its sparkling swords. Oh! children of Islam, many combats are before you, in which your heads will roll at your

When they thought the Saviour had been sufficiently avenged, that is to say, when there was hardly any one left in the town, they went, with tears and groans, beating their bosoms, to worship at the holy sepulchre. After this, the question was to be determined, Who was to be king of the new conquest? Who was to have the melancholy honour of defending Jerusalem? A scrutiny was entered on respecting each of the princes, in order to the election of the most worthy, and their servants were interrogated, with a view to discover their hidden vices. The Count of St. Gille, the richest of the crusaders, would probably have been elected, but his servants, afraid of remaining with him in Jerusalem, scrupled not to malign their master, and thus saved him from the burden of royalty. Those of the Duke of Lorraine, being questioned in their turn, seek as they might, could find nothing to say against him, except that he tarried too long in the churches, even after the offices were ended, and that he was always going about, inquiring of the priests as to the histories represented in the holy images and paintings, to the great dissatisfaction of his friends, whom he kept waiting dinner for him.\* Godefroy resigned himself to his fortune; but he would never assume the royal crown in a place where the Saviour had worn a crown of thorns.† He accepted no other title than that of Protector and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. The patriarch claiming Jerusalem and the whole realm, the conqueror made no objection, but granted all that was demanded, in presence of the people, reserving to himself the enjoyment only, that is to say, the defence.‡ In the very first year of his reign, he had to beat an innumerable army of Egyptians, who came and attacked the crusaders at Ascalon. It was an endless war, a cureless misery, a long martyr-

feet! How can one sleep and close his eyelids when visited by commotions that would waken the deepest sleeper! Your brethren in Syria have no place whereon to rest but the backs of their camels, or the bowels of the vultures. The Romans are covering them with shame, and you, you let your garments trail in listless ease, like men who have nothing to fear. What blood has been shed! How many women have been left with nothing to cover their beauty but their hands. So fearful is the shock of clashing lances and swords, that it would be enough to whiten the heads of children with terror. Such is this war, that those even who keep aloof from its fury in the hope of preserving themselves, soon gnash their teeth with remorse. Methinks I see him who reposes at Medina (Mohammed) rising and shouting with all his might, O! children of Haahem! What! My people rush not against the enemy lance in hand, when their religion is falling from its foundation. It dares not approach the fire for fear of death, and it sees not that dishonour is a wound that endures. Can it be that the chiefs of the Arabs will resign themselves to such evils, and that the warriors of Persia will submit to such degradation? Would to God, since they will no longer fight from zeal for religion, that they would resist for the safety of their kindred. If they renounce heaven and its rewards when danger calls them, will they not be, at least, attracted by the hope of booty?"

\* Willelm. Tyr., ix. 2. *Sed de singulis imaginibus et picturis rationem exigebat a sacerdotibus, et his qui horum videbantur habere peritiam; ita quod sociis suis, affectis aliter, in tedium verteretur. . . . et prandia . . . minus tempestive magisque insipida sumeretur.* Alberic., p. 179.

† Guibert., vii., Alberic., p. 183.

‡ Willelm. Tyr., ix. 10.

dom, which Godefroy found himself to have won by his conquest. From the first, the kingdom was infested by the Arabs up to the very gates of the capital; the people durst scarcely cultivate the lands about it. Tancred was the only leader who consented to remain with Godefroy; the latter could scarcely keep with him in all three hundred knights.\*

It was, however, a great thing for Christendom, thus to occupy the cradle of its religion in the very midst of the infidels. A little Asiatic Europe was formed there after the type of the great one. Feudalism was organised there, under a form, even more rigorous than in any country of the West; the order of rank and precedence, and all the details of feudal justice, were arranged in the famous assizes of Jerusalem, by Godefroy and his barons. There was a Prince of Galilee, a Marquis of Jaffa, and a Baron of Sidon. These mediæval titles, applied to the most venerable names of biblical antiquity, seem like a parody. That the castle of David should be embattled by a Duke of Lorraine; that a barbarian giant of the West, a fair-haired, iron-masked Gaul, should call himself Marquis of Tyre, this was what Daniel had not seen in his visions.

Judea was become a France. Our language, conveyed by the Normans into England and Sicily, was carried into Asia by the crusade. The French tongue succeeded as a political language to the universality of the Latin from Arabia to Ireland. The name of Franks became the common appellation of the people of the West.† And weak as the French monarchy still was, the brother of the unhappy Philip I., that Hugh of Vermandois, who fled from Antioch, was, nevertheless, called by the Greeks the brother of the chief of the Christian princes, and of the king of kings.‡

\* Willelm. Tyr., ix. 19. Dux solus, et dominus Tancredus. .... a domino dace erat detentus; ut vix invenirentur equites trecenti et peditum duo millia. At Antioch Tancred swore he would not abandon the place as long as there remained with him forty knights.—Guibert., v. 18.

† Guibert., l. ii. c. 1. "Last year I was talking with an archdeacon of Mayence upon the subject of the rebellion of his people, and I heard him make light of our king and his people, solely because the king had well received, and everywhere well treated the lord pope, Pascal, as well as his princes. He ridiculed the French upon this ground, to the extent of calling them in derision *Francos*. I then said to him, 'If you deem the French so weak or dastardly, as to think that you may insultingly jest upon a name, the celebrity of which has been extended to the Indian sea, tell me, then, to whom did Pope Urban address himself when he sought aid against the Turks? Was it not to the French?'—Ibid. l. iv. c. 8. "Our princes having held council, resolved then to build a fort upon the summit of the mountain to which they had given the name of Mahregard, to make it a new point of defence against the aggressors of the Turks." From this it is to be inferred, that the French language was predominant in the army of the crusaders. See also the sequel of the fourth crusade.

‡ 'Ο βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ φραγγικῶν στρατοῦ. Mat. Paris (ad ann. 1254) and Froissart (vol. iv., p. 207) style the King of France *Rex regum*, and chief of all the Christian kings. The Turks themselves pretended to a descent from the Franks: Dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Turci et Franci. Gesta Franc. ap. Bongars, p. 7.

## CHAPTER IV.

Sequel of the Crusade—The Communes—Abailard—First Half of the Twelfth Century.

It belongs to God to rejoice over his work and to say, This is good. It is not so with man. When he has done his task; when he has toiled hard, and run, and sweated; when he has vanquished, and, at last, grasps the object of his fervent desire, he no longer recognises it, but lets it fall from his hands, and becomes disgusted with it, and with himself. Thenceforth, life is for him no longer worth having; with all his efforts, he has but succeeded in robbing himself of his God. Thus, Alexander died of melancholy when he had conquered Asia, and Alaric when he had taken Rome. Godefroy de Bouillon was no sooner master of the Holy Land, than he sat himself down dispirited upon that land, and was weary of reposing in its bosom. Great and small, we are all of us in this respect like Alexander and Godefroy; the historian no less than the hero. The dry, cold Gibbon, himself, expresses a melancholy emotion upon the conclusion of his great work,\* and I, too, if I may so speak, anticipate, with as much fear as desire, the period when I shall have terminated the long crusade through the heart of centuries, which I am undertaking for my country.

Great was the sadness that befel the men of the middle ages when they had come to the end of that adventurous expedition, and were in possession of that Jerusalem they had so longed for. Six hundred thousand men had taken the cross; they were but 25,000 when they left Antioch; and when they had taken the holy city, Godefroy remained to defend it with 300 knights. There were a few more at Tripoli with Raymond, at Edessa with Beaudoin, and at Antioch with Bohemond. Ten thousand men beheld Europe again; what became of all the rest? It was easy to find their traces; they were visible through Hungary, the Greek Empire, and Asia, along a road white with bones. Such efforts to end in such a result! It is not to be wondered at if the victor himself became disgusted with life. Godefroy did not accuse God, but he languished and died.†

He had no idea of the real result of the crusade; that result,

\* He felt that he had taken leave of an old friend.—Gibbon's Memoirs.

† Guibert. Nov., l. vii. c. 22. "A prince of a neighbouring tribe of Gentiles sent him presents infected with a mortal poison. Godefroy made use of them without distrust, fell suddenly ill, took to his bed, and died soon after. According to others, he died a natural death."

which could neither be seen nor touched, was not the less real nor substantial, Europe and Asia had drawn near to, and known each other; the rancour of ignorance had already diminished. Let us compare the language of contemporaries before and after the crusade.

"It was an amusing thing," says the ferocious Raymond d'Agiles, "to see the Turks, pressed on all sides by our men, throw themselves, in their fright, one over the other, and force each other down the precipices. It was a spectacle amusing and delectable enough."\*

Every thing was changed after the crusade.† King Beaudoin, Godefroy's brother and successor, married a woman sprung from an illustrious family, "among the Gentiles of the country."‡ He himself adopted their usages, wore a long robe, let his beard grow, and was addressed with the marks of adoration customary in the East. He began to reckon the Saracens as men. Having received a wound, he refused his physicians permission to wound a prisoner, in order to study his case.§ He took pity on a captive Mussulman woman, who was overtaken in labour in his army, and halted on his march, rather than abandon her in the desert.||

And how was it with the Christians themselves? What sentiments of humanity, charity, and equality, must they not have had occasion to acquire in that community of danger and extreme suffering? Christendom, for awhile united under one flag, was animated with a sort of European patriotism.¶ Whatever temporal views

\* Raym. de Agil. ap. Bongars, p. 149. *Jocundum spectaculum tandem post multa tempora nobis factum. .... Accidit ibi quoddam satis nobis jocundum atque delectabile.* He tells us again that on one occasion the Count of Toalouse had the eyes of his prisoners torn from the sockets, and their hands, feet, and noses cut off, and he remarks: *Quanta ibi fortitudine et concilio comes claruerit, non facile referendum est.*

† Guibert, viii. 43. Guibert acknowledges that the Saracens are capable of attaining to a certain degree of virtue. *Hospitabatur (Rothbertus Senior) apud aliquem. .... vitæ, quantum ad eos, sanctioris Sarracenum, iii. 24.*

‡ Ib., i. vii. c. 36. "He lived in the greatest state in his duchy, so that whenever he journeyed he had carried before him a gold buckler, on which was represented an eagle, and which had the form of a Greek buckler. Adopting the usages of the Gentiles, he wore a long robe; he let his beard grow; suffered himself to be propitiated by those who adored him; ate off carpets spread upon the ground, and if he entered a town that belonged to him, two knights riding before his car sounded two trumpets."

§ Guibert, vii. 13. *Negat se cujuspiam hominum, etiam deterrimæ omnium conditionis, causam mortis ullatenus, pro tantilla, aut etiam sit dubia, salute futurum.* Albert d'Aix says, speaking of the first crusaders: "God punished them for having committed frightful cruelties upon the Jews; for God is just and will not have force used to constrain any one to come to him."

|| He took the cloak from his own shoulders to cover her: "*Mantello suo, quo erat indutus, eam involvens.*" Will. Tyr., x. ii.

¶ We have already seen that the barons all abandoned their own war-cries, and adopted that of the crusade: "God wills it."—Fulcher. Carnot, p. 369. "Whoever heard of so many nations and different tongues assembled together in one single army—Franks, Flemings, Frieslanders, Gauls, Britons, Albigenses, Lorrainians, Germans, Bavarians, Normans, Scotch, English, Aquitanians,

may have been mixed up with their enterprise, most of the crusaders felt the excellence of virtue, and dreamed of holiness. They endeavored to rise superior to themselves, and became Christians, at least out of hostility to the infidels.\*

That day was the era of emancipation, on which the puissant lords designated their followers, *OUR POOR*, without distinction of freemen or serfs.† The grand movement of the crusade having for awhile withdrawn men from local servitude, and led them abroad through Europe and Asia, they sought Jerusalem and found freedom. That liberating trumpet of the archangel, which was thought to have been heard in the year 1000, sounded a century later in the preaching of the crusade. The village awoke at the foot of the feudal castle, whose shade hung heavy over it. The pitiless man, who descended from his vulture's eyrie only to despoil his vassals, now, himself, armed them, led them, lived with them, suffered with them. Communion in misery softened his heart. Many a serf could say to the baron, "My lord, I found you a draught of water in the desert; I shielded you with my body at the siege of Antioch, or Jerusalem."

Strange adventures and surprising fortunes could not fail to occur in this great history. It often became tantamount to a title of nobility, to have survived that fearful mortality in which so many nobles perished; it was a lesson that taught what was the value of a man. Serfs, too, had their own heroic history; the kindred of those who had died found themselves the kindred of martyrs, and they applied the old legends of the Church to their fathers and brothers. They knew, that it was a poor man who had saved Antioch, by finding the holy lance, and that the sons and brothers of kings had run from Antioch. They knew that the pope had not gone to the crusade, and that the sanctity of monks and priests had been eclipsed by the sanctity of the layman Godefroy de Bouillon.

Humanity, then, began again to honour itself, even in its most miserable conditions. The first communal revolutions preceded, or

---

Italians, Apulians, Iberians, Dacians, Greeks, and Armenians. If any Breton or Teuton came and talked to me, it was impossible for me to reply to him. But though divided into so many tongues, we seemed all of us so many brothers and near kinsmen united in one same spirit—the love of the Lord. If one of us lost any thing belonging to him, he who found it carried it with him very carefully for several days, until by dint of inquiry he had discovered the man who had lost it, when he gave it back to him of his own free accord, as becomes men who have undertaken a holy pilgrimage."

\* Guib. Nov., iv. 15. Unde fiebat ut nec mentio scorti nec nomen prostibuli toleraretur haberi: præsertim cum pro hoc ipso scelere, gladiis, Deo iudice, vererentur addici. Quod si gravidam inveniri constitisset aliquam earum mulierum quæ probabantur carere maritis, atrocibus tradebatur cum suo lenone suppliciis. The sensual manners of the Turks were in strong contrast with this chastity of the Christians. After the battle of Antioch there were found in the fields and woods new-born children, of whom the Turkish women had been delivered during the course of the expedition. Guibert, v.

Raym. de Agil., p. 163, et alias: Pauperes nostri.



closely followed, the year 1100. They began to think, that every man was entitled to dispose of the fruits of his own labour, and to give away his own children in marriage; they emboldened themselves to think, that they had a right to come and go, to buy and sell, and they suspected, in their presumption, that it might very possibly be, that men were equal.

Until then, that formidable thought of equality had not come forth in a very precise and tangible form. We are told, indeed, that the peasants of Normandy revolted in the year 1000, but they were easily put down: a few knights ravaged the country, dispersed the villains, cut off their feet and hands, and there was an end of the matter.\* The peasants, in general, were too much isolated from each other; their *jacqueries* were always unsuccessful throughout the middle ages. Unhappily, too, it must be owned, they were too degraded by slavery, too brutalised by the excess of their woes; their triumph would have been that of barbarism.

It was especially in the populous boroughs, grouped round the castles, and, above all, round the churches, that ideas of emancipation fermented. The lay, or ecclesiastical lords, had encouraged the population of those boroughs by concessions of land, being desirous of augmenting their own strength, and the number of their vassals. These towns were not large and commercial cities, like those of the south of France and Italy, but they had some rude branches of trade, some blacksmiths, many weavers, butchers, and innkeepers, in the towns of transit. Sometimes the lords invited skilful workmen to settle in their towns, such, at least, as could embroider a stole, or forge armour; it was absolutely necessary to leave those men a little liberty, for, otherwise, as they carried their all in their hands, they would have left the country.

The growth of freedom, then, was destined to commence by the central towns of France, which, obtaining their franchises by fair means or by force, received the name of privileged towns, or communes. The occasion of this result was, generally, the defence made by the inhabitants, against the oppression and robbery of the feudal lords, and, in particular, the defence of the Isle of France against Normandy, the feudal country *par excellence*. "At this period," says Orderic Vital, "popular communality was established by the bishops in such wise, that the priests accompanied the king to siege or battles, with the banners of their parishes and all their parishioners."† According to the same historian, it was a

\* Will. Gemet., v. ap. Scr. Fr., x. 185. Rustici unanimes per diversos totius Normanicę patrię plurima agentes conventicula, juxta suos libitus vivere decernebant; quatenus tam in silvarum compendiis quam in aquarum commerciis, nullo obsistente ante statuti juris obice, legibus uterentur suis..... Transactis manibus ac pedibus, inutiles suis remisit..... His rustici expertis, festinato concionibus omissis, ad sua aratra sunt reversi.

† Order. Vital., ii. Tunc ergo communitas in Francia popularis statuta est a pręsulibus, ut prębyteri comitarentur regi ad obsidionem vel pugnam cum vexillis et parrochianis omnibus.

Montfort (an illustrious family, which was, in the following century, to destroy the liberties of the south of France, and to lay the foundation of those of England), it was Amaury de Montfort, who advised Louis le Gros, after his defeat at Brenneville, to employ against the Normans the men of the communes, marching under the banners of their parishes (1119).<sup>\*</sup> But when these communes returned within their own walls, they became more urgent in their demands; it was a mortal blow to their humility, to have once seen the great war-steeds and the noble knights flying before their parochial banners; to have put an end, with Louis le Gros, to the highway robberies of the Rocheforts; to have harried the lair of the De Coucy. They said, with the poet of the twelfth century: "We are men as well as they; our hearts are as great; we are as capable of endurance as they."<sup>†</sup> They all wanted some franchise, some privilege, and for this they offered money, which they contrived to find, indigent and wretched as they were. Poor artisans, blacksmiths, or weavers, allowed, as a matter of favour, to set themselves down at the foot of a castle; fugitive serfs, who had taken refuge round a church, such were the founders of our liberties; they stinted themselves of bread to obtain them, and the lords and the king were eager to sell diplomas so well paid for.

This revolution was accomplished everywhere, under a thousand

<sup>\*</sup> Order. Vital., xii.

<sup>†</sup> Rob. Wace, *Roman de Rou*, verses 5979—6038:

Li paisan e li vilain  
Cil del bocage e cil del plain,  
Ne sai par kel entichement,  
Ne ki les meu primierement;  
Par vinz, par trentaines, par cenz,  
Unt tenuz plusurs parlemenz.  
Privéement ont porparlé  
E plusurs l'ont entre els juré  
Ke james, par lur volonté,  
N'arunt seingnur ne avoé.  
Seingnur ne lur font se mal nun;  
Ne poent aveir od els raisun,  
Ne lur gaainz, ne lur laburs;  
Chescun jur vunt a grant dolurs.  
Tute jur sunt lur bestes prises  
Pur aies e pur servises. . .

" Pur kei nus laissum damagier?  
Metum nus fors de lor dangier;  
Nus sumes homes cum il sunt  
Tex membres avum cum il unt,  
Et altresi grans cors avum,  
Et altretant sofrir poum.  
Ne nus faut fors cuer sulement;  
Alium nus par serement,  
Nos aveir e nus defendum,  
E tuit ensemble nus tenum.  
Es nus voient guerreier  
Bien avum, contre un chevalier,  
Trente u quarante paisanz  
Maniables e cumbatans."

[The peasants and villeins of the forest and the plain, I know not how enticed, or by whom first instigated, by twenties, by thirties, by hundreds, have held several parliaments. They have privately held conference together, and many of them have sworn that never with their consent will they have lord or lord's deputy. Their lords do them so much ill; they cannot have their rights of them nor their gains, nor their labours; every day they suffer great dolours; every day their beasts are taken for dues and services. "Why do we let ourselves be damaged? Let us put ourselves out of their danger; we are men as they are; we have such limbs as they have; and we have as great hearts, and can endure as much as they. All we need is courage only; let us ally ourselves by oath to defend our all and ourselves; and let us all hold together. If they will make war on us we have, in sooth, against one knight, thirty or forty peasants, able and fighting men."]

forms, and with little noise; it was only prominently remarked in some towns of Oise and Somme, which, being placed in less favourable circumstances, divided between two lords, lay and ecclesiastical, applied to the king to obtain a solemn guarantee for concessions often violated, and which maintained a precarious liberty at the cost of many centuries of civil war. It was upon these towns that the name of *Communes* was more particularly bestowed. These wars are a small, but dramatic incident, in the great revolution which was taking place silently, and under various forms, in all the towns of the north of France.

It was in the valiant and choleric Picardy, the communes of which had so well beaten the Normans; it was in the country of Calvin, and so many other revolutionary spirits, that these explosions took place. The first communes were Noyon, Beauvais, Laon, the three ecclesiastical peerages;\* add to these St. Quentin. Here the Church had laid the foundations of a strong democracy. As to the fact, that the example was set by Cambrai and the towns of Belgium, we shall inquire into this subject by and by, when we come to speak of the far more important revolutions of the communes of Flanders. In this place we could only exhibit in miniature, what we shall find further on under colossal proportions. What is the commune of Laon, compared with the terrible and stormy city of Bruges, which sent forth 30,000 soldiers from its gates, beat the King of France, and imprisoned the emperor?† But great or small, our Picard communes were heroic, and bravely did they fight. They too had their belfry, their tower, not inclined and faced with marble, like the *miranda* of Italy,‡ but furnished with a sonorous bell, that summoned the citizens, not in vain, to battle against the bishop or the lord. Women went forth to these fights, against men. Eighty women insisted on taking part in the attack upon the castle of Amiens, and were wounded there.§ So, likewise, Jeane Hachette fought afterwards, at the siege of Beauvais. A sprightly and laughter-loving population it was, of impetuous soldiers and merry story-tellers, a country of light manners, of smutty *fabliaux*, of good songs, and of Béranger. It was their delight, in the twelfth century, to see the Count of Amiens, mounted upon his big horse, venturing beyond the pont levis, and caracoling clumsily; thereupon, the innkeepers and the butchers planted themselves boldly at their doors, and startled the feudal animal with their loud laughter.||

It has been said that the king founded the communes, but the

\* See Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*.—I could not have done better than repeat in this place his admirable narratives which are now impressed on every memory. It is only, however, in the fifth volume of M. Guizot's *Courses* that the true principles have been laid down as to the question of the Communes, the bourgeoisie, and the origin of the *tiers-état*. I return elsewhere to this great subject.

† Maximilian, in 1492.

‡ Ibid., p. 362. *Miranda*, i. e. *marvel*.

§ Guib. Nov., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 263.

|| Ibid., p. 261.

reverse is, rather, the fact;\* it was the communes that founded the king; without them, he could not have repulsed the Normans. Those conquerors of England and of the Two Sicilies would, probably, have conquered France; it was the communes, or, to employ a more general and more exact word, it was the *bourgeoisies*,† which, under the banner of the parish saint, achieved the security of public peace between the Oise and the Loire; and the king, mounted on horseback, carried the banner of the abbey of St. Denys,‡ at the head of the lords. A vassal, as Count of Vexin, Abbot of St. Martin de Tours, Canon of St. Quentin, defender of the churches, he waged holy war against the brigandage of the lords of Montmorency and Puiset, and against the execrable ferocity of the Coucys.

He had upon his side the nascent *bourgeoisie* and the Church; feudalism had all the rest, all the strength and the glory; the poor helpless king was smothered between the vast dominations of his vassals.§

---

\* Louis VI. resisted the attempt of the royal towns to constitute themselves communes. Louis VII. pursued the same policy, and when he passed through Orleans, he put down efforts which he regarded as seditious. "There he put down the pride and presumption of some city louts, who, under pretext of the commune, made show of rebelling and standing up against the crown; but many of them there were who paid dearly for this, for he put many of them to a violent death, as they had deserved." Gr. Chron. de St. Denis, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 196. Hist. Ludov., vii. p. 124. See also p. 126, &c. He abolished the commune of Vézelay. Chron. de St. Denis, p. 206.

† "Nowhere," says M. Guizot, "did the bourgeoisie, the *tiers-états*, receive so complete a development, so vast and fruitful a destiny as in France. There were communes throughout all Europe, in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England, as well as in France; and not only were there communes, but the communes of France were not those, which *quoad* communes, under that name and in the middle ages, performed the greatest part, and filled the largest space in history. The Italian communes brought forth glorious republics; the German communes became free sovereign cities, which have had their own special history, and have exercised much influence over the general history of Germany; the communes of England allied themselves with a portion of the feudal aristocracy, with which they formed one of the Chambers, the preponderating Chamber of the British parliament, and thus they early occupied a potent position in the history of their country. It is far from being the case, that the French communes in the middle ages, under that name, rose to that political importance, to that historic rank; and yet it was in France that the population of the communes, the *bourgeoisie*, became most completely and most efficaciously developed, and ended by acquiring the most decided preponderance in society. There have been communes throughout all Europe; there was no real *tiers-états* except in France. That *tiers-états*, which ended in 1789 in the French Revolution, is a destiny, a power belonging to our history alone, and which you would in vain seek for elsewhere." Leçon i., t. v. p. 128.

‡ This was the famous Oriflamme; it became the standard of the kings of France, after Philip I. acquired Vexin, which was a dependency upon the abbey of St. Denys. Scr. Rer. Fr., xi. 394; xii. 50.

§ The proper sovereignty of the King of France extended over the Isle of France, and a part of the Orleans territory; a range corresponding to the five departments of the Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Oise, and Loiret. Moreover, this small country, which was scarcely thirty leagues broad from east to west, and forty from north to south, was far from being entirely subject to the crown. On the contrary, we shall find that the grand business of Louis le Gros, during

And several of the latter were great men, men potent at least by their valour, energy, or wealth. What was a Philip I., or even the brave Louis VI., the big, pale man,\* among the red Williams of England and Normandy, the Roberts of Flanders, the conquerors and pirates;† the opulent Raymonds of Toulouse; the Williams of Poitiers, and Foulques of Anjou, troubadours and historians; and, lastly, the house of Lorraine, intrepid antagonists of the emperors, sanctified in the eyes of all Christendom, by the life and death of Godefroy de Bouillon?

What had the king to rely on in opposition to so much glory and might? Not much, it seems; a thing only that can neither be seen nor handled—right; an old right freshened up by Charlemagne, but preached by the priests, and renewed by the poems which were then beginning to be current. At last, this royal right was confessed to be the true one, and the feudal rights seemed usurped. Every fief for which there was no heir, was to fall back to the king as to its source; this gave him a great position, and many friends. There was an advantage in being upon good terms with him who had the bestowal of vacant fiefs; this quality of universal heir was eminently popular. Meanwhile, the Church upheld and supplied the king, for she had too much need of a military leader against the barons ever to abandon him. This was manifested at the time when Philip I. contracted a scandalous marriage with Bertrade de Montford (1092), whom he had carried off from her husband, Foulques of Anjou. The famous Yves, Bishop of Chartres, fulminated against him; the pope issued his interdict; the council of Lyons condemned the king, but the whole Church of the North remained favourable to him. He had on his side, the bishops of Rheims, Sens, Paris, Meaux, Soissons, Noyon, Senlis, Arras,† &c.

his whole reign, was to reduce to obedience the counts of Chaumont and Clermont, the lords of Montlhéry, Montfort l'Amaury, Coucy, Montmorency, Puiset, and a great number of other barons within the duchy of France and the domain proper of the kings, who refused to render them any obedience.

"North of this little state was the county of Vermandois, in Picardy, which belonged to the brother of Philip; it corresponded to little more than two of the modern departments of France, and the county of Boulogne to but one. But the county of Flanders comprised four; it equalled Philip's kingdom in extent, and much surpassed it in population and wealth. The house of Champagne, divided into its two branches of Champagne and Blois, occupied of itself alone six departments, and limited the king's domain upon the south and west. The house of Burgundy occupied three departments; the King of England possessed five, as Duke of Normandy; the Duke of Bretagne five others, and the Count of Anjou nearly three. Thus the king's nearest neighbours among the great lords were his equals in power. As for the countries situated between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and which now comprise thirty-three departments, though they recognised the sovereignty of the King of France, they were, in reality, as much strangers to him as the three kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence, which owed allegiance to the emperor. These latter now correspond to twenty-one departments."—Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 7.

\* He was poisoned in his youth, and remained pale ever afterwards.—Order. Vit., xi. ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 698.

† See the history of Robert le Frison.

‡ Sismondi, iv. 522.

Louis VI., who, in his old age, was called the Fat, had at first been surnamed *l'Éveillé* (the Awake). This reign was, in fact, the awakening of the monarchy. More valiant than his father, more docile to the Church, it was for her he performed his first exploits in arms, for the abbey of St. Denys, for the bishoprics of Orleans and Rheims.\* If we reflect, that the church lands were then the only asylums of order and peace, we shall feel what a charitable and humane work their defender performed. It is true, he found his advantage therein; the bishops, in their turn, armed their men for him. It was he who protected the pilgrims, and the merchants, who flocked to their fairs and festivals; he made the high-road from Tours and Orleans to Paris, and that from Paris to Rheims, safe for the traveller. The king and the Count of Blois and Champagne laboured to establish a little security between the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne, the small circle included between the great feudal houses of Anjou, Normandy, and Flanders, which latter stretched as far as to the Somme. The circle comprised between these great fiefs was the first arena of the monarchy, the theatre of its heroic history. There it was that the king sustained immense wars, fearful struggles against those places of pleasure and amusement which are now our suburbs. Our prosaic fields of Brie and Hurepoix have had their Iliads. The Montforts and the Garlandes frequently supported the king; the Coucy, the lords of Rochefort and Puiset, were almost always against him; all the environs were infested by their brigandages. One might still journey with some safety from Paris to St. Denys, but, beyond that, a man could only ride with his lance upon his thigh; it was the gloomy and ill-famed forest of Montmorency. On the other side was the castle of Montlhéry, where a toll was exacted. The king could not journey from his city of Orleans to his city of Paris without an army.

The crusade made the king's fortune. That terrible Lord of Montlhéry took the cross, but he did not go further than Antioch. When the Christians were besieged there, he left his comrades in arms and his brother pilgrims, had himself let down from the walls by a rope after the example of some others, and returned from Asia to Hurepoix, with the new surname of the *Rope-dancer*. This tamed the fierce baron, and he gave one of the king's sons his daughter and his castle;† which was equivalent to giving up the road between Paris and Orleans.

The absence of the great barons was not less useful to the king. Stephen of Blois, who had done like the Lord of Montlhéry, chose to return to Asia. The brilliant Count of Poitiers, the rake and the troubadour, felt that no man was an accomplished knight who had

\* Suger, Vita Ludovici Grossi, c. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. init.

† Philip I. said to his son, Louis le Gros: Age, fli, serva excubans turrin, cujus devezatione pene consenui, cujus dolo et fraudulenta nequitia nunquam pacem bonam et quietem habere potui. Sugerii Vit. Lud. Grossi, c. 8, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 16.

not been to the Holy Land. He reckoned full surely on finding there many romantic adventures and matter for some good tales.\* His duchy of Aquitaine gave him little concern; he offered to cede it to the King of England for some ready money. He set off with a great army, all his men, and all his mistresses.† For the men of Languedoc there was one uninterrupted crusade between Tripoli and Toulouse. Alphonse Jourdain was Count of Tripoli; his father had gone near to be made King of Jerusalem; the crown was offered to the Count of Anjou, who accepted it and was ruined by it. The Angevins had no business in the Holy Land; it was all very well, indeed, for the trading and manufacturing people of Languedoc to go thither; they procured from it the merchandise of the Levant, and rivalled the Pisans and the Venetians.

Thus was cumbrous feudalism unrooted from the earth, and made a moving thing; it came and went, it lived upon the great roads of the crusade between France and Jerusalem. As for the Normans, England was crusade enough for them, it kept them fully employed. The king alone stayed by the soil of France, and every day grew greater by the absence and the busy occupation of the barons; he began to be something in Europe. He received, he, the adversary of the petty lords of the parlious of Paris, a letter from the Emperor Henry IV., which complained to the *King of the Celts* of the pope's violence.‡ His title created such illusory notions of his strength, that a Count of Barcelona sent to him from the Pyrenees to ask for aid against the terrible invasion of the Almoravides, who were threatening Spain and Europe. In like manner when the hero of the crusade, the glorious Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, came to implore the compassion of the people for the Christians of Asia, he thought to do a popular thing by espousing the sister of Louis le Gros.§ Bohemond did not care to solicit the aid of his countrymen the Normans; the Count of Barcelona distrusted his neighbours of Toulouse; no one distrusted the King of France.

What constituted the danger of his position, but at the same time rendered him dear to the churches and the *bourgeoisies* of the centre of France, was the vicinity of the Normans. They had taken Gisors in contempt of treaties, and from thence they commanded the Vexin territory almost up to Paris. These conquerors respected nothing. The petty monarchy of France could not have made head against them but for the jealousy between Flanders and Anjou. The Count of Anjou solicited and obtained the title of seneschal of the King of France;|| the office conferred the right of setting the

\* He sometimes travelled with this sole view.

† Guibert. Nov., vii. Examina contraxerat puellarum.

‡ Sigebert. Gemblac. ap. Struv., i. 856.

§ Sugar, Vit. Lad. Gr., c. 9, xii. p. 18. Tanta etenim et regni Francorum et domini Lodovici præconabatur strenuitas, ut ipsi etiam Sarraceni hujus terrore copulæ tremarentur.

|| Hugo de Cleeris, de Senescalcia, ap. Scr. Fr., x. 494.

dishes upon the table; but feudalism ennobled all domestic offices, and the Count of Anjou was too potent to think that any advantage could ever be taken against him from that voluntary servitude, which was equivalent to a close league against the Normans.

The Normans had no decisive advantage; they employed but the smaller portion of their forces against the King of France; Normandy, in fact, was not at home, but in England. Their victory at Brenneville in a cavalry engagement, in which the two kings met and behaved well enough in their own persons, led to nothing further. In this celebrated battle of the twelfth century, there were three men killed,\* as we are told by Orderic Vital; after this those may say who will, that the times of chivalry were the heroic times (1119).

This defeat was cruelly avenged by the soldiery of the communes, who entered Normandy and committed frightful ravages there; they were led by bishops themselves, who dreaded nothing so much as to fall under the yoke of Norman feudalism. The king hoped to derive still greater advantage from the ecclesiastical protection, when Calixtus II. excommunicated the Emperor Henry V. at the Council of Rheims, in which sat fifteen archbishops and 200 bishops. Louis presented himself to the council, and humbly laid before the pope his accusations against the Norman King of England, Henry Beaucherc, as a violator of the law of nations, and the ally of the lords who were laying waste the land. "The bishops," he said, "justly detested Thomas de Marne, a seditious brigand who ravaged the whole province. Accordingly, they ordered me to attack that enemy of travellers and of all the weak. The loyal barons of France joined me in putting down the violator of the laws, and they fought for the love of God with the whole assembly of the Christian army. The Count of Nevers, returning peaceably with my *cangé* from that expedition, was taken prisoner, and has been detained to this day by Count Thibault, although a multitude of lords have entreated Thibault on my part to set him at liberty, and although the bishops have put all his territory under the ban." When the king had spoken, the French prelates attested that he had uttered the truth. But the pope had quite enough upon his hands in his conflict with the emperor, without further bringing upon himself the enmity of the King of England.

Be this as it may, the King of France was to such a degree the man of the Church, that he was allowed peaceably to exercise that right of investiture for which the pope was excommunicating the emperor.† This right was attended with no inconvenience in the

\* Order. Vit., xii. ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 722. Tres solummodo interemptos fuisse comperi.

† The monks of St. Denis elected Suger as their abbot, without waiting for the royal presentation. Louis was much incensed at this, and put many monks in prison (Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, p. 48). Thus the exception proves the rule in this case.



hand of the *protégé* of the bishops. Louis, moreover, inspired so much confidence! He was a prince after God, and after the world.

Henry Beauclerc had supplanted his brother Robert; Louis le Gros took William Cliton, Robert's son, under his protection. He tried, in vain, to establish him in Normandy, but aided him with success to become Count of Flanders. When Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, had been massacred by the men of Bruges, Louis undertook that distant expedition, signally avenged the count, and determined the Flemings to accept as their count the Norman, William Cliton. In this way men became accustomed to regard the King of France as the minister of Providence.

More distant still, and not less distinguished, were his expeditions to the South. The Count of Bourges had sold his county to the king at the period of the crusade.\* This territory, from which the king was separated by so many others more or less hostile to him, acquired some importance when the Lord of the Bourbonnaia, neighbouring on Berri, called the king to his aid in 1115 against the brother of his predecessor, who disputed with him the possession of that lordship. Louis le Gros advanced to his assistance with an army, and protected him effectually; thenceforth, he had a footing in the South; twice he made a sort of crusade thither in favour of the Bishop of Clermont, who said he was oppressed by the Count of Auvergne. The great vassals of the North, the counts of Flanders, Anjou, and Bretagne, and many Norman barons, willingly followed his banner. It was a great delight for them to make a campaign in the South; the remonstrances of the Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, and suzerain of the Count of Auvergne, were not regarded. Some years afterwards, the Bishop of Puy-en-Vélay solicited a privilege of the King of France, alleging the absence of his lord, the Count of Toulouse, who was then in the Holy Land (1134).

Proof appeared, in the year 1124, how puissant the King of France had become. The Emperor Henry V., who had been excommunicated by the Council of Rheims, retained a grudge against the bishops and the king. His son-in-law, Henry Beauclerc, moreover, urged him to invade France. The emperor had a design, it is said, on the town of Rheims; instantly all the urban forces took up arms;† the great lords sent their men; the Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers and of Vermandois, and even the Count of Champagne, who was then making war against Louis le Gros in favour of the Norman king, and the counts of Flanders, Bretagne, Aquitaine, and Anjou, hastened to meet the Germans, who durst not advance. This unanimity of Northern France under Louis le Gros

\* Chronic. Reg. Fr. ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 394. He paid him for it 60,000 livres. Fouques le Réchin also ceded the Gâtinais as the price of his neutrality.

† Suger. Lud. Gros. ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 50. Rex ut eum tota Francia sequatur, potenter invitat. Indignata igitur hostium inusitatum audaciam usitata Francie animositas, circumquaque movens militarem delectum.....

against Germany, seemed to predict, a century beforehand, the victory of Bouvines, as the king's expedition into Auvergne gives us a forethought of the conquest of the South in the thirteenth century.

Such was the resurrection of the king and of the people after the first crusade. People and king set out upon their march, under the banner of St. Denys; *Montjoie Saint Denys* was the war-cry of France. St. Denys and the Church, Paris and the monarchy, stood face to face; between them was a centre, and thither the life-blood flowed, a people's heart beat there. The first token, the first pulsation of that heart, was the rise of the schools, and the voice of Abailard. Liberty, which sounded so feebly from the belfry of the communes of Picardy, resounded aloud through Europe by the voice of the Breton logician. Abailard's disciple, Arnaldo of Brescia, was the echo that awoke Italy. The little communes of France had, without being aware of it, sisters in the great Lombard cities and in Rome, that great commune of the antique world.

The chain of free-thinkers, broken, it would seem, after Johannes Scotus,\* had its links re-united by our great Gerbert, who became pope in the year 1000. Educated at Cordova, and admitted a master at Rheims,† Gerbert had for disciple Fulbert of Chartres, whose pupil, Berenger of Tours, affrighted the Church by the first doubt cast upon the Eucharist. Soon after, the Canon Roscelin of Compiègne, dared to touch upon the question of the Trinity. He taught, moreover, that general ideas were but words, "The virtuous man is a reality; virtue is but a sound."‡

This bold reform gave a violent shock to all poetry, to all religion; it accustomed men to see nothing but personifications in those ideas that had been regarded as real things; it was nothing less than a transition from poetry to prose. This logical heresy inspired the contemporaries of the first crusade with horror; Nominalism, as it was called, was stifled for awhile.

Champions were not wanting to the Church against the innova-

---

\* There are fewer gaps in the series of historians. The most distinguished that appeared were at first the Germans, such as Otho of Freysingen, who celebrated the great emperors of the house of Saxony; then the Normans of Italy and France, William of Malaterra, Guillaume de Jumièges, and William the Conqueror's chaplain, William of Poitiers. France Proper had the intelligent Raoul Glaber, and a century later, among a host of historians of the crusade, the eloquent Guibert de Nogent. Raymond d'Agiles belongs to the South.

† For a long time back schools of theology had been formed in the great ecclesiastical foci: first at Poitiers and Rheims, then at Bec, Mans, Auxerre, Laon, and Liège. Orleans and Angers specially professed law. Jewish schools had ventured to appear in Beziers, Lunel, and Marseilles. Learned rabbins taught at Carcassonne; and even in the North, under the counts of Champagne, at Troyes and Vitry, and in the royal town of Orleans.

‡ St. Anselm speaks of "Those heretical dialecticians who make essential substances consist only in speech, who have no conception of colour but as existing in a body, or of wisdom but as existing in a soul." *De fide Trinitatis*, c. 2.

tors. The Lombards, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, both of them archbishops of Canterbury, combatted Berenger and Roscelin. St. Anselm, an original genius, anticipated the famous argument of Descartes, for the existence of God: "If God did not exist, I could not conceive him."\* It was a great delight for him to have made this discovery, after a long fit of sleeplessness. He inscribed upon his book, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." A monk ventured to question the validity of the proof, and to entitle his reply, "A little book for the fool."† These first skirmishes were but preludes. Gregory VII. forbade that Berenger should be molested.‡ The dispute about investitures, the material conflict, the war against the emperor, was then pending. Another conflict of an intellectual kind, and one of a much graver nature, was about to begin, so soon as the question should have come down from politics to theology and morals, and the very morality of Christianity should have been brought in question. Thus, Pelagius came after Arius, and Abailard after Berenger.

The Church seemed at peace; the school of Laon, and that of Paris, were occupied by two pupils of St. Anselm of Canterbury, Anselm of Laon, and William of Champeaux. Great signs and tokens, however, were appearing; the Vaudois had translated the Bible into the vulgar tongue;§ the Institutes were also translated, and law was taught, simultaneously with theology, at Orleans and at Angers.¶ The mere existence of the school of Paris was an immense innovation and danger. The ideas which, till then, had been dispersed, and exposed to close inspection in the various ecclesiastical schools, were about to converge to a centre; the great name, *university*, was beginning to be heard in the capital of France, at a moment when the universality of the French language seemed almost accomplished. The conquests of the Normans, and the first crusade, had carried that potent philosophic idiom everywhere; into England, into Sicily, into Jerusalem. This circumstance, alone, gave France, especially central France and Paris, an immense attractive force. The French of Paris became gradually proverbial;\*\* feudalism had found its political centre in the royal

\* Prologium, c. 2.

† Libellus pro insipiente.

‡ Greg. epist. Spicileg. d'Achery, ed. 2, t. iii., p. 413. The emperor's partisans accused Gregory of having ordained a fast of the cardinals, in order to prevail with God to show which of the two, Berenger or the Roman Church, was right as to the Body of Christ. Quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, romanæ ecclesiæ, an Berengarius? Eccardi corpus histor. medii ævi, ii. 170.

§ See the *Histoire Littéraire de France*.

¶ Ibid.

¶ Ibid., and Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 1822, iii. 369.

\*\* Chaucer says of an English abbess of high station, that she spoke the  
"French of Stratforde-atte-Bowe  
For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

city, and that city was now about to become the capital of human thought.

He who began this revolution was not a priest; he was a handsome young man,\* of brilliant and engaging qualities, and of noble mœ.+ No one, like him, could write love verses in the vulgar tongue, and he sang them himself;† then his erudition was extraordinary for the times; he was the only man who knew Greek and Hebrew. Perhaps, he had frequented the Jewish schools (there were many of them in the South), or the rabbins of Troyes, Vitry, or Orleans. There were then two principal schools in Paris; the old episcopal school of Notre-Dame, and that of St. Geneviève, on the mountain, where William of Champeaux was in the zenith of his fame. Abailard became one of his pupils, laid his doubts before him, puzzled his master, made sport of him, and put him to silence. He would have done the same with Anselm of Laon, had not the professor, who was a bishop, expelled him from his diocese. Thus did the knight-errant of dialectics go about unhorsing the most famous champions. He says himself, that he renounced the other kind of tilting, that of the tournaments, only from his love for the war of words.§ Thenceforth, victorious and unrivalled, he taught at Paris and at Melun, where Louis le Gros resided, and where the lords were beginning to gather in great numbers. These knights encouraged a man of their own order,|| who had beaten the priests upon their own ground, and who put the most self-sufficient of the clerks to silence.

\* *Epistola i. Heloissæ ad Abel.* (Abel. et Hel. opera, ed. Duchesne): Quod enim bonum animi vel corporis tuam non exornabat adolescentiam?—Abelardi *Liber Calamitatum mearum*, p. 10: Juventutis et formæ gratia.

† He was born near Nantes, in 1079, and was the eldest son, but renounced his right of primogeniture.

‡ *Abel. Liber Calam.*, p. 12. Jam (at the period of his amour) si qua invenire licebat carmina, erant amatoria, non philosophiæ secreta. Quorum etiam carminum pleraque, adhuc in multis, sicut et ipse nôsti, frequentantur et decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita simul oblectabat.—*Heloissæ, Epist. i.*: Duo autem, fateor, tibi speccaliter inerant, quibus fœminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras; dictandi videlicet, et cantandi gratia. Quæ cæteros minime philosophos assecutos esse novimus. Quibus quidem quasi ludo quodam laborem exercitii recreans philosophici, pleraque amatorio metro vel rythmo composita reliquisti carmina, quæ pro nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus sæpius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant: ut etiam illiteratos melodiæ dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tuum feminae suspirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunciavit, et multarum in me fœminarum accendit invidiam.

§ *Lib. Calam.*, p. 4. Et quoniam dialecticorum rationum armaturam omnibus philosophiæ documentis prætuli, his armis alia commutavi et trophæis bellorum confictus prætuli disputationum. Præinde diversas disputando perambulans provincias. We find from another of his letters that he had at first studied law.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 5. Quoniam de potentibus terræ nonnullos ibidem habebat (*Gulielmus Campellensis*) æmulos, fretus eorum auxilio, voti mei compos extiti.

Abailard's prodigious success may easily be accounted for. It seemed that, for the first time, men heard a free and human voice: all that had been given to the world in the cumbrous and dogmatical form of the clerical mode of teaching, under the rude envelope of mediæval Latin, now appeared in the antique elegance which Abailard had re-discovered. The bold young man simplified, explained, popularised, humanised; scarcely did he leave any thing obscure and divine in the most formidable mysteries. It seemed that, until then, the Church had but stammered, and that Abailard spoke: every thing became pleasant and easy. He treated religion politely, and handled it gently; but it melted away in his hands. Nothing embarrassed this fair speaker; he reduced religion to philosophy, and the principles of morality to those of humanity. *Crime*, he said, *does not consist in the act, but in the intention*;\* in the conscience. Thus, there was no such thing as sinning from habit, or from ignorance. *Those men even did not sin, who crucified Jesus without knowing that he was the Saviour.*† What is original sin? *Not so much a sin as a penalty.*‡ But, in that case, wherefore redemption, wherefore the Passion, if none had sinned? *It was purely an act of love; God was pleased to substitute the law of love for that of fear.*§

What is sin? It is not pleasure, but contempt of God.¶ The intention is every thing, the act is nothing. A slippery doctrine,

\* P. Abelardi *Ethica*, seu liber dictus *Scito te ipsum* (ap. Bern. Pezii *Thesaur. anecdotorum*, pars 2a, p. 627).....Operationem peccati nihil addere ad ratum.—Nihil animam, nisi quod ipsius est, coinquinat: hoc est consensus, quem solummodo peccatum esse diximus, p. 268. See also, p. 652. Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (ap. Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 522.) Opera indifferentia sunt in se, scilicet nec bona nec mala, sive remuneratione digna, videntur, nisi secundum radicem intentionis, quæ est arbor bonum vel malum proferens fructum.

† Ibid., p. 655. Non possumus dicere martyrum vel Christi persecutores (quum placere Deo crederent) in hoc peccasse. "We must, therefore, believe," he adds, "that God visited them but with temporary punishment, and that only for the sake of example."

‡ Ibid., p. 654: Cum parvulos originale peccatum dicimus habere, vel nos omnes in Adam peccasse, tale est ac si diceretur a peccato illius originem nostre pœnæ vel damnationis sententiam incurrisse. See also, Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 598.) "But does God, then, punish innocent persons? This is unjust and atrocious. Perhaps," he replies, "it is not so in God." Ibid.

§ Commentar. in Epist. ad Rom., pp. 550, 553: Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio.....ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus. "In fact, who were they whom Christ would have come to redeem? It could only be the elect. And, then, where would have been the good of it?"—Ibid. St. Bernard vehemently inveighs against him for this error. (S. Bernardi opera, ed. Mabillon, 1690, i. 650 and 655.)

¶ *Ethica*, ap. B. Pezii, Th. iii. 627. Peccatum contemptus Creatoris est. See also p. 638. Abailard, in his *Ethics* (p. 632, &c.), uses the word *voluntas* in the sense of *desire*. It is true, he makes a distinction between the will (consensus) and desire; but the mere confusion of terms must often have occasioned a dangerous ambiguity. In the Commentary on the Epist. to the Romans, he uses *voluntas* for the will (*volenti*).

which demands an enlightened and sincere mind to deal with it rightly. We know what bad use was made of it by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. How much more dangerous was it in the ignorance and rudeness of the twelfth!

This philosophy spread rapidly; in an instant it crossed the sea and the Alps;\* it descended into all ranks. The laity began to talk of sacred things, and everywhere, not only in the schools, but in the public places, and in the thoroughfares, great and small, men and women, conversed about the gravest mysteries.† The tabernacle had been forced as it were; the holy of holies was dragged through the streets. The simple were unsettled in their minds; the saints were tottering, the Church was silent.

Yet, the whole body of Christianity was at stake; it was attacked at its base. If original sin was not a sin, but a penalty, that penalty was unjust, and redemption was useless. Abailard defended himself from such a conclusion; but he justified Christianity by means of such feeble arguments, that he rather did it more damage, by declaring that he had no better answer to give. He suffered himself to be brought to a stand by means of the *argumentum ad absurdum*, and then he appealed to authority and faith.

And so then, man was no longer guilty; the flesh was justified and restored to honour; all the sufferings with which men had immolated themselves were superfluous. What became of so many voluntary martyrs, so many fastings and mortifications; the vigils of monks, the tribulations of hermits, the countless tears shed before God? All was vanity—mockery. God was an amiable and easy God, who had nothing to do with all this.

The Church was then under the sway of a monk, a simple abbot of Clairvaux, St. Bernard. He was of noble birth, like Abailard, a native of Upper Burgundy,‡ the country of Bossuet and Buffon. He had been brought up in the puissant house of Cîteaux, the sister and rival of Cluny, which sent forth so many illustrious preachers, and which, half a century afterwards, made the crusade against the Albigeois. But St. Bernard thought Cîteaux too splendid and too rich: he went into needy Champagne, and founded the

\* Guill. de S. Theodor. epist. ad S. Bern. (ap. S. Bernardi opera, i. 302.) Libri ejus transierunt maria, transvolant Alpes.—St. Bernard wrote to the cardinals of Rome, in 1140: Legite si placet, librum Petri Abelardi, quem dicit Theologiæ; ad manum enim est, cum, sicut gloriatur, a pluribus lectitetur in Curia.

† The bishops of France wrote to the pope, in 1140: Cum per totam fere Galliam, in civitatibus, vicis et castellis, a scholaribus, non solum inter scholas, sed etiam triviatim, nec a litteratis aut provectis tantum, sed a pueris et simplicibus, aut certe stultis, de S. Trinitate, quæ Deus est, disputaretur.....S. Bernardi opera, i. 309.—S. Bernardi epist. ad Cardinales: Irridetur simplicium fides, eviscerantur arcana Dei, quæstiones de altissimis rebus temerarie ventilantur.

‡ His mother was of Monthar, Buffon's birth-place, and not far from Dijon, the native place of Bossuet. He was born in 1091.

monastery of Clairvaux in the *Valley of Wormwood*.<sup>\*</sup> There he was free to lead that life of sorrows that was needful to him; nothing could win him from it; never would he hear of being any thing else than a monk, though he might have become archbishop and pope. Constrained to reply to all the kings who consulted him, he found himself all potent in spite of himself, and condemned to govern Europe. A letter from St. Bernard made the army of the King of France withdraw from Champagne.† When schism broke out, by the simultaneous elevation of Innocent II. and of Anaclet, St. Bernard was appointed by the Church of France to choose between them, and he chose Innocent.‡ England and Ireland resisted. The Abbot of Clairvaux said a word or two to the King of England; then, taking the pope by the hand, he led him through all the towns of Italy, the inhabitants of which received him upon their knees. They thronged upon each other to stifling, in order to touch the saint, and fought for a thread of his robe. His whole route was marked by miracles.

But these were not his greatest affairs, as his letters inform us; he lent, not gave, himself to the world; his love and his treasure were elsewhere. He wrote ten lines to the King of England, and ten pages to a poor monk. Living in the inward life, in prayer and sacrifice, no one could make himself more alone in the midst of bustle; the senses no longer spoke to him of the world. He walked a whole day, says his biographer, along the Lake of Lausanne, and in the evening he asked, where was the lake. He drank oil for water, and took clotted blood for butter.§ He vomited up almost every kind of food: it was upon the Bible he fed, and he quenched his thirst with the Gospel. He could hardly support himself erect, and yet he found strength to preach the crusade to a hundred thousand men. The multitude thought it was a spirit, rather than a man they saw, when he appeared thus before them, with his red and white beard, his fair and hoary hair; meagre and weak, with but a scarcely visible indication of life upon his cheeks, and that singular delicacy and transparency of complexion which we have admired in Byron.¶ His sermons were terrible; mothers kept their sons away from them, and wives their husbands;‡ they would else have all followed him to the monasteries. As for him, when he had sent forth the breath of life over the multitude, he returned with speed to Clairvaux, reconstructed his little hut of boughs and foliage near the convent,\*\*

\* Neander, Heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter, p. 7.

† Arnald. de Bonneval, vit. S. Bern., iv. 3. Chron. Turon., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 473. See S. Bern. epist., 221, 220, 226 (opera, ed. Mabillon, 1690, folio 203—210).

‡ See on this matter, St. Bernard's letters to the cities of Italy (Genoa, Pisa, Milan, &c.), to the Empress, the King of England, and the Emperor, pp. 138, seqq.

§ Guillelm. de S. Theodorico, i. 7; iii. 2.

¶ Ibid., iii. 1. Odo de Diogilo, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 92. Gaufridus, c. 1., in opus. S. Bern., t. ii., p. 1117: Subtilissima cutis in genis modice rubens.

‡ Ibid., i. 3.

\*\* Arnald. de Bonneval, ii. 6. Guill. de S. Theodor., i. 4: "Hishorta, all as

and assuaged a little his love-sick soul in writing the exposition of the "Song of Songs," which employed his whole life.\*

Imagine with what grief such a man must have heard of Abailard's success; of the usurpations of logic over religion; the prosaic victory of reasoning over faith; the flame of the sacrifice becoming stifled and extinguished in the world. It was robbing him of his God.

St. Bernard was not to be compared with his rival as a logician; but the latter himself wrought his own downfall. He undertook to deduce its consequences from his doctrine, and he applied it to his conduct in life. He had reached that excess of prosperity, in which the infatuation common to our nature plunges us into some great fault. Every thing succeeded with him; men held their peace before him; women all regarded with looks of love an engaging, invincible young man, beautiful in face and all-powerful in mind, who had a whole people for his followers. "I had reached such a pass," he says, "that honour what woman I would with my love, I had no refusal to fear."† Rousseau says precisely the same thing in his *Confessions* in relating the success of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*.

The Héloïse of the twelfth century, was the niece of the Canon Fulbert, very young, beautiful, learned, and already celebrated;‡ she was intrusted by her uncle to the teaching of Abailard, who seduced her. This fault had not even love for its excuse; it was deliberately, in cold blood, by way of pastime, that Abailard betrayed the confidence of Fulbert.§ We know that he was cruelly punished for his crime; he renounced the world, and became a Benedictine at St. Denis, about the year 1119. Thither he was pursued by ecclesiastical persecutions, and he found no rest there. The Archbishop of Rheims, the friend of St. Bernard, assembled a council against him at Soissons; Abailard was like to have been stoned by the people; he was frightened, shed many tears, burned his books, and said whatever they pleased. He was

---

has read in the Holy Scriptures, and what he discerns therein spiritually, has come to him in meditating and praying in the fields and forests, and he is in the habit of saying jocosely to his friends, that he has never had any other masters in these things than oaks and beeches. St. Bernard writes to a certain Murdach, whom he advises to become a monk: "Experto crede; aliquid amplius in silvis invenies quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te quod a magistris invenire non possis.....An non montes stillant dulcedinem, et colles sunt lac et mel, et valles abundant frumento?" Opera, i. 110.

\* Arnald. de Bonneval, ii. 6.

† Abel. Liber. Calam., p. 10. Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, et juventutis et formæ gratiæ præminebam, ut quancumque feminarum nostro dignarer amore nullam vereretur repulsam.

‡ Ibid. Quæ cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam litterarum erat suprema. Nam quo bonum hoc, litteratoriæ scilicet scientiæ, in mulieribus erat rarius, eo amplius puellam commendabat, et in toto regno nominatissimam fecerat.

§ Héloïse writes to him: Concupiscentia te mihi potius quam amicitia sociavit, libidinis ardor potius quam amor.



condemned without inquiry, his enemies alleging, that it was enough that he had taught without the authority of the Church.\*

Shut up at St. Médard de Soissons, and afterwards a refugee at St. Denis, he was obliged to fly from that asylum. He had presumed to doubt that St. Denis, the Areopagite, had ever visited France. To impugn that legend, was to attack the religion of the monarchy;† and from that moment the court withdrew its protection from him. He fled to the dominions of the Count of Champagne, and hid himself in a desert place on the Ardusson, two leagues from Nogent. Reduced now to poverty, and having but one clerk with him, he built a hut of reeds and an oratory in honour of that Trinity he was accused of denying, and named his hermitage the Comforter, the Paraclete. But his disciples, having learned where he was, flocked round him; they built them huts,‡ and a town rose in the desert, dedicated to science and to liberty. A little more, and he would once more have appeared as a public teacher; but he was compelled again to hold his peace, and to accept the priory of St. Gildas, in *Bretonising* Bretagne, the language of which he did not understand. It was his fate to find no rest; his Breton monks, whose habits he endeavoured to reform, endeavoured to give him poison in the chalice. Thenceforth, the unfortunate man led a wandering life, and even thought, it is said, of taking refuge in some land of the infidels; but first he would once measure his strength against that of the terrible adversary who everywhere pursued him with his zeal and his sanctity. At the instigation of Arnaldo of Brescia, he challenged St. Bernard to a logical duel before the Council of Sens. The king, the counts of Champagne and Nevers, and a host of bishops, were to be present, and to judge of the hits. St. Bernard repaired to the rendezvous reluctantly,§ conscious as he was of his inferiority. But the threats of the people, and the timidity of his rival, relieved him from all embarrassment. Abailard durst not defend himself, but contented himself with appealing to the pope. Innocent II. owed every thing to St. Bernard, and hated Abailard for the sake of his disciple, Arnaldo da Brescia,|| who was then roaming over Italy, and summon-

\* See Liber Calam., 20, 21; Gaufréd. Claravall., iii. 5.

† He wished, also, to reform the morals of the convent: this, he says himself, was displeasing to the court. Sciebam in hoc regii consilii esse, ut quo minus regularis abbatia illa esset, magis regi esset subjecta et utilis, quantum videlicet ad lucra temporalia.—Lib. Calam., p. 27.

Lib. Calam., p. 28. Cœperunt undique concurrere, et relictis civitatibus et castellis solitudinem inhabitare, etc.

§ S. Bern. epist. 189: Abani, tum quia puer sum et ille vir bellator ab adolescentia: tum quia judicarem indignum rationem fidei humanis committi rationculis agitandam.

|| S. Bern. epist. ad papam, p. 182: Proceidit Golias (Abelardus)... antecedente quoque ipsam ejus armigero, Arnaldo de Brixia. Squama squamæ conjungitur, et nec spiraculum incedit per eas. Siquidem sibilavit apis, quæ erat in Francia, apî de Italia, et venerunt in unum adversus Dominum.—Epist. ad Innocentium, p. 187: Utinam tam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est

ing the towns to freedom. He ordered Abailard to be shut up; but the latter had anticipated him by voluntarily taking refuge in the monastery of Cluny. The abbot, Pierre le Vénéable, answered for Abailard, who died there two years afterwards.

Such was the end of the restorer of philosophy in the middle ages; the son of Pelagius, the father of Descartes, and a Breton like them. Under another point of view, he may be regarded as a precursor of the humane and sentimental school, which was revived in the persons of Fénelon and Rousseau. We know that Bossuet assiduously read the works of St. Bernard in the course of his controversy with Fénelon. As for Rousseau, in order to assimilate him to Abailard, we must consider in the latter, and as identified with him, his two disciples, Arnaldo and Héloïse—classic republicanism and impassioned eloquence. In Arnaldo, we discover the germ of the *Contrat Social*, and the *Nouvelle Héloïse* in the letters of the Héloïse of the twelfth century.

There is no memory more popular in France, than that of Abailard's mistress. That people, so oblivious, among whom the traces of the middle ages are so completely effaced; that people, which remembers the gods of Greece more than our national saints, has not forgotten Héloïse. It still visits the graceful monument beneath which the two lovers are united,\* with as much interest as if their grave had been dug yesterday. It is the only one of all our love-legends that has survived.

The fall of the man, made the grandeur of the woman; but for Abailard's misfortune, Héloïse would have been unknown, she would have remained obscure and in the shade, she would have desired no other glory than that of her spouse. At the period of their separation, he made her take the veil, and built for her the Paraclete, of which she became the abbess. There she held a great school of theology, Greek, and Hebrew. Many similar monasteries rose around the Paraclete, and some years after the death of Abailard, Héloïse was declared head of an order by the pope. But her glory consists in her love, so constant and so disinterested; a love to which Abailard's coldness and hardness of heart give a new lustre. Let us compare the language of the two lovers.

---

vitæ! Et si vultis scire, homo est neque manducans, neque bibens, solo cum diabolo esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum.—Epist. ad Guid., p. 188: Cui caput columbæ, cauda scorpionis est; quem Brixia evomit, Roma exhorruit, Francia repulit, Germania abominatur, Italia non vult recipere.—He had also had for master, Pierre de Bruis. Buleus, Hist. Universit. Paris, ii. 155. Platina says, it is not known whether he was priest, monk, or hermit. Trithemius relates, that he said from the pulpit, addressing the cardinals: "Scio quod me brevi clam occidetis.....Ego testem invoco cælum et terram quod enuntiaverim vobis ea quæ mihi Dominus præcepit. Vos autem contemnitis me et creatorem vestrum. Nec mirum si hominem me peccatorem vobis veritatem annuntiantem morti tradituri estis, cum etiam si S. Petrus hodie resurgeret, et vitia vestra quæ nimis multiplicata sunt, reprehenderet, ei minime pareretur."—Ibid., 106.

\* In the cemetery of Père la Chaise, Paris.

"Fulbert," says Abailard, "gave her up, without reserve, to my control, so that, upon my return from the schools, I should apply myself to her instruction, and, if I found her negligent, should chastise her severely. Was not this giving full licence to my desires, so that, if I did not succeed by caresses, I might compass my end by threats and blows?"\*

This dastardly brutality of a pedant of the twelfth century, is in strange contrast with the exalted and disinterested sentiments expressed by Héloïse. "God knows, in thee, I sought but thee; nothing of thee, but thyself; such was the sole object of my desire. I was ambitious of no advantage, not even of the bond of wedlock; I thought not, thou well knowest, of satisfying either my own wishes or my own pleasure, but thine. If the name of spouse is more holy, sweeter to me seemed that of thy mistress, that (be not angry) of thy concubine (*concubinæ vel scortî*). The more I humbled myself for thee, the more I hoped to gain in thy heart.† Yes, though the master of the world, though the emperor had been willing to honour me with the name of his spouse, I would rather have been called thy mistress than his wife and his empress (*tue dici meretrix, quàm illius imperatrix*).‡ She accounts in a singular manner for her having long refused to be the wife of Abailard. "Would it not have been an unseemly, a deplorable thing, that one woman should appropriate and take for herself alone, him whom nature had created for all mankind? What mind, intent upon the meditations of philosophy or of sacred things, could endure the crying of children, the prating of nurses, the disturbance and tumult of serving-men and women?"§

The mere form of the letters that passed between Abailard and Héloïse, shows how little the passion of the latter was returned. Abailard divides and subdivides his mistress's letters; he replies to them methodically, and by chapters. He heads his own: "To the spouse of Christ, the slave of Christ;" or "To his dear sister in Christ, Abailard her brother in Christ."¶ Héloïse's tone is very different: "To her master, nay, father; to her husband, nay, brother; his handmaid, his spouse, nay, his daughter, his sister; Héloïse to Abailard."‡ Passion extorts from her words totally

\* Lib. Calam. p. 11: Eam totam magisterio nostro commisit, ut quoties mihi a scholis reverso vacaret, ei docendæ operam darem, et eam si negligentem sentirem, vehementer constringerem.—Qui cum eam mihi non solum docendam, verum etiam vehementer constringendam traderet, quid aliud agebat, quam ut votis meis licentiam penitus daret, et occasionem, etiam si nollemus, offerret; ut quam videlicet blanditiis non possem, minis et verberibus facilius flecterem.

† Héloïse epist. 1a, p. 45.

‡ Ibid.

§ It is Abelard who reports these words.—Calam., p. 15.

¶ Héloïse dilectissimæ sorori suæ in Christo, Abelardus frater ejus in ipso.

‡ Domino suo, imo patri; conjugi suo, imo fratri; ancilla sua, imo filia; ipsius uxor, imo soror; Abelardo Héloïsa. Epist. 1a.

inconsistent with the religious reserve of the twelfth century. "In every circumstance of my life, God knows, I fear to offend thee more than God himself; I long to please thee more than Him. It was thy will, not the love of God, that led me to put on the religious garb."\* She repeated these strange words at the very altar. At the moment of assuming the veil, she uttered the verses put by Lucan into the mouth of Cornelia: "Oh! greatest of men! Oh! my husband, whom I was unworthy to wed! Oh! that insolent fortune should have had such power over so illustrious a head! Guilty that I was, why did I wed thee, to bring woe upon thee? But I will atone for it—accept this voluntary immolation."†

This ideal of pure and disinterested love, Abailard had pounded in his writings, before the mystics, and before Fénelon, as the consummation of the religious soul.‡ Woman rose up to it, for the first time, in the writings of Héloïse; but still indeed referring it to man, to her spouse, to her visible God. Héloïse was to be revived, under a spiritualist form, in the persons of St. Catherine and St. Theresa, who looked higher for their spouse.

The restoration of woman, which had begun with Christianity, took place chiefly in the twelfth century. A slave in the East, even in the Greek gynæceum a recluse, emancipated by the imperial jurisprudence, she was recognised by the new religion as man's equal. Still Christianity, but just liberated from pagan sensuality, continued to fear and distrust woman; men knew themselves to be weak and fond, and they repudiated her all the more strongly, the more they felt how they sympathised with her in their hearts. Hence, the harsh, and even contemptuous expressions with which they labour to fortify themselves. Woman is usually designated by the ecclesiastical writers, and in the Capitularies, by that degrading, but most expressive phrase, the *weaker vessel* (*vas infirmius*). When Gregory VII. wished to free the clergy from its double bond, woman and land, there was a new outburst of invective against that dangerous Eve whose seduction wrought Adam's ruin, and who evermore pursues him in his sons.

A quite opposite movement began in the twelfth century. Free mysticism undertook to raise up what sacerdotal harshness had trampled under foot. It was especially a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel, who fulfilled this mission of love. He re-opened the bosom of Christ to women, founded asylums for them, built them Fontévrault,

\* Héloïse. epist. 2a, p. 60: In omni (Deus scit!) vite meæ statu, te magis adhuc offendere quam Deum vereor; tibi placere amplius quam ipsi appeto. Tua me ad religionis habitum jussio, non divina traxit dilectio.

† Lucan, l. viii.

O maxime conjux!  
O thalamis indigne meis! hoc juris habebat  
In tantum fortuna caput! Cur impia nupsi,  
Si miserum factura fui? Nunc accipe pœnas,  
Sed quas sponte luam.

‡ Comment. in epist. ad Romanos, p. 622.

and there were soon Fontévraults all over Christendom.\* The enterprising charity of Robert applied itself, by preference, to great sinners of the female sex. He taught the clemency of God, and his immeasurable mercy in the vilest haunts. "One day, when he came to Rouen, he entered a house of ill-fame, and sat by the fire to dry his feet. The courtezans gathered round him, thinking that he was come to commit folly; but he preached to them the words of life, and promised them the mercy of Christ. Thereupon, one of them, who had the others under her command, said to him, 'Who art thou that sayest such things? I tell it thee for certain, it is now five-and-twenty years since I entered this house to commit crimes, and no one ever has come hither to speak of God, or to bid us presume on His mercy. If only I knew that these things were true!'—Immediately, he made them leave the city, and led them, full of joy, into the desert, and there, making them do penance, he caused them to pass out of the hand of the demon to Christ."†

It was a curious thing to see the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel holding forth day and night amidst a crowd of disciples of both sexes, all resting together around him.‡ The bitter sarcasms of his ene-

\* The order of Fontévrault had thirty abbeys in Bretagne. Daru., i. 321.—Founded about the year 1100, it already counted, in 1145, according to Suger (epist. ad Eugen. ii.), nearly five thousand nuns. Bulaeus, ii. 7.—Acta SS. Februar., iii. 607: *Servos et ancillas Dei plusquam ad duo vel circiter ad tria milia congregavit. The women were cloistered, they chanted, and prayed; the men worked.—Being ill, he called together his monks, and said to them: Deliberate vobiscum, dum adhuc vivo, utrum permanere velitis in vestro proposito; ut scilicet, pro animarum vestrarum salute, obediat is ancillarum Christi præcepto. Scitis enim quia quæcumque, Deo co-operante, alicubi ædificavi, earum potestati atque dominatui subdidi.....Quo audito pæne omnes unanimi voce dixerunt: Absit hoc, &c. Before he died, he wished to give his people a chief. Scitis, dilectissimi mei, quid quicquid in mundo ædificavi, ad opus sanctimonium nostrarum feci: eisque potestatem omnem facultatum mearum præbeï: et quod his majus est, et me et meos discipulos, pro animarum nostrarum salute, earum servitio submisi. Quamobrem disposui abbatissam ordinare. Considering that a virgin brought up in the cloisters, and knowing only spiritual things and contemplation, would be incapable of governing in outward matters, and would be bewildered in the bustle of the world, he nominated a widow, and gave it to her as a precept, that no woman, brought up in the cloisters, should ever be chosen abbess. He also recommended the nuns to speak little, not to eat flesh, and to wear coarse raiment.*

† Quadam die, cum venisset Rothomagum, lupanar ingressus, sedensque ad focum, pedes calefacturus, meretricibus circumdatur sestimantibus eum causam fornicandi esse ingressum. Sed prædicante eo verba vitæ, ac misericordiam Christi eis promittente, una e meretricibus, quæ cæteris præerat, dixit ei: Qui es tu qui talia loqueris? Scias pro certo quia per viginti quinque annos quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis luc advenit qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia præsumere nos faceret. Tamen si scirem vera esse, etc. Statim eos de civitate eduxit, et ad eremum cum eis gaudens perexit, ibique peracta pœnitentia, Christo feliciter transmisit. MS. of the Abbey of Vaulx Cernay, cited by Bayle, art. FONTEVRAULT.

‡ Letter from Marbodius, Bishop of Rennes, to Robert d'Arbrissel: *Mulierum colatationem, in quo genere quondam peccasti, diceris plus amare.....Has ergo non solum communi mensa per diem, sed et communi occubitu per noctem*

mies had no effect upon the charitable and courageous Breton, nor even the scandals to which these meetings gave occasion; he covered all with the wide mantle of grace.

As grace prevailed over the law, a great religious revolution took place. The deity changed sex, so to speak; the Virgin became the God of the world, and took possession of almost all the temples and altars. Piety became converted into an enthusiasm of chivalric gallantry; the mother of God was proclaimed pure and spotless; the mystical Church of Lyons celebrated a festival of the Immaculate Conception (1134),\* thus exalting the ideal of maternal purity precisely at the period when Héloïse was expressing the pure disinterestedness of love in her famous letters.

Woman reigned in heaven; she reigned also upon earth. We see her interfere, and with authority, in the affairs of this world. Bertrade de Montfort ruled at once over her first husband, Foulques of Anjou, and her second, Philip I., King of France. The first husband, excluded from her bed, was but too happy to seat himself upon her footstool.† Louis VII. dates his acts from the coronation of his wife Adèle.‡ Women, natural judges in poetical contests, and in the courts of love, sat also as judges in grave matters, and upon an equality with their husbands. The King of France expressly recognises this right.§ We shall see Alix de Montmorency

digeris, ut referunt, accubante simul et discipulorum grege, ut inter utrosque medius jaceas, utrique sexui vigiliarum et somni leges præfigas. D. Morice, i. 499. Feminarum quasdam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis et cum ipsis etiam et inter ipsas noctu frequenter cubare non erubescis. Hoc si modo agis, vel aliquando egisti, novum et inauditum, sed infructuosum martyrii genus invenisti. . . . Mulierum quibusdam sicut fama sparsit, et nos ante diximus, sæpe privatim loqueris earum accubitu novo martyrii genere cruciaris. Letter from Geoffroy, Abbot of Vendôme, to Robert d'Arbrissel, published by Le Père Sirmond. (Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, i. 320.): Taceo de juvenculis quas sine examine religionem professas, mutata veste, per diversas cellulas protinus inclusisti. Hujus igitur facti temeritatem miserabilis exitus probat; aliæ enim, urgenti partu, fractis ergastulis, elapsæ sunt; aliæ in ipsis ergastulis pepererunt." Clypeus nascentis ordinis Fontebraldensis, i. 69.

\* This festival is said by some writers to have existed in Normandy in the year 1072, under the name of *La Fête aux Normands*. Gilbert, Description de la Cathédrale de Rouen. Dom. Pommeraye, Hist. de la Cathéd. de Rouen.

† Vit. Lud. Gross., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 31: Licet thoro omnino repudiatum, ita mollicaverat, ut. . . . scabello pedum ejus sæpius residens, ac si præstigio fieret, voluntati ejus omnino obsequeretur.

‡ Chart. ann. 1115, pro Bellov. ap. Guizot, v. 323: If any suit is brought before him or his spouse . . . .—The seventh year of our reign, and the first of that of Queen Adèle.—Adèle took the cross with her husband. Odo de Diog., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 94.—Philip Augustus left her regent on his departure for the crusade.

§ In 1134, Ermengarde of Narbonne succeeding to her brother, sought and obtained from Louis the Young authority to judge, a thing forbidden to women by Constantine, lib. 21 de procur., and Justinian, lib. xii. ult. de rec. et arbitr., as also in the Digest, lib. xii. S. 2 de Judic., l. ii. de Regul. juris. See in Duchesne, t. iv., the king's reply; "Apud vos deciduntur negotia legibus imperatorum; benignior longe est consuetudo regni nostri, ubi si melior sexus defuerit, mulieribus succedere et hæreditatem administrare conceditur.

lead an army to the aid of her husband, the famous Simon de Montfort.

In the first half of the twelfth century women were everywhere restored to that right of inheritance from which they had been excluded by feudal barbarism in England, Castile, Aragon, Jerusalem, Burgundy, Flanders, Hainault, Vermandois, Aquitaine, Provence, and Lower Languedoc. The rapid extinction of male heirs, the softening of manners, and the progress of equity, restored the right of inheritance to women. They brought sovereignties with them into foreign houses; they linked and bound the world together, accelerated the agglomeration of states, and prepared the way for the centralisation of the great monarchies.

One royal house alone, that of the Capets, did not recognise the right of women; it remained safe from the mutations which transferred the other states from one dynasty to another; it received and it did not give. Foreign queens might come; the female, the movable element, might be renewed, but the male element did not come to it from without, it remained always the same, and with it remained an identity of spirit and a perpetuity of system.\* This fixity of the dynasty is one of those things which have most contributed to insure the unity and the personality of our mobile country.

The common characteristic of the period following the crusade, which we have just surveyed in this chapter, is an attempt at emancipation. The crusade in its immense movement, had been an occasion—an impulse; when the occasion came, the attempt took place, an attempt for the emancipation of the people in the communes, for the emancipation of women, for that of philosophy and of pure thought. This echo of the crusade, like the crusade itself, was to display all its potency and its effect in France, among the most sociable of nations.

---

\* "No augmentation of dominion by hereditary succession can take place except upon the condition of admitting the right of women to inherit sovereignties. Let us suppose that all fiefs were male, or that the principle which afterwards received the name of the Salique law was adopted in all states, it will then be evident that each sovereignty would of necessity have a national chief; a Frenchman for the French, an Englishman for the English, a Spaniard for the Spaniards. As the indivisible sovereignty always passes to the first born, the head of each family can never have more than one state at a time; the heads of the younger branches will remain fellow-citizens and subjects. If they succeed to the throne, upon the extinction of the elder branch, the most they will add to that throne will be their appanage which had been detached from it, but never an independent state. If at this day we see members of the same family simultaneously occupying several thrones, it is because whilst one of them follows the Salique law, all the others have admitted women to the right of succession. No circumstance could have given a Frenchman the crown of Spain, or of Naples, if that crown had not been taken away from the Spaniards and the Neapolitans by a woman. It is not the Salique law of France, but the contrary law adopted in Madrid and Naples which has created the European danger of the union of the three crowns; the danger for Spain or for Naples of losing their independence, the danger for France of making a conquest which may cost it its liberty." Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, v. 180.

## CHAPTER V.

The King of France and the King of England, Louis le Jeune and Henry II. (Plantagenet)—Second Crusade—Humiliation of Louis—Thomas Becket—Humiliation of Henry—Second Half of the Twelfth Century.

THE opposition between France and England, which began with William the Conqueror in the middle of the eleventh century, did not attain its whole violence until the twelfth, under the reigns of Louis le Jeune and Henry II., Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus. It reached its catastrophe about 1200, at the period of the humiliation of John, and the confiscation of Normandy. France retained the superiority for a century and a half (1200—1346).

If the lot of nations depended upon their sovereigns, no doubt the English kings would have been victorious; all of them, from William the Bastard to Richard Cœur de Lion, were heroes, at least after the opinion of the world. The heroes were beaten; the peaceful men were victorious. It order to explain this, we must detect the true character of the King of France and the King of England, such as they appear in the whole body of the middle ages.

The former, as suzerain of the other, generally preserves a certain motionless majesty.\* He is calm and insignificant, in comparison with his rival; if you except the little wars of Louis le Gros, and the sad crusade of Louis VII., which we are about to narrate, the King of France seems always muffled up in his ermine; he lords it over the King of England, his vassal and son, a naughty son who beats his father. Take any descendant of William the Conqueror,†

\* This is very striking in their seals. The King of England is represented on one face seated; upon the other, on horseback, brandishing his sword: the King of France is always seated. If Louis VII. is sometimes represented on horseback (1137—1188. Archives du Royaume, K. 40), it is as *dux Aquitanorum*. The exception confirms the rule.

† William the Conqueror's enormous corpulence is well known (see above); "When will that big man be brought to bed?" said the King of France. When they were burying him, the grave was found to be too narrow, and the corpse burst. He spent enormous sums upon his table (*Gazas ecclesiasticas convivius profusioribus insumebat*. Guill. Malmesb., l. iii., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 183). The authors of *l'Art de vérifier les Dates* (1815) relate an instance of singular violence on his part, upon the authority of a MS. chronicle. When Baldwin of Flanders refused him his daughter Matilda, "He went into the countess' chamber, found the count's daughter, seized her by the locks, dragged her about the chamber, and trampled her under his feet." His eldest son Robert was surnamed *Curthose*, *Courte-Heuse*, or *Bas-Court* (Order. Vit., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 596.....*facie obesâ, corpore pingui, brevique staturâ, undè vulgò Gam-baron*



no matter whom, and this is his description; a red-faced man, with light, flat hair, and a big belly, brave and covetous, sensual and ferocious; a glutton and a scoffer, surrounded with people of bad character; a robber and violator, on very bad terms with the Church. It must be owned, too, that he had not so easy a time of it as the King of France; he had much more business upon his hands, having three or four nations, whose language he did not understand, to keep in order at the point of the lance. He had to keep the Saxons in check by means of the Normans, the Normans by means of the Saxons, whom he drove back into the Welsh and Scotch mountains. All this while, the King of France, seated in his easy chair, could play him many a trick. In the first place, he was his suzerain; he was the eldest son of the Church, the legitimate son; the other was the bastard, the son of violence. They were respectively Ishmael and Isaac. The King of France had in his favour "the rusty curb of old father antic, the law;"\* the other laughed at this, for he had strength enough on his side, and as a Norman, he was versed in all the quirks and subtleties of litigation. In the great mystery of the twelfth century, the King of France

cognominatus est, et *Brevis-ocrea*); he let himself be ruined by mummers and prostitutes (*Ibid.*, p. 602; *Histrionibus et parasitis et meretricibus*; *item*, p. 681). The second son of the Conqueror, William Rufus, was of small stature, and very thick set; he had fair straight hair, and his face was covered with pimples.—Lingard. "His death," say Orderic Vital, "was the ruin of the roysterers, and debauchees, and prostitutes, and many a bell did not sound for him that had long rung for paupers, or poor women. (*Scr. Fr.*, xii. 679.) *Ibid.* *Legitimam conjugem nunquam habuit; sed obscenis fornicationibus et frequentibus mœchiis inexplēbilit̄ inhæsit.* P. 635: *Protervus et lascivus.* P. 644: *Erga Deum et ecclesiæ frequentationem cultumque frigidus extitit.* *Suger.*, *ibid.*, p. 12: *Lascivie et animi desiderii deditus.....Ecclesiarum crudelis exactor, etc.* Hunting., p. 216: *Luxuriæ acelus tacendum exercebat, non occulte sed ex impudentia coram sole, etc.*—Henry Beauclerc, his younger brother, had fifteen bastards by his numerous mistresses. According to many, his death was caused by his voracity in eating a dish of lampreys (*Lingard*, ii. 241). His sons, William and Richard, were guilty of the most infamous debaucheries. Hunting., p. 218: *Sodomiticâ labe dicebantur, et erant irretiti.* *Gervas.*, p. 1339: *Luxuriæ et libidinis omni labe maculati.* Glaber remarks (*Scr. Fr.*, x. 51), that from their arrival in Gaul, the Normans were almost always governed by bastard princes.—The Plantagenets seemed to be a continuation of this foul race. Henry II. was red faced, and disfigured by the enormous bulk of his belly; but he was always on horseback, and engaged in the chase.—(*Petr. Bless.*, p. 98.) He was more violent than a lion, says his secretary (*Leo et leone truculentior, dum vehementius excandescit*, p. 75), his blue eyes became blood-shot in his fits of passion, his face fiery, and his voice trembled (*Girald. Cambr. ap. Camden*, p. 783). In one of these bursts of rage he bit a page in the shoulder. Humet, his favourite, having one day contradicted him, he pursued him to the staircase, and not being able to catch him, he tore with his teeth the straw that covered the floor. "Never," said a cardinal, after a long conversation with Henry, "never did I see a man who lied with such assurance."—(*Ep. S. Thomæ*, p. 566.) Respecting his successors, Richard and John, see below. The ideal of the race is Richard III., the Richard of Shakspeare, and of history.

\* Shakspeare, 1st part Henry IV., sc. 2.

plays the part of the *bon-dieu*, and the other that of the devil. His legendary genealogy ascends on the one side to Robert the Devil, on the other, to the fairy Melusina. "It is the custom in our family," said Richard Cœur de Lion, "that the son should hate the father; from the devil we came, and to the devil we go."\* But patience; God's king will have his turn; he will suffer much, no doubt; he is born to endure; the King of England may rob him of his wife and his provinces,† but some morning he will recover all. His claws grow beneath his ermine; *that holy man, the king*, will presently be Philip Augustus, or Philip the Fair.

Beneath that pale, mean figure, dwells an immense force, which in due time will develop itself. He is the king of the Church and the bourgeoisie, the king of the people, and of the law. In this sense he has a right divine. His strength does not display itself in heroism; he grows by a potent vegetation, a continuous progression, slow and certain, like nature. He is the general expression of an immense diversity, the symbol of a whole nation; and the more truly he represents it, the more he seems insignificant. The principle of personality is weak in him, he is not so much a man as an idea; an impersonal being, he lives in universality, in the people, and in the Church, the daughter of the people. He is a personage profoundly *catholic*, in the etymological sense of the word.

The good King Dagobert, Louis le Débonnaire, Robert the Pious, Louis the Young, and St. Louis, are all types of this honest king, all real saints, though the Church canonised only the last of them,‡ the one who was puissant. The scrupulous Louis the Young, was a St. Louis, as well as he who bore that name, but less fortunate, and made ludicrous by his political and conjugal misfortunes. Woman fills a great place in the history of these kings. On this score, they are men; nature is strong in them; this is almost the only subject on which they sometimes quarrel with the Church; Louis le Débonnaire for his Judith, Lothaire II. for Valdrade, Robert for Queen Berthe, Philip I. for Bertrade, Philip Augustus for Agnès de Méranie. In the case of St. Louis, the purified type of medieval royalty, female domination is that of a mother, of Blanche of Castile. We know that he hid himself in a cupboard when the haughty Spaniard, his mother, surprised him with his wife, the good Margaret.

Louis le Gros received upon his death-bed the reward of that reputation for honesty which he had achieved for his family. The richest sovereign in France, the Count of Poitiers and Aquitaine, who

\* De Diabolo venientes, et ad Diabolum transeuntes.—I. Brompton, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 215.

† He took from Louis VII. his wife Eleanor, Poitou, Guienne, &c.

‡ Louis VII., too, was himself a saint, according to some authors. We read in a French chronicle, inserted in the 12th vol. of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 226: "Il fu mors.....sains est, bien le savons;" and in a Latin chronicle, *ibid.*: "Et sanctus reputatur, prout alias in libro vite sue legimus."

also felt his end approaching, thought he could not better bestow his daughter Eleanor, and his vast dominions, than upon young Louis VII., who soon succeeded his father (1137). Doubtless, too, he was not averse to make his daughter a queen. The young king had been brought up very devoutly in the cloisters of the *Notre Dame*.\* He was a child without any guile, and greatly devoted to the priests; the real king was his preceptor Suger, Abbot of St. Denis.†

In the beginning, however, the aggrandisement of his dominions, which were almost tripled by his marriage, seemed to have puffed up his heart. He endeavoured to assert his wife's rights over the county of Toulouse; but his best friends among the barons, including the Count of Champagne himself, refused to follow him into that conquest of the South. At the same time, Pope Innocent II., thinking he might take any liberties with so pious a young king, had ventured to nominate his own nephew to the archbishopric of Bourges, the metropolis of the Aquitaines. St. Bernard and Pierre le Vénérable, in vain remonstrated against this usurpation. The pope's nephew retired to the dominions of the Count of Champagne, whose sister had lately been repudiated by a cousin of Louis VII. Louis and his cousin anathematised by the pope, avenged themselves upon the Count of Champagne, ravaged his lands, and burned

\* See a charter of Louis VII., ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xii. 90. *Ecclesiam parisiensem, in cujus clauastro, quasi in quodam maternali gremio, incipientis vitæ et pueritiae nostræ exegimus tempora.*

† See his life by Guillaume, a monk of St. Denis; l. i., c. 8, 9, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xii. 195. A poet says of him:—

“ Qui dum Francorum populos cum rege gubernas,  
Post regem quasi rex sceptrâ secunda tenes.”

(See Caseneuve, *Traité du Franc Allen.*, p. 178.)

Suger was probably born in the environs of St. Omer in 1081, and was the son of a man of the lower class, named Helinand. When Philip I. confided the education of his son Louis le Gros to the monks of St. Denis, Suger was the man chosen for the purpose by the abbot. His conduct, as well as that of his monks, at first caused St. Bernard to complain (Ep. 78, ed. Mabillon) but, afterwards, St. Bernard himself confessed (Ep. 309) that he led an exemplary life. He wrote a book upon the buildings he had caused to be erected at St. Denis, &c. “The Abbot of Cluny having for some time admired the works and buildings which Suger had caused to be made, and having returned to the very small cell which that man, eminently a friend to wisdom, had arranged for his own abode, he sighed deeply, it is said, and exclaimed: ‘This man puts us all to shame; he builds, not as we do, for himself, but solely for God.’ During the whole time, in fact, that his administration lasted, he made for his own use, nothing but that humble cell, barely ten feet long and fifteen wide, and he made it ten years before his death, in order that he might there redeem his life, which he confessed he had dissipated too long in the affairs of the world. There it was that in his leisure hours he applied himself to reading, to tears, and contemplation; there he avoided the tumult, and shunned the society of men of the world. There, as a sage says, he was never less alone than when he was alone; there, indeed, he applied his mind to the reading of the greatest writers, to whatever age they belonged, conversed with them, studied with them; there he had nothing to lie upon instead of feathers, but straw, over which was spread, not a fine sheet, but a coarse blanket of plain wool, which was covered with decent carpets during the day.” *Vit. Sugerii*, l. ii., c. ix., p. 108.

the borough of Vitry. The flames unfortunately spread to the principal church, in which most of the inhabitants had taken refuge, to the number of 1300 men, women, and children.\* Their shrieks were soon heard; the victor himself could no longer save them; all perished.

This horrible event broke the king's heart; he became all at once docile to the pope, and sought reconciliation with him upon any terms. But his conscience was distracted by contending scruples; he had sworn never to permit Innocent's nephew to occupy the see of Bourges; the pope insisted upon his renouncing that vow, and Louis repented both of having taken an impious oath, and of not having fulfilled it. The papal absolution did not suffice to calm his conscience; he believed himself responsible for all the sacrileges committed during the three years that the interdict had lasted. While suffering under all these agitations of a timorous soul, he heard of the frightful massacre of the whole Christian people of Edessa, slaughtered in one night. Lamentable accounts arrived every day from the French beyond sea; they declared that if they were not aided, they had nothing to expect but death. Louis VII. was touched, and he believed himself the more bound to go to the aid of the Holy Land, inasmuch as his elder brother, who died before Louis le Gros, had taken the cross, and seemed, in leaving him the throne, to have transmitted to him the obligation of accomplishing his vow (1147).

How greatly this crusade differed from the first, is manifest, although contemporaries seem to have made it a point to conceal the fact from themselves. The idea of religion, of eternal salvation, was no longer attached to a town, to a place; men had looked with their own eyes upon Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, and they had begun to doubt whether indeed religion and holiness were shut up in that little corner of the earth which lies between Lebanon, the Desert, and the Red Sea. The materialist point of view which localised religion had lost ground. Suger in vain dissuaded the king from the crusade.† St. Bernard himself, who preached it at Vézelay and in

\* Anon. Hist. Franc., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 116 : Et mille trecentæ animæ diversi sexus et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ.

† "He wished afterwards to lead it himself. Convinced that it was necessary to spare the King of the French and the army which had returned from the Holy Land from incurring new dangers, since both had scarcely had time enough to recover from their fatigues, he urged the bishops of the realm to assemble and deliberate upon that affair, exhorting and exciting them to ambition for themselves the glory of a success denied to the most puissant kings. Having thrice failed in his attempts with the bishops, and feeling too plainly what was their weakness and dastardy, he thought it worthy of him to take upon himself, failing all others, to accomplish the noble desire he conceived. He would certainly rather have concealed, for a time at least, all the magnificent devotedness of his piety, by reason of the uncertainty of events, and to avoid being accused of presumption, but the immensity of his preparations betrayed his munificence. He began then eagerly to busy himself about the means of sending to Jerusalem, by the hands of the knights of the Holy Temple, all the money necessary for the

Germany, was not convinced that it was necessary to salvation. He refused to go with it himself, and guide the army, as he was requested.\* There was not upon this occasion the same immense, universal impulse as in the first crusade. St. Bernard manifestly exaggerates when he tells us that for seven women there remained one man;† in reality, we may estimate at 200,000 men, the two armies that descended the Danube under the Emperor Conrad and King Louis VII.‡ The Germans mustered very strong this time, but a great number of princes depending upon the emperor, the bishops of Toul and Metz, the counts of Savoy and Montferrat, and all the lords of the kingdom of Arles, joined the army of France in preference. In the latter marched, under the king's command, the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Blois, Nevers, and Dreux, the lords of Bourbon, Coucy, Lusignan, Courtenai, and a multitude of others. It also included Queen Eleanor, whose presence was, perhaps, neces-

success of so great a project, and to raise those sums by the augmentation of revenues, which his assistance and his ability had procured for his monastery. And certes, no one will have any grounds to exclaim against this, if he reflect how much Suger's care augmented the produce of all the possessions of his church, and to what an extent his monastery in the time of his administration acquired new domains, and increased the number of its churches. All these preparations he made, apparently as if he intended to send in his place men of his own, but the truth is, that had his life been prolonged, he would have gone in person to the East." Vit. Sugerii, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 101.

\* In 1128, he dissuaded an abbot from making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (*operum*, t. i., p. 85. See also p. 325). In 1129, he wrote thus to the Bishop of Lincoln, who having set out for the Holy Land, had stopped at Clairvaux and taken the frock there: "Your Philip intending to set out to Jerusalem has found a compendium of the way, and hath quickly arrived at the point whither he desired to go. His feet are now standing in the courts of Jerusalem, and whom he had heard in Euphrates he hath now found in the wood lands, and gladly adores in the place where his feet have stopped. He hath entered into the Holy City. He has, therefore, become not merely a curious spectator, but a devout inhabitant, an enrolled citizen of Jerusalem, but not of that earthly Jerusalem adjoining the Arabian mountains of Sinai, which is in bondage with her children, but of that free Jerusalem which is erect, our mother, and this is Clairvaux," p. 64.—The following passage from an Arab author exhibits a remarkable analogy with the ideas expressed by St. Bernard: "Those who go in quest of the Caaba when they have at last reached the end of their weary journey, see a high and revered stone building in the midst of an uncultivated valley. They enter into it that they may see God; they look about for a long while and do not see him. When they have long roamed sadly over the house they hear a voice above their heads exclaiming: 'O worshippers of a house, why worship stone and mud? Worship the other house, that which the elect seek.' (This beautiful fragment, for which we are indebted to a young Orientalist, M. Ernest Fournet, has been inserted by M. Victor Hugo in the notes to his *Orientales*, p. 416 of the first edition.)

† S. Bern., ep. 246, ap. Baron., xii. 321.

‡ Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, v. v. 326. William of Tyre, l. xvi., says, upon the testimony of many croises, that there may have been in each of the two armies about 70,000 men armed with cuirasses, not reckoning the footmen and light cavalry. Odon de Deuil goes further: "I have heard Greeks say, that the croises crossed the sea to the number of nine hundred thousand, five hundred and sixty-six."

sary to secure the obedience of her Poitevins and Gascons. This is the first instance in which a woman appears of some importance in history.

The wisest course would have been to proceed by sea, as the King of Sicily recommended; but the land route was consecrated by the memory of the first crusade, and by the track of so many martyrs. It was the only one that could be followed by the multitude of poor men who wished to visit the holy places under the protection of the army. The King of France preferred this route; he had made sure of the King of Sicily, of Conrad Emperor of Germany, of the King of Hungary, and of Manuel Comnena, Emperor of Constantinople. The relationship between the two emperors, Manuel and Conrad, seemed to promise the crusade some success; the expedition, therefore, was not undertaken blindly. Louis laboured to preserve some discipline in the army of France.\* The Germans had already set out under the Emperor Conrad and his nephew; nothing could equal their impatience and their brutal excitement. The Emperor Manuel Comnena, whose victories had renovated the Greek empire, complied with all their wishes; he made all haste to despatch those barbarians across the Bosphorus, and sent them into Asia, by the shortest, but most mountainous route, that through Phrygia and Iconium. There they had an opportunity of wearing down their fiery ardour; the heavy armed soldiers were soon exhausted in the mountains, upon those rapid declivities swept by the Turkish cavalry, that showed itself sometimes upon their flanks, sometimes on their front. They perished, to the great amusement and derision of the Greeks and even of the French; "*Push on, push on, Allemand,*" cried the latter. It is a Greek historian who has handed down these two words to us, without translating them.†

The French themselves were not more fortunate. They first took the long and easy route by the coast of Asia Minor; but growing weary, at last, of following the sinuosities of the shore, they too, plunged into the interior of the country, and met with the same disasters there. First, the head of the army, having advanced, was near being destroyed; every day the king, after full confession and absolution, charged through the Turkish cavalry,‡ but all was to no purpose. The army would have perished in those mountains, but for a knight, named Gilbert, to whom the command was intrusted as to the most worthy, and of whom, unfortunately, we know no detail.§ The croisades attributed all their misfortunes to the perfidy of the Greeks, who gave them bad guides, and sold them at

\* Sism., v. 331.

† Πούτζη, *Αλαμάνε*. Joann. Cinnam., ii. 18.

‡ Odon de Denil: "And on his return he always called for vespers and complains, ever making God the alpha and omega of all his works."

§ Ibid., xi. 64, 69.

exorbitant prices, the provisions which Manuel had engaged to furnish. The historian Nicetas, himself confesses that the emperor betrayed the crusaders.\* The thing was plain when they arrived at Antiochetta: the Greeks, who occupied that town, harboured the Turkish fugitives.† Yet Louis had acted loyally towards Manuel: following the example of Godefroy de Bouillon, he had refused to hearken to those who had advised him to seize Constantinople on his way.‡

At last they arrived at Satalia, in the Gulf of Cyprus. It was still a matter of forty days' march to reach Antioch by land, proceeding round the gulf; but the patience and the zeal of the barons could hold out no longer; the king found it impossible to retain them; they declared that they would go by sea to Antioch. The Greeks furnished vessels to all who could pay for them; the rest were left under the guard of the Count of Flanders, the Sire de Bourbon, and a corps of Greek cavalry, which the king hired to protect them;§ he then gave all that remained to him, to those poor people, and embarked with Eleanor. But the Greeks, who were to have defended them, themselves gave them up, or reduced them to slavery. Such as escaped, owed their better fate to the proselytising spirit of the Turks, who made them embrace their religion.¶

Such was the shameful issue of this great expedition. Nevertheless, those who had embarked, formed the real strength of the army. They might be of great use to the Christians of Antioch, or of the Holy Land; but shame hung heavy upon them, and the memory of the wretches that they had abandoned in Cilicia. Louis VII. would attempt nothing for the Prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, the uncle of his wife Eleanor. He was the handsomest man of his day, and his niece seemed to be upon too good terms with him. Louis, fearing that he designed to keep him there, departed abruptly from Antioch and repaired to the Holy Land. There he did nothing great; Conrad joined him there, and their rivalry frustrated the siege of Damascus, which they had undertaken. They returned with shame to Europe, and the rumour ran that Louis, having been captured for a while by the vessels of the Greeks, had only been freed by falling in with a fleet belonging to the Normans of Sicily.¶

Such a return was a most sad and ludicrous issue. What had become of those thousands of Christians who had been abandoned and given over to the infidels? What levity! and what hardness of heart at the same time! All the barons were guilty, but the

\* "The emperor," he says, "wrote letters to the Sultan of the Turks, strongly urging him to march against the Almaynes." See *Biblioth. des Croisades*, iii. 406. The crusaders called him the Idol of Constantinople. Odon de Deuil.

† *Ibid.*, i. vii.

‡ *Ibid.*, 71.

¶ *Joann. Cinnam.*, ii. 19. See *Sism.*, p. 355, note.

† *Ibid.*, p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.*, 71—76.

shame devolved upon the king; all the sin lay at his door. The haughty and violent Eleanor had shown, during the crusade, how much she cared for such a spouse. She had declared at Antioch that she could not remain the wife of a man whose relation she was,\* and, moreover, that she did not choose to have a monk for her husband.† Some say she loved Raymond of Antioch, others, a handsome Saracen slave; it was said that she had received presents from the chief of the infidels.‡ Upon her return she demanded a divorce at the Council of Beaugency. Louis submitted to the judgment of the council, and lost, at one stroke, the vast provinces which Eleanor had brought him. Thus was the south of France once more separated from the north, and a woman was about to confer preponderance in the West upon whomsoever she chose.

It appears, that the lady had secured herself another husband beforehand. The divorce was pronounced on the 18th of March, and at Pentecost, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Anjou, grandson of William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, and soon King of England, wedded Eleanor; and with her Western France, from Nantes to the Pyrennees. Even before he was King of England, his dominions were twice more extensive than those of the King of France. In England, it was not long before he prevailed over Stephen of Blois, whose son had married the sister of Louis VII.§ Thus every thing turned out unfavourable for the latter; every thing succeeded with his rival.

A word or two as to that English monarchy, upon the rivalry of which with France we are about to enter.

The spoliation of a whole people was the hideous basis of the Anglo-Norman power. That life of brigandage and of violence which each baron had exercised upon a small scale round his manor, reappeared upon a large scale on the other side of the Straits. There the serf was a whole people, and serfdom approached in its horrors to the slavery of ancient times, or to that of our colonies. There was no common tie between the vanquished and the victors; their tongues, their races were different; the habit of unrestricted power and execrable ferocity prevailed; no respect for any human consideration; no curb of law; on all sides were lords, almost the king's equals as companions in his conquest. The Earl of Morton alone had more than 600 fiefs.|| These barons condescended to call themselves the king's men; but, in reality, he was but the first among them. However, it would have been too hazardous for them to assume independence; being few in numbers amongst a vast people whom

\* Guill. Nangii Chron., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 737.

† Guill. Neubrig., l. i. *Se monacho, non regi nupsisse.*

‡ Vincent. Belvac. Specul. Hist., iii. 128, ap. Sism., v. 351.

§ Chronic. Turon., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 468.

|| Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ages, ii. 96. It is true these possessions were dispersed. 248 manors in Cornwall, fifty-four in Sussex, 196 in Yorkshire, ninety-nine in Northamptonshire, &c.



they trampled so brutally under foot, they had need of a centre to which they could recur in case of a revolt, of a leader who could rally them, and who should represent the Norman party in the conquered land. This accounts for the fact, that feudal subordination was so strong in that very country in which the more powerful vassals must have been most tempted to contemn it.

The position of the king who ruled over that conquest was extraordinary, forced, and critical. That new society built up by murders and robberies subsisted through him, in him it had its unity. Against him arose the muttered concert of maledictions and whispered curses; it was for him, that the Saxon outlaw, pursued by the sheriff in the New Forest,\* kept his best arrow. The forests were no safe places for the Norman kings; it was against him, quite as much as against the Saxons, that the baron built those gigantic castles, the insolent beauty of which still attests how little the sweat of man was regarded by those who reared them. The king, thus detested, could not fail to be a tyrant; against the Saxons, he issued terrible laws without measure or pity;† against the Normans, he had need of more precautions. He was continually calling in soldiers from the continent, Flemings and Bretons, men all his own, and so much the more formidable to the Norman aristocracy, because they were akin in language, the Flemings to the Saxons, and the Bretons to the Welsh. Several times he did not hesitate to employ the Saxons themselves,‡ but he soon gave up that practice; he could not have become king of the Saxons, except by overthrowing the whole work of the conquest.

Such was the situation in which even William Rufus, the son of the Conqueror, found himself. Boiling over with an impatient spirit of tyranny that everywhere found its limits; terrible to the Saxons, terrible to the barons; crossing and recrossing the sea; running with the stubborn wilfulness of the wild boar from one end of his dominions to the other; rabidly avaricious; a *marvellous dealer in soldiers*,§ says the chronicler; a rapid destroyer of all wealth; a foe to mankind, to law, to nature which he loved to outrage; foul in his pleasures; a murderer, jocular and terrible. When his red and pimpled face grew redder with passion, his speech became confused, and he stuttered out sentences of death; || woe to the man who happened then to be in his way!

Tons of gold slipped through his hands like a shilling; he was

\* The New Forest was a space of thirty miles which the Conqueror converted into a chase, destroying thirty-six parishes and driving out the inhabitants.

† See Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angle.*, iii. 269, 337, sqq.

‡ Thus William Rufus and his successor Henry Beauclerc, both appealed for a while to the English against the partisans of their brother, Robert Curthose. William of Malmesbury, 120, 156. Hoved., 461. Sax. Chron., 193. Mathew Paris, 42.

§ *Mirabilis militum mercator et solidator.* Suger., *Vita. Lud. Gross.*, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 12.

|| Lingard, ii. 168.

tormented with incurable poverty, the fruit of all his violence and all his passion; he had to pay for pleasure and for murder. The ingenious and inventive man who contrived to find him gold, was a certain priest, who had first made himself known as an informer; this man became William's purveyor and right hand, but it was a hard task he had undertaken, to fill up the bottomless gulf of William's avarice. To that end he did two things; he revised and corrected Domesday Book, the book of the conquest, and made sure that nothing had escaped.\* He set about the work of spoliation at second-hand, began to gnaw the bones that had been already picked, and contrived still to get something off them; but when he had done with them nothing more remained. He had been baptized by the name of *Flambard*.† From the vanquished, he proceeded to the victors, and first of all to the priests, and laid his hands upon the property of the Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury would have died of hunger, but for the charity of the Abbot of St. Alban's.‡ No scruples stopped Flambard; as grand justiciary, grand treasurer, and the king's chaplain besides (he was just the sort of chaplain to suit William), he sucked England with three mouths. He went on in this way, until William met his end in that fine forest which the Conqueror seemed to have planted for the destruction of his race. "Shoot, then, in the devil's name," said Rufus to his friend who was hunting with him; the devil took him at the word, and carried off that soul which was so justly his due.§

His successor was not his elder brother Robert; the crown of the bastard William was to pass to the ablest, the boldest. That kingdom, won by robbery, belonged to the robber who should seize it. When the dying Conqueror bequeathed Normandy to Robert, and England to William, "And I," said Henry, the youngest of the brothers, "am I to have nothing?" "Patience, my son," said the dying man, "all will come back to thee soon or late."|| The youngest was also the most *avised*; he was surnamed *Beauclerc*; that is, the able, the competent, the scribe, the true Norman. He began by promising every thing to the Saxons, and the churchmen, and gave them written charters and liberties to their hearts' content.¶ He beat

\* Order. Vital., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 635. Regem incitans ut totius Angliæ reviseret descriptionem, Angliæque telluris comprobans iteraret partitionem.

† Ibid. Unde . . . *Flambardus* cognominatus est, quod vocabulum ei secundum mores ejus et actus quasi propheticæ collatum est.

‡ Brompt., p. 988. Eadm., p. 20. Lingard, ii. 158.

§ See Thierry's fine narrative, iii. 338, sqq.

|| Order. Vit., ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 621: "Æquanimus esto, fili, et confortare in Domino; . . . tempore tuo totum honorem quem ego nactus sum, habebis, et fratribus tuis divitiis et potestate præstabis."

¶ "I promise," he said to them, "to maintain you in your ancient liberties; I will give you a writing to that effect if you desire it, signed with my hand, and I will confirm it by oath." The charter was drawn up, and as many copies were made of it as there were counties, but when the king retracted his promise, he took back all the copies, only three of them escaped him. Math. Paris, iii. 42. Thierry, iii. 344.

Robert with mercenary soldiers, entrapped him, and kept him well-lodged and well-fed in a fortress, where he lived to the age of eighty-four. Robert, who cared for nothing but the pleasures of the table, would have been reconciled to his lot, had not the king put out his eyes.\* After all, fratricide and parricide were hereditary usages in this family; the sons of the Conqueror had fought with their father and wounded him.† Beauclerc, who piqued himself on being a sturdy and uncompromising justiciary, under pretext of feudal justice, gave up his own grand-daughters, two children, to a baron who put out their eyes and cut off their noses; their mother, Beauclerc's daughter, sought to avenge them by discharging an arrow with her own hand against her father.‡ The Plantagenets, who were descended from that diabolical race only by the mother's side, did not degenerate from their origin.

After Beauclerc (1135), the struggle was between his nephew Stephen of Blois, and his daughter Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., and wife of the Count of Anjou. Stephen belonged to that excellent family of the counts of Blois and Champagne, which at that same epoch was encouraging the trading communes, dividing the Seine into canals at Troyes, and equally protecting St. Bernard and Abailard. Freethinkers and poets, they were the ancestors of that famous Thibaut, the *trouvere*, who had his verses to Queen Blanche painted upon the walls of his palace, amongst the roses he had transplanted from Jericho. Stephen could only maintain himself in England with the help of foreigners, Flemings, Brabançons, and even Welsh. He had for him none but the clergy and London; the other commons of England were not yet in existence. As for the clergy, Stephen did not long remain on good terms with them; he forbade the teaching of the canon law, § and ventured to imprison bishops. Thereupon Matilda reappeared, landing almost alone. A true daughter of the Conqueror, insolent and intrepid, she shocked and defied every body. Thrice she fled by night on foot through the snow without resources. Stephen, who once kept her besieged, thought himself bound, as a knight, to open a free passage to his enemy and let her escape to her people. || She did not treat him the better for this when it was her turn to capture him, after he had been abandoned by his barons (1153). He was constrained to recognise for his successor that for-

\* Math. Paris, p. 52. Lingard doubts the fact, because no contemporary author makes mention of it; but does the man who let his grand-daughters be blinded (*Ord. Vit. loc. cit.*, p. 717. *Angl. Ascr.*, ii. 699) and who put his daughter half-naked into a frozen ditch in winter, does such a man deserve this doubt?

† Huntingdon, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xi. 910. Hoveden, *ibid.*, 315. It was Robert who was in revolt against his father, and fought with him, not knowing him. They were reconciled, but quarreled again, and William cursed his son. *Mat. Paris*, p. 10.

‡ *Ord. Vit.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xii. 716: *Sagittam ad patrem traxit.*

§ *Joann. Saresberiens. Policratic.*, ap. Lingard, ii. 341.

|| William of Malmesbury, ap. Lingard, ii. 277.

lunate Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou and son of Matilda, on whom we have just seen Eleanor of Guienne bestow her hand and her dominions.

Such was the growing greatness of young Henry, when the king of France, humbled by the crusade, lost Eleanor and so many provinces. That spoilt child of fortune was in a few years overloaded with her gifts: King of England, master of the whole coast of France and Flanders to the Pyrenees, he exercised over Bretagne that suzerainty which the dukes of Normandy had always claimed in vain. He took Anjou, Maine, and Touraine from his brother, and suffered him in recompense to become Duke of Bretagne (1156); he reduced Gascony and governed Flanders as tutor and guardian in the absence of the count. He took Quercy from the Count of Toulouse, and he would have taken Toulouse itself if the King of France had not thrown himself into the town to defend it (1159).<sup>\*</sup> The Toulousan was at least obliged to do him homage. Allied with the King of Aragon, Count of Barcelona and Provence, Henry desired a princess of Savoy for one of his sons, in order that he might have a footing in the Alps, and a means of circumventing France upon the South. In the centre he reduced Berri, Limousin and Auvergne, and purchased La Marche.<sup>†</sup> He had even the art to detach the counts of Champagne from the king's alliance; finally, at his death, he possessed the countries corresponding to forty-seven of our departments, whereas, the King of France had not twenty of them.<sup>‡</sup>

From his birth Henry II. found himself surrounded with singular popularity without having done any thing to deserve it. His grandfather, Henry Beauclerc, was a Norman, his grandmother a Saxon, his father an Angevin; he combined in himself the blood of all the Western races; he was a link between the victors, and the vanquished, between the South and the North. The vanquished especially had conceived great hopes, and fancied they saw in him the accomplishment of Merlin's prophecies, and the resurrection of Arthur. It happened, the more to confirm the prophecies, that he obtained, by fair means or by force, the homage of the princes of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Bretagne, that is to say of the whole Celtic world. He caused successful search to be made for the grave of Arthur;<sup>§</sup> that mysterious tomb, the discovery of which was to mark the end of Celtic independence and the consummation of the times.

Every thing gave token that the new sovereign would fulfil the hopes of the beaten party. He had been brought up in Angers, one of the first towns in Europe in which jurisprudence had been

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. du Languedoc, xviii. 464.

<sup>†</sup> Bened. Petroburg, p. 167.—He had La Marche for fifteen thousand marks of silver. The count was going to Jerusalem, and did not know what to do with his lands. Gaufrid. Vosiens, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 477.

<sup>‡</sup> See Sismondi, vi. 4.

<sup>§</sup> Thierry, iii. 86.

taught. It was the period of the resurrection of the Roman law, which was to be, in so many respects, that of the monarchical power and of civil equality; equality under a master was the last dictum bequeathed to us by the antique world. In the year 1111 the famous Countess Matilda, the cousin of Godefroy de Bouillon, and the friend of Gregory VII., had given her sanction to the school of Bologna, founded by Irnerio,\* a native of that place. The Emperor, Henry V., had confirmed that sanction, sensible as he was of all the advantage which the imperial power might derive from the system of the ancient Empire. The young Duke of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet, son of Matilda the Norman, the widow of that same Emperor Henry V., found the labours of the school of Bologna propagated at Angers, Rouen, and in England. The Bishop of Angers, in 1124, was a learned jurist.† The famous Italian Lanfranc, William the Conqueror's man, the primate of the conquest, had at first taught in Bologna, and contributed to the restoration of the science of law. One of the continuators of Sigbert de Gemblours says, "It was Lanfranc of Pavia, and his companion Garnerius, who having long discovered the laws of Justinian in Bologna, began to read and comment upon them. Garnerius persevered, but Lanfranc, teaching the liberal arts and divine letters to numerous disciples in Gaul, came to Bec, and there became a monk."‡

The principles of the new school were promulgated precisely at the accession of Henry II. (1154). The jurist-consults summoned by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa to the diet of Roncaglia (1158), addressed these remarkable words to him by the lips of the Archbishop of Milan:—"Know, that the whole legislative right of the people has been accorded to you. Your will is right and law, for it is said, *What hath pleased the prince hath force of law, since the people hath consigned to him all its empire and power.*"§

\* Abb. Urspergensis Chron., ap. Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, iv. 10: Dominus Wernerus libros legum, qui dudum neglecti fuerant, ad petitionem Mathildæ comitissæ renovavit.

† The whole clergy of that town was composed of legists in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under the episcopacy of Guillaume le Maire (1290-1314). Almost all the canons of his church were professors of law. Bodin. Recherches sur l'Anjou, ii. 232. Of the nineteen bishops, who formed the assembly of the clergy in 1339, four had professed law in the university of Angers. Ibid., 233.

‡ Robert de Moule, ap. Savigny, Römischen Rechts, &c., iv. 10. Order. Vit., ap. Scr. Rer. Fr., xi. 242. "The renown of his learning spread throughout all Europe, and a multitude of disciples flocked to hear him, from France, Gascony, Bretagne, and Flanders.

§ Radevicus, ii. 4, ap. Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, ii., P. 2, p. 72. Scias itaque omne jus populi in condendis legibus tibi concessum, tua voluntas jus est, sicuti dicitur: Quod Principi placuit legis habet vigorem, cum populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concesserit." The famous Ranulfe de Glanville, Henry II.'s counsellor, repeats this maxim (De leg. et consuet. reg. Anglii, in proem).

The emperor himself said, on opening the diet:—"We, who are invested with the royal name, desire rather to exercise a legal empire for the conservation of the rights and liberties of each individual, than to do all things with impunity; to assume unbounded licence, and to change the office of command into superb and violent domination is royalty, tyranny."\* This pedantic republicanism, extracted word for word from Livy, was a bad exposition of the ideal of the new jurisprudence, which, in reality, demanded not liberty, but equality under a monarch, and the suppression of that feudal hierarchy that burdened Europe.

How very welcome these legists must have been to princes, we may infer from their doctrines and learn from history, which, henceforth, will show them to us near the persons of monarchs, hanging, as it were, to their ears, and dictating to them in whispers what they should repeat. William the Bastard attached Lanfranc to him, as we have seen, intrusted the government of England† to him in his own frequent absences, and many a time pronounced in his favour against his own brother. Henry of Anjou, a new conqueror of England, took for his Lanfranc, a pupil of the school of Bologna, who had also studied law at Auxerre.‡ Thomas a' Becket, that was his name, was then in the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had retained by his influence in the party of Matilda and her son. Having only been admitted to the first orders, and being thus neither a priest nor a layman, he was fit and ready for every thing; but his birth was a great obstacle. He was, it is said, the son of a Saracen woman, who had followed a Saxon from the Holy Land.§ His mother seemed to shut him out from the dignities of the Church, and his father from those of the state. He could hope for nothing except at the hands of the king, who had need of men like him to execute his projects against the barons. Immediately after

---

\* Radevicus, ii. 4, ap. Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, ii., P. 2, p. 72.

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Quando gloriosus rex Willelmus morabatur in Normannia, Lanfrancus erat princeps et custos Angliæ, subjectis sibi omnibus principibus.

‡ Lingard, ii. 318.—Vita quadrip., p. 6: Juri civili operam dedit.—John of Salisbury (Epist., p. 47) seems to reproach Becket with carrying into his quarrel with the king the spirit of a lawyer rather than of a priest. Proinde consilium meum.....et summa precum est, ut vos tota mente committatis ad Dominum et orationum suffragia ;.....differte interim omnes alias occupationes.....Prosunt quidem legis et canones; sed mihi credite quia nunc non erit his opus.....Quis a lectione legum aut etiam canonum compunctus surgit?.... Mallem vos psalmos ruminare, et B. Gregorii morales libros revolvere, quam scholastico more philosophari, etc.

§ She knew but two words intelligible to the inhabitants of the West; these were *London* and *Gilbert*, the name of her lover. With the help of the first she embarked for England, and when arrived in London she roamed about the streets, repeating "*Gilbert, Gilbert*," until she found him she was in search of. Brompton, 1054. Thierry, Conq. de l'Angleterre, 312.

his arrival in England, Henry razed 140 castles in one year. Nothing could stand before him; he married the children of the great houses to those of middling families;\* lowering the former, raising the latter—levelling all. The Norman aristocracy had worn itself out in Stephen's wars; the new king could command against it the men of Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine. Rich by his patrimonial dominions, and by those of his wife, he could also purchase soldiers in Flanders and Bretagne. This was what Becket counselled him to do;† the latter had become indispensable to the king in his business and his pleasures: supple and bold as he was, a man of learning, and a man of expedients, and, withal, a boon companion,‡ sharing or imitating his master's tastes. Henry gave himself up, without reserve, to that man; and not only he, but his son and heir also. Becket was the son's preceptor, and the father's chancellor;§ as such, he rigorously maintained the king's rights against the barons and the Norman bishops; the latter of whom he forced to pay scutage in spite of all their remonstrances and outcries. Then, feeling that the king had need of some brilliant war, in order to make him master in England, he led him into the South of France, to the conquest of Toulouse, over which Eleanor of Guienne asserted some claims. Becket led in his own name, and, as it were, at his own cost, 1200 knights and more than 4000 soldiers, without counting the people of his household, who were numerous enough to form many garrisons in the South.¶ It is evident, that an armament so disproportioned to the fortune of the richest private man, was

\* Radulph. Niger, ap. Lingard, ii. 315: *Servis generosus copulans, pedem conditionis fecit universos.*

† Lingard, ii. 523.

‡ Brompton, Chron., p. 1058. *J. Saresberiensis epist.* (ap. Epist. S. Tomæ, edid. Lupus, 1682, p. 414).

§ Scr. Fr., xiv. 452: *Filii sui Henrici tutorem fecit et patrem.*

¶ Newbrig., ii. 10. Chron. Norm., 992—995. Lingard, ii. 199: "The reader will be amused with the following account of the manner in which the chancellor travelled through France. Whenever he entered a town the procession was led by 250 boys, singing national airs; then came his hounds in couples, and these were succeeded by eight waggons, each drawn by five horses, and attended by five drivers in new frocks. Every wagon was covered with skins, and protected by two guards, and a fierce mastiff either chained below, or at liberty above. Two of them were loaded with barrels of ale to be given to the populace; one carried the furniture of the chancellor's chapel, another of his bedchamber, a third of his kitchen, and a fourth his plate and wardrobe: the remaining two were appropriated to the use of his attendants. These were followed by twelve sumpter horses, on each of which rode a monkey with the groom behind on his knees. Next came the esquires bearing the shields, and leading the chargers of their knights, then other esquires, gentlemen's sons, falconers, officers of the household, knights, and clergymen, riding two and two; and last of all the chancellor himself, in familiar converse with a few friends. As he passed the natives were heard to exclaim: "What manner of man must the King of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state?" *Stephan.* 20, 21.

put under the name of a man of no mark, in order the less to alarm the barons.

A vast league had been formed against the Count of Toulouse, who was the object of universal jealousy. The puissant Count of Barcelona, Regent of Aragon, and the counts of Narbonne, Montpellier, Beziers, and Carcassonne, were in accord with the King of England. The latter seemed upon the point of conquering what Louis VIII. and St. Louis gleaned without difficulty after the crusade against the Albigeois. It was expedient to assail Toulouse at once, without giving it time to collect its resources. The King of France had thrown himself into the town, and forbade Henry to molest a town which he, his suzerain, protected. Becket was not to be stopped by any scruple of the kind,\* but counselled his master to make the attack at once. Henry, however, was afraid of being abandoned by his vassals if he ventured upon so glaring a violation of feudal law. The warlike chancellor had nothing to console him, but the glory of having fought and disarmed a knight of the other side.†

The maintenance of the mercenary troops which Becket had advised Henry to employ, and which were so necessary for him against his barons, required an outlay, for which all the resources of Norman fiscality would have been insufficient; the clergy, alone could defray the cost; it had been richly endowed by the conquest. Henry wished to have the Church in his hand, and to this end it was necessary that he should first make sure of its head, the Archbishopric of Canterbury. This was almost a patriarchate, an Anglican papacy, an ecclesiastical royalty, indispensable to the completion of the other royalty. Henry resolved to take it to himself, by bestowing it upon his second self,‡ his good friend Becket. By that means, combining the two powers in his own hands, he would have elevated the monarchy to that point which it reached in the sixteenth century in the hands of Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth. It was convenient for him to put the primacy under the name of Becket, as he had lately put an army; he was a Saxon, it is true, but, then, the Saxon Breakspeares§ had just been elected pope, (Adrian IV.), precisely at the period of the accession of Henry II. Becket himself was averse to the measure. "Beware," he said, "I will become your greatest enemy."|| The king did not

\* Lingard, ii. 201.

† Ibid.

‡ Becket's predecessor in the see of Canterbury wrote to him: "In aure et in vulgus sonat vobis esse cor unum et animam unam." (Bles., epist. 78.)—Petrus Cellensis: Secundum post regem in quatuor regnis quis te ignorat? (Marten, Thea. Anecd., iii.) The English clergy wrote to Thomas: In familiarem gratiam tam latè vos mente suscepit, ut dominationis sue loca quæ Boreali oceano ad Pyrenæum usque porrecta sunt, potestati vestræ cuncta subjecerit, ut in his solum hos beatos reputarit opinio, qui in vestris poterant oculis complacere. Epist. S. Thom., p. 190.

§ He was the only Englishman that ever became pope.

|| Citissime a me auferres animum; et gratia quæ nunc inter nos tanta est in atrocissimum odium converteretur. Scr. Fr., xiv. 458.



hearken to him, but made him primate to the great scandal of the Norman clergy.

After the Italians, Lanfranc and Anselm, the see of Canterbury had been occupied by Normans; the kings and the barons would not have dared to intrust that great and dangerous dignity to any others. The archbishops of Canterbury were not merely primates of England, but were also invested, in some sort, with a political character. We find them almost always at the head of the national resistances, from the famous Dunstan,\* who so pitilessly humbled the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, to Stephen Langton, who made King John sign Magna Charta. These archbishops were, especially, the guardians of the liberties of Kent, the freest country in England. Let us dwell a moment upon the history of this curious region.

The land of Kent, of much greater extent than the county of that name, comprises a great portion of southern England. It is situated in face of France, at the extremity of Great Britain, of which it forms the advanced-guard; and it was, in fact, the privilege of the men of Kent to constitute the van of the English army. Their country has, in all ages, been the first to give battle to invaders: it is the first on which the latter land. There Cæsar disembarked, then Hengist, then William the Conqueror. There, too, began the Christian invasion. Kent is a sacred land: St. Augustine, the apostle of England, founded his first monastery there. The abbot of that monastery and the Archbishop of Canterbury were lords of the land and guardians of its privileges; they led the men of Kent against William the Conqueror. When the latter, victorious at Hastings, was marching from Dover to London, he perceived a moving forest, according to the legend; it was the men of Kent carrying before them a moving rampart of branches. They fell upon the Normans, and wrested from William a confirmation of their ancient laws and immunities.† Whatever be the fact as to this questionable victory, they remained free amidst the universal servitude, and knew scarcely any other domination than that of the Church. It was in like manner that our Bretons of Cornouaille preserved, under the bishops of Quimper, a relative freedom, and every year insulted feudalism in the statue of old King Grallon.

The most important of the customs of Kent, that which still distinguishes the county to this day, is the law of equal inheritance among children. This law, called by the Saxons *gavelkind*, by the

---

\* St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed remonstrances to Edgar, and made him do penance. He added two clauses to their treaty of reconciliation: 1. That he should publish a code of laws for the more impartial administration of justice; 2. That he should send copies of the Holy Scriptures, at his own expense, into the several counties, for the instruction of the people.—And even, according to Lingard, the real text of Osbern should be: *Justas legum rationes sanciret, sanctas conscriberet, scriptas per omnes fines imperii sui populis custodiendas mandaret*; instead of *sanctas conscriberet scripturas*. Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, x. 489.

† Thom., p. 1786, ap. Lingard, ii. 4.

Irish *gabhaircine* (family establishment) is common, with certain modifications, to all the Celtic populations; to Ireland and Scotland, to Wales, and, partially, even to our Bretagne.\*

The great Italian legists, who first filled the see of Canterbury, were the more favourable to the customs of Kent, inasmuch as these agreed in many respects with the principles of the Roman law. Eudes, Earl of Kent, and brother of William the Conqueror, wishing to treat the men of Kent upon the same footing as the inhabitants of the other provinces, "Lanfranc resisted him to his face, and proved, before all the world, the liberty of his land by the testimony of old Englishmen, who were versed in the usages of their country, and he delivered his men from the bad customs which Eudes wished to impose upon them."† On another occasion, "the king gave orders to convoke the whole county without delay, and to assemble all the men of the county, the French, and especially the English, who were versed in the knowledge of the ancient laws and customs. On arriving at Penenden they all sat down, and the whole county was kept there three days, and it was decided, accorded, and judged by all these wise and honest men, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was as well entitled as the king to possess his land in full jurisdiction, in complete independence and security."‡

Lanfranc's successor, St. Anselm, was still more favourable to the vanquished. Lanfranc was speaking to him one day of the Saxon Elfeg, who had sacrificed his life to the defence of the liberties of the country against the Normans. "As for me," said Anselm, "I think him a true martyr, forasmuch as he chose rather to die than to wrong his own people. As John died for the truth, so did Elfeg for justice, and both of them alike for Christ, who is justice and truth."§ It was Anselm who contributed most to the marriage of Henry Beauclerc with the niece of Edgard, the last heir of the Saxon monarchy. This union must, whatever may have been said to the contrary, have prepared the way for the rehabilitation of the vanquished. The same Archbishop of Canterbury received, as representative of the nation, Beauclerc's oath, when he swore a second time to his charter of feudal and ecclesiastical privileges.||

\* See above, Book i. † Vita. S. Lanfranci, ap. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.

‡ Spence, Origin of the Laws of Europe, 1826, p. 452. "Præcepit rex comitatum totum absque mora considerare, et homines comitatus omnes Francigenos, et præcipue Anglos in antiquis legibus et consuetudinibus peritos, in unum convenire. Qui cum convenerunt apud Penendinum, omnes consederunt, et totus comitatus per tres dies fuit ibi detentus—et ab omnibus illis probis et sapientibus hominibus qui affuerunt, fuit ibi diratiocinatum et etiam toto comitatu concordatum et judicatum: Quod sicut ipse rex tenet liberas et quietas in suo dominico, ita archiepiscopus Cantuarberie tenet suas. Huic placito interfuerunt Gersfridus episcopus Constansiensis, qui in loco regis fuit, et justitiam illam tennit comes Cantie, etc., Ricardus de Tunebrigge, etc.

§ Anglia Sacra, ii. 162: Martyr mihi videtur egregius qui mori maluit..... sic ergo Johannes pro veritate, sic et Elphegus pro justitia.

|| Lingard, ii. 181.

It was a great surprise for the King of England to learn, that Thomas a' Becket, his creature, his boon companion, was taking his new dignity in downright earnest. The chancellor, the worldling, the courtier, all at once bethought him that he was of the people; the son of the Saxon was a Saxon once more, and made his Saracen mother be forgotten by his sanctity. He surrounded himself with Saxons, paupers, and beggars; put on their coarse garments, and ate with them, and like them.\* Thenceforth he kept aloof from the king, and resigned the seals. There were then, as it were, two kings; and the king of the poor, enthroned at Canterbury, was not the less puissant of the two.†

Henry, deeply mortified, obtained a bull from the pope, rendering the abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine independent of the archbishop: he had actually been so under the Saxon kings. Thomas, by way of reprisal, summoned several of the barons to restore to the see of Canterbury lands which their ancestors had received as fiefs from the kings, declaring that he knew no law to justify injustice, and that what had been taken without good title should be restored.‡ Thenceforth, it remained to be seen, was the work of the Conquest to be destroyed, and was the Saxon archbishop to take revenge for the battle of Hastings upon the descendants of the victors. That episcopacy which William the Bastard had made so strong for the benefit of the Conquest, was now turning its strength against it. Fortunately for Henry, the bishops were more barons than bishops. Temporal interests affected these Normans much more nearly than the interests of the Church; most of them declared for the king, and were ready to swear whatever he pleased. Thus, the alarm caused by Becket to that wholly feudal Church enabled the king to obtain from it an omnipotence, which otherwise he would never have ventured to demand.

The following are the chief points stipulated for by the customs of Clarendon (1164):—The custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, and priory of royal foundation, was to be given, and its revenues paid, to the king. The election of a new member was to be made in consequence of the king's writ, by the chief clergy of the Church, assembled in the king's chapel, with the assent of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king might call to his assistance.—In almost every suit, civil or criminal, in which each or either party was a clergyman, the proceeding was to commence before the king's justices, who were to determine whether the cause ought to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts. In

\* Vita. S. Thomæ quadripart., pp. 19, 24, ed. Lupus, 1692.

† Lingard, ii. 220. The king's advisers imputed to Becket the idea of rendering himself independent. He was reported to have said to his confidants that the youth of Henry required a master, and that he knew how necessary he himself was to a king incapable of guiding the reins of government without his assistance.

‡ Gervas., Cantuar., ap. Thierry, iii. 129.

the latter case a civil officer was to be present to report the proceedings, and the defendant, if he were convicted in a criminal action, was to lose his benefit of clergy.—No tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household, or of his demesne, was to be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king, or, in his absence, to the grand justiciary, who ought to take care that what belonged to the king's courts should be there determined, and what belonged to the ecclesiastical courts should be determined in them.—No archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman, could lawfully go beyond the sea without the king's permission.—Appeals were to proceed regularly from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop. If the archbishop failed to do justice, the cause ought to be carried before the king, that by his precept the suit might be terminated in the archbishop's court, so as not to proceed further without the king's consent.—Clergymen who held lands of the crown held by barony, and were bound to the same services as the lay barons.

This was nothing less than the confiscation of the Church in favour of Henry. As the king reaped the fruits of all vacancies, one might be very sure that sees would long be vacant, as they were under William Rufus, who farmed out one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys.\* Bishoprics would now become the recompense, not of the barons, perhaps, as in times past, but of the agents of the exchequer, of scribes, and complacent judges. The Church, subjected to military service, was becoming wholly feudal. The charitable, educational, and religious institutions were to feed the Brabançons and the Cotereaux, and pious foundations were to pay for murder. The Anglican Church losing, with the power of excommunication, the only weapon that remained to it, shut up in an island, without relation with Rome or with Christendom, was in danger of losing all spirit of universality, of *catholicity*. What was still more serious was the extinction of ecclesiastical tribunals, and the suppression of benefit of clergy. These rights undoubtedly gave occasion to great abuses: many crimes were committed by priests with impunity. But when we reflect upon the frightful barbarity, upon the execrable fiscality of the secular tribunals in the twelfth century, we are forced to avow, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was an anchor of safety in those days. It might spare some guilty persons; but how many innocent ones did it save? The Church was almost the only road through which the despised races could recover some importance: we see this in the examples of the two Saxons, Breakspeare (Adrian IV.) and Becket. The liberties of the Church were, in those days, the liberties of the world.

Accordingly, all the vanquished races supported the Bishop of Kent with courage and fidelity. His struggle for liberty was imitated with more timidity and moderation in Aquitaine, by the

\* Pet. Bles., *ap. Lingard*, i. 251.

Bishop of Poitiers,\* and afterwards in Wales, by the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, to whom we are indebted, among other works, for so curious a description of Ireland.† The *bas Bretons* were for Becket. A Welshman followed him into exile, at the risk of his life,‡ as did also the famous John of Salisbury.§ It would seem, that the Welsh students carried Becket's messages, for Henry II. closed the schools against them, and forbade them to enter any part of England without his consent.

It would, however, be too narrow a view to take of this great subject, did we see in it nothing else than an opposition of races, or look for nothing but the Saxon in Thomas a' Becket. The Archbishop of Canterbury was not, merely, the saint of England, the saint of the vanquished Saxons and Welsh, but equally so, that of France and Christendom; his memory remained no less a living thing among us, than in his own country. The house in which he sojourned in Auxerre, is still shown, and in Dauphiné, a church he built there during his exile. No tomb was more visited in the middle ages, than that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; no pilgrimage was more in vogue, than that to his shrine. It is said, that the number of pilgrims amounted, in a single year, to more than

\* Henry II. had addressed to him through two of his justiciaries, instructions still harder than the constitutions of Clarendon. See the Bishop's Letter, ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 216. See also (*ibid.*, 572, 576, &c.) the letters written to him by John of Salisbury, acquainting him from time to time with the state of Becket's affairs. The Bishop of Poitiers yielded in 1166, and made his peace with Henry II. —Joann. Saresber., *epist.*, *ibid.*, 525.

† He was elected bishop in 1176 by the monks of St. Davids, in Pembrokeshire, and set aside by Henry IV., who put a Norman in his place. In 1198, he was re-elected by the same monks, and again removed by John Lackland. For want of sufficient support, he failed in his courageous struggle for the independence of the Welsh Church, but his country retained a deep sense of gratitude for his services. "As long as our country shall endure," says a Welsh poet, "those who write and those who sing will remember thy noble daring."

‡ Scr. Fr., xvi. 295. Thierry, *iii.* 160.

§ Salisbury is included in the land of Kent though not in the county. In Archbishop Theobald's times it was John of Salisbury who was accused of all the efforts of the Church of Canterbury to recover its privileges. He wrote, in 1159: *Regis tota in me incanduit indignatio.....Quod quis nomen romanum apud nos invocat, mihi imponunt; quod in electionibus celebrandis, in causis ecclesiasticis examinandis, vel umbram libertatis audet sibi Anglorum ecclesia vindicare, mihi imputatur, ac si dominum Cantuariensem et alios episcopos quid facere oporteat solus instruam.* J. Saresb., *epist.* ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 496.—In his *Policraticus* (Leyden, 1639, p. 206) he lays it down, that it is good and just to flatter the tyrant in order to deceive him, and to kill him. (*Aures tyranni mulcere.... tyrannum occidere.....æquum et justum.*) In Becket's affair his correspondence betrayed an interested, irresolute, and timorous character. He is constantly uneasy about the confiscation of his property, Scr. Fr., xvi. 508, 512, &c.; he frequently causes intercession to be made with Henry II. on his behalf, p. 514, &c., and gives Becket timid counsels, 510, 587, &c. He seems to pique himself but little on consistency. This defender of liberty sees in free will no power but for mischief. (*Polic.*, p. 97.) We must not be overhasty in drawing conclusions from the fact that he received lessons from Abailard; he extols St. Bernard and his disciple Eugenius III. (*Ibid.*, p. 311.)

100,000. A tradition relates, that offerings to the amount of 950*l.* sterling, were made to the chapel of St. Thomas in one year, whilst only four pounds were laid upon the altar of the Virgin; God, himself, had not one offering.

Thomas was dear to the people above all the saints of the middle ages, because he was himself of the people by his low and obscure birth, his Saracen mother and his Saxon father. The worldly life he had led at first; his love for dogs, horses, and falcons;\* those youthful tastes, of which he was never perfectly cured, all this pleased them too. He preserved under the priest's garb the soul of the knight, loyal and courageous; and it was but with difficulty he repressed its impulses. In one of the most perilous circumstances of his life, when Henry's barons and bishops seemed ready to tear him to pieces, one of them dared to call him traitor; whereupon, he turned round impetuously and replied, "Did not the character of my order forbid me, the dastard should repent of his insolence."

What gave the destiny of this man a character of grandeur and terrible sublimity, was, that he, a weak and unsupported individual, was burdened with the interests of the universal Church, which were those of the human race. That great part, which seemed to belong to the pope, and which Gregory VII. had sustained, was too much for the courage of Alexander III., who had quite enough to occupy him in his struggle with the anti-pope, and with Frederic Barbarossa, the conqueror of Italy. That pope was the head of the Lombard league, a statesman, and Italian patriot. He negotiated, fought, fled, and returned to the charge; he stimulated parties, prompted desertions, made treaties, and founded towns. It would have been far from his wish to offend the greatest king in Christendom—I speak of Henry II.,—when he already had the emperor against him. His whole conduct towards Henry was full of timid and shameful truckling; he sought only to gain time, by wretched equivocations, letters and counter-letters, living upon the shifts and chances of the hour, temporising with England and France, acting the part of a diplomatist and a secular prince, whilst the King of France was accepting the patronage of the Church, whilst Becket was suffering and dying for her. Strange system of policy! which was to teach the people to look anywhere else than to Rome, for the representative of religion and the ideal of sanctity.

In this grand and dramatic struggle, Becket had to endure all sorts of temptations; to strive against terror, seductions, and his own scruples. Hence the hesitation in the beginning of his career, which looked like fear. He succumbed, at first, in the assembly of

---

\* When he afterwards landed in France, he saw some young men, one of whom had a falcon upon his fist, and he could not help going to see the bird. This went near to betray him. Perhaps, says the author, the fear which this afterwards occasioned him, may have expiated the sin of his vanity. *Vita. quadripartita*, p. 65.

Clarendon, whether because he thought his life was aimed at, or because he was still restricted by his obligations to the king. This weakness is deserving of pity, in a man who was distracted between conflicting duties; on the one hand, he owed much to Henry; on the other, still more to his Church of Kent, to that of England, to the universal Church, whose rights he singly defended. This incurable duality of the middle ages, distracted between the state and religion, was the torment and the woe of the greatest souls, of Godefroy de Bouillon, St. Louis, and Dante.

"Wretch that I am," said Thomas, upon his return from Clarendon, "I see the Anglican Church become for ever a bondmaid, in chastisement for my sins. This was to be expected; I am come of the court, and not of the Church; I was a rearer of hawks before I became a pastor of men; the amateur of mimes and hounds is become the guide of souls. Behold me, then, forsaken of God!"\*

Another time, Henry finding violence fail, made trial of seduction. Becket had but to speak a word, he offered him every thing, laid every thing at his feet. It was like Satan's transporting the Lord to a high mountain, showing him the whole world, and saying to him: "All this I will give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."† All contemporary writers thus see, in Becket's struggle against Henry, an image of Christ's temptations, and in his death a reflection of the Passion. The men of the middle ages were fond of seizing upon such analogies; the last book of this kind, and the boldest, is that on the *Conformities between Christ and St. Francis*."

The extension of the royal power, which was the main question at issue, very soon became a secondary object for Henry; the essential thing for him was the ruin and death of Thomas; he thirsted for his blood. That all that might, which extended over so many peoples, should be baffled by the will of one man; that after so many easy successes, an obstacle should be thrown in his way, was too much for that spoilt child of fortune to endure; he was desperate; he wept.‡

There were not wanting zealous persons, however, to comfort the king, and try to gratify his wishes; the attempt was made in 1164. The archbishop, still feeble from illness, was constrained to present himself before the court of the barons and the bishops. In the morning he celebrated the office of St. Stephen the first martyr, which begins

\* Vita. quadrip., p. 41: "De pastore avium factus sum pastor ovium. Dadum fautor histrionum et canum sectator, tot animarum pastor. . . . Unde et plane video me jam a Deo derelictum." Dum igitur dolor eum sic urgeret, exitis aquarum deduxerunt oculi ejus, inter continuas lacrymas singultibus crebro enimpentibus.

† Ibid., p. 109: "Et certe omnia traderem in manus tuas."—Et post dies archiepiscopus hoc regis verbum Heriberto de Bosham retulit, adjiciens: "Et cum rex mihi dixisset sic, recordatus sum verbi illius in Evangelio: *Hec omnia*," &c.

‡ Joann. Saresb., ap. epist.. S. Thomæ, p. 233: De Cantuariensi archiepiscopo gravissime conquerens, non sine gemitibus et suspiriis multa. Et lacrymatus est, dicens quod idem Cantuariensis et corpus et animam pariter sufferet.

with these words: "The princes have seated themselves in council to deliberate against me;" he then set out courageously, and presented himself before the court, dressed in his pontifical garments, and carrying his great silver cross.\* This embarrassed his enemies, and they strove in vain to snatch his cross from him. Returning, then, to juridical forms, they accused him of having embezzled the public money, and of having celebrated mass under the invocation of the devil, and they desired to depose him. Had that been done, one might have killed him with a safe conscience. The king was awaiting the issue with impatience; physical demonstrations were already beginning; some broke straws, and threw them at him. The archbishop appealed to the pope, withdrew slowly, and left them perplexed and confounded. This was the first temptation, the appearance before Herod and Caiphas. The whole people looked on with tears; as for the archbishop, he had tables set out, invited all the poor that could be found in the town, and held, as it were, a last supper with them.† That same night he departed, and arrived with difficulty on the continent.

It was a great grief for Henry, that his prey had escaped him. At any rate he laid hands upon his property; he divided his spoils, and banished all his relations in the ascending and descending lines, old men, pregnant women, and little children. In addition to this, an oath was exacted from them upon their departure, that they would go and show themselves in their exile to him who had been its cause. The exile actually saw them arriving, one after the other, to the number of four hundred, poor and hungry, and saluting him with their misery and their rags; he was forced to endure the sight of that procession of exiles. In addition to all this, he received letters from the bishops of England, full of bitter irony. They congratulated him upon the apostolic poverty to which he was reduced, and hoped that his abstinences would be profitable to his salvation:‡ they were Job's comforters.

The archbishop accepted his misfortunes, and embraced them as a penance; seeking refuge at St. Omer, and afterwards at Pontigny, in the convent of the order of Cîteaux, where he practised the austerities of those monks.§ Thence he wrote to the pope, accusing himself of having been an intruder in the episcopal see, and declaring that

\* Roger de Hoveden., p. 494. Vita. quadrip., p. 58.

† Vita. quadrip., p. 58. Dixit: "Sinite pauperes Christi... omnes intrare nobiscum, ut epulemur in Domino ad invicem." Et impleta sunt domus et atria circumque discumbentium.

‡ Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 189: Erat quidem nobis solatio, quod..... fama divulgante pervenit, vos in transmarinis, agentem nihil altum sapere, vos in domum nostrum regem nulla machinatione insurgere, etc.

§ He wore haircloth and flagellated himself. He prevailed on a brother to bring him secretly, in addition to the delicate repast that was served to him, the ordinary pittance of the monks, and he contented himself with it for the future. But this regimen, so contrary to his habits, soon brought upon him a very severe illness. Vita. quadrip., p. 83.



he resigned his dignity. Alexander III., then a refugee at Sens, was afraid of openly committing himself, and of bringing a new enemy upon him; he condemned several articles of the constitutions of Clarendon, but refused to see Becket, and contented himself with writing to him, that he re-established him in his episcopal dignity. "Go," he said coldly, to the exile, "go, learn in poverty to be the comforter of the poor."

Becket's sole supporter was the King of France. Louis VII. was but too happy at the embarrassment in which this affair plunged his rival; he was besides, as we have seen, an exceedingly mild and pious prince; the bishop, persecuted for his defence of the Church, was, in his eyes, a martyr. Accordingly he welcomed him with favour, saying, that the protection of exiles was one of the ancient adornments of the crown of France.\* He granted Thomas and his companions in misfortune a daily dole of bread and other victuals; and when the King of England sent to him, demanding vengeance upon the *ex-archbishop*: "And who, then, has deposed him?" said Louis. "I, too, am a king, and I cannot depose the lowest clerk in my realm."†

Forsaken by the pope, and fed by the charity of the King of France, Thomas did not give way. Upon Henry's passing over into Normandy, the archbishop repaired to Vézelay; the same place where, twenty years before, St. Bernard had preached the second crusade; and upon Ascension-day, amidst the most solemn ceremonies, bells tolling and torches gleaming, he excommunicated the defenders of the constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the property of the church of Canterbury, and those who had communicated with the anti-pope, whom the emperor supported. He designated by name six of the king's favourites; himself he did not name, but still held the sword suspended over him.

This audacious step threw Henry into the most violent fit of rage; he rolled on the ground, dashed his bonnet and his clothes from him, tore at the silk coverlet of his bed, and gnawed the wool and the straw like a rabid beast.‡ Coming somewhat to himself, he wrote, and caused the clergy of Kent to write to the pope, declaring his readiness to have recourse to the last extremities, and entreating and threatening by turns. He sent ambassadors to the emperor, vowing that he would recognise the anti-pope;§ and he

\* Gervas. Cantuar., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 152: Rex Franciæ dixit: Ite dicite domino vestro (Henrico) quia si ipse consuetudines quas vocat avitas non vult dimittere, nec ego veteranam regum Franciæ libertatem volo propellere quæ cunctis exulantibus, et præcipue personis ecclesiasticis.....

† Ibid., p. 128: Dicente lectore: "Quondam episcopum," quæsiuit quis eum deposuisset, et ait: "Ego quidem rex sum, sicut et ipse; nec tamen possum terræ meæ minimum quemdam clericum deponere."

‡ Scr. Fr., xvi. 215: Pileum de capite projecit, balneum discinxit, vestes longius abiecit, stratum sericum quod erat supra lectum manu propria removit, et cepit stramineas masticare festucas.

§ Friderici ep. ap. Epist. S. Thomæ, pp. 108, 110: Legati regis anglici.....

even threatened to turn Mussulman.\* Then he excused himself to Alexander III., assured him that his envoys had spoken without authority, and, afterwards, even asserted that he had said nothing. At the same time he suborned cardinals, sent money to the Lombards, Alexander's allies, and solicited the jurist-consults of Bologna to give him a reply unfavourable to the archbishop.† He went even the length of offering the Pope to abandon every thing, to sacrifice to him the constitutions of Clarendon. Such was his intense longing to destroy his enemy.

All this had its effect at last. He obtained pontifical letters, by which Thomas was to be suspended from all episcopal authority, until he had been restored to the king's favour. Henry showed the letters in public, and boasted that he had disarmed Becket, and that he thenceforth had the pope in his purse.‡ The monks of Cîteaux, against whom he held out threats, touching the possessions they had in his dominions, gently hinted to Becket that they could not keep him any longer with them. The King of France, shocked at their baseness, could not help exclaiming: "Oh! religion, religion, where art thou, then? Here are those whom we thought dead to the world, banishing, for sake of earthly things, the exile for the cause of God."§

The King of France himself gave way, at last. Henry, in the fury of his passion against Becket, had humbled himself before the weak Louis, owned himself his vassal, demanded his daughter for his son, and promised to divide his dominions between his children.|| Louis, therefore, assumed the office of mediator, and conducted Becket to Montmirail en Perche, whither the King of England repaired. Vague words were interchanged between them, Henry reserving the honour of the realm, and the archbishop the honour of God.¶ "What more do you want?" said the King of

---

*ex parte regis et baronum ejus apud Witzeburgh juraverunt quod.....papam Paschalem, quem nos tenemus et ipse tenebit.....* See also Henry's letter, *ibid.*, p. 100, and John of Salisbury's, p. 341.

\* J. Saresb., *ap. Scr. Fr.*, xvi. 584: *Cum papam blanditiis et promissis dejicere non prævalerent, ad minas conversi sunt, mentientes quod rex eorum Noradini citius sequeretur errores et profanæ religionis iniret consortium quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi Thomam pateretur diutius episcopari.*

† J. Saresb., *ap. Scr. Fr.*, xvi. 602. *Epist. S. Thom.*, p. 602. Becket complained of this to the Bishop of Ostia: "*Quid civitatibus Italiæ nocuimus unquam? In quo læsimus sapientes Bononiæ? Qui vero, sollicitati precibus et promissis.... noluerunt dare consensum.*"

‡ *Scr. Fr.*, xvi. 312: *Ovans quod Herculi clavam detraxisset.*—*Ibid.*, 593: *Quia nunc D. papam omnes cardinales habet in bursa sua.*

§ *Vita. quadrip.*, p. 85: *O religio, o religio, ubi es? Ecce enim quos credebamus sæculo mortuos, &c.* See also Gervase of Canterbury, *ap. Scr. Fr.*, xiii. 130: Louis sent an escort of three hundred men to meet the archbishop.

|| *Ep. S. Thom.*, p. 424—At Montmirail Henry placed himself, his children, his lands, his men, and his treasures, at Louis' discretion. J. Saresb., *ap. Scr. Fr.*, xvi. 595.

¶ *Persecutor noster.... adjecit: Salvis dignitatibus suis.* *Ep. S. Thom.*, p. 504.—*Salvo in omnibus ordine suo et honore Dei et sanctæ Ecclesiæ.* Roger de

France; "Peace is now in your own hands."\* The archbishop persisting in his reservations, all those present, of both nations, accused him of obstinacy. One of the French barons exclaimed, that "The man who resisted the advice and the unanimous will of the lords of both kingdoms, no longer merited an asylum." The two kings mounted their horses again, without saluting Becket, who withdrew, greatly cast down.†

Thus was the archbishop brought to the last degree of abandonment and wretchedness; he had no longer bread to eat, no place to lay his head, and was reduced to live upon the alms of the people. It was then, perhaps, that he built the church, the construction of which is attributed to him. Architecture was one of the arts, the tradition of which was perpetuated among the heads of the ecclesiastical order. Shortly after this, in the crusade against the Albigeois, we find master Theodise, Archdeacon of Notre Dame of Paris, combining, like Becket, the titles of legist and architect.‡

Meanwhile, the King of England, in order to deal the primate the last blow, endeavoured to transfer the rights of Canterbury to the Archbishop of York, and made the latter crown his son. In the intoxication of his joy, he would wait himself at the table of the young king, at the coronation banquet; and no longer knowing what he did, he cried out, that from that day he was no longer king.§ A fatal expression, which fell not in vain upon the ear of the young king, and of the others present.

Thomas, smitten by Henry with this new blow, forsaken and sold by the court of Rome, wrote letters full of fearful reproof to the Pope and the cardinals. "Why do you put the stone of offence in my road? Why do you choke up my way with thorns? . . . How can you cloak the injury that Christ endures in me, in yourselves, who ought to fill the place of Christ here below? The King

Hoveden, p. 492. Ep. S. Thom., p. 562 sqq. Vita. quadrip., p. 95. Our fathers suffered, he said, because they would not spare to declare the name of Christ; and shall I, to recover the favour of a man suppress God's honour? Never! Gerv. Cantuar., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 132.

\* Ibid., xiv. 460.

† But Louis repented of having abandoned Becket, and sent for him some days afterwards. Becket came with some of his people, thinking he was about to receive orders to quit France.—*Invenerunt regem tristi vultu sedentem, nec, ut solebat, archiepiscopo assurgentem. Considerantibus autem illis, et diutius facto silentio, rex tandem, quasi invitatus abeundi daret licentiam, subito mirantibus cunctis proiliens, obortis lacrymis projecit se ad pedes archiepiscopici, cum singultu dicens: "Domine mi pater, tu solus vidisti." Et congeminas cum suspirio: "Vere," ait, "tu solus vidisti. Nos omnes cæci sumus. . . . Pœniteo, pater, ignosce, rogo, et ab hac culpa me miserum absolve: regnum meum et meipsum ex hac hora tibi offero."* Gervas. Cantuar., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 33. Vita. quadrip., p. 96.

‡ It was Lanfranc who built, by order of William the Conqueror, the church of St. Stephen in Caen, the last and magnificent production of romance architecture.

§ Vita quadrip., p. 102, 103. Pater filio dignatus est ministrare, et se regem non esse protestari. Epist. S. Thom., p. 676, 790.

of England has seized the property of the Church, and overthrown the liberties of the Church; laid hand upon the anointed of the Lord, imprisoned them, mutilated them, and torn out their eyes. Others he has forced to justify themselves by duel, or by trials with fire and water; and we are to hold our peace amidst all these outrages? Hirelings do, and will hold their peace; but, whosoever is a true pastor of the Church will join with us."

"I might flourish in might, abound in riches and delights, be feared and honoured of all; but since, at last, the Lord hath called me, me poor unworthy sinner, to the government of souls, I have chosen, through his grace, to be humbled in his house; to endure, to the death, proscription, exile, the most extreme miseries, rather than hold cheaply the freedom of the Church. Let those act so, who promise themselves long days, and who find, in their own merits, the hope of better times. As for me, I know that mine will be short; and if I forbear to tell the ungodly of his iniquity, I shall be answerable for his blood; gold and silver will then avail me nothing, nor the presents that blind even the wise. . . . You and I, most holy father, will soon stand before the tribunal seat of Christ; it is in the name of his majesty, of his fearful judgment, that I demand justice at your hands, against those who would kill him a second time."

In another letter he said: "We are scarcely supported by the alms of the stranger; those who aided us are exhausted, those who had pity upon our exile are grown hopeless, seeing how our lord the pope acts. . . . Crushed by the Roman Church, we, who alone in the Western world fight for it, we should be forced to abandon the cause of Christ, did not grace support us. . . . The Lord will look down from the mountain and behold this; that fearful majesty that extinguishes the breath of kings, will judge the extremities of the earth. As for us, living or dying, we are and will be his servants, ready to suffer all things for the Church; God grant that he may find us worthy to endure persecution for his righteousness."\*

"I know not how it happens, that before that court, it is always God's party that is sacrificed; so that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death. For now nearly six years have my proscription and the calamity of the Church been prolonged by the authority of the pontifical court. With you, the wretched, the exile, and the innocent are condemned, solely for that they are the weak and the poor of Christ, and that they would not swerve from God's righteousness. Absolved, on the contrary, are the men of sacrilege and homicide, the impenitent ravishers; men, of whom I dare freely declare, that if they appeared before St. Peter himself, all the world might in vain defend them, God could not absolve them. . . . The king's envoys promise our spoils to the cardinals and courtiers; well, let God be the judge. I am ready to die; let them arm the King of England, and if they

---

\* Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 774, et Scr. Fr., xvi. 418, 420.

will, all the kings of the world for my destruction; with God's help I will not swerve from my fidelity to the Church, either in life, or in death. For the rest, to God himself I commit his own cause; it is for his sake I am proscribed; let him right the wrong. Henceforth, I am firmly resolved no longer to importune the court of Rome. Let those address it who prevail by their iniquity, and who, in their triumph over justice and innocence, return all glorious to the affliction of the Church. Would to God that the path of Rome\* had not, already, been fatal to so many unfortunate and innocent men."†

So loudly rang these terrible words, that the court of Rome found it more dangerous to abandon Thomas, than to support him. The King of France wrote to the pope; "You must at last put an end to your deceitful and dilatory proceedings;"‡ and in this, he but spoke the sentiments of all Christendom. The pope made up his mind to suspend the Archbishop of York for usurpation of the rights of Canterbury, and he threatened the king if he did not restore the usurped property. Henry was frightened, an interview took place at Chinon between the archbishop and the two kings. Henry promised satisfaction, and showed much courtesy towards Thomas, even to offering to hold his stirrup at his departure.§ Nevertheless, before they parted, the archbishop and the king interchanged bitter language, and mutual taunts of what each had done for the other. Just as they were separating, Thomas fixed his eyes upon Henry with a peculiar expression, and said, with a kind of solemnity, "I think full well, I shall never see you again;" to which the king replied earnestly, "Do you then take me for a traitor?" The bishop bowed, and rode away.||

These last words of Henry's reassured no one. He refused Thomas the kiss of peace, and for a mass of reconciliation he had a mass for the dead chanted.¶ It was celebrated in a chapel dedicated to the martyrs. One of the archbishop's clerks remarked this, and said, "I believe, indeed, that the church will recover peace only through a martyr;" to which Thomas replied, "God grant it may be delivered, even by my blood."\*\* The King of France too, said, "For my part,

\* *Via Romana*: Thierry has not taken this phrase in its mystic meaning; he translates it "le voyage de Rome," the journey to Rome.

† Epist. S. Thomæ, pp. 772, 773, et Scr. Fr., xvi. 417. Nescio quo pacto pars Domini semper mactatur in Curia, ut Barrabbas evadat et Christus occidatur. . . . Jam in finem sexti anni proscriptio nostra. . . . Utinam via Romana non gratis peremisset tot miseros innocentes!

‡ Scr. Fr., xvi. 563: Ne ulterius dilationes suas frustratorias prorogaret. See also Epist. S. Thom., p. 597.

§ Gervas. Cantuar., ap. Scr. Fr., xiv. 134. Vit. quadrip., p. 107. Epist. S. Thom., p. 804.

|| Will. Stephan., p. 71, ap. Thierry, iii. 290.

¶ This mass was chosen, because there was no kiss of peace given in it at the reading of the gospel, as in the other services. Vit. quadrip., p. 109.

\*\* Vit. quadrip., p. 102. Accessit ad eum unus de clericis suis, dicens. . . . Cui archiepiscopus sic respondit: "Utinam vel meo sanguine liberetur!"

I would not for my weight in gold, advise you to return to England, if he refuse you the kiss of peace;" and count Thibaut of Champagne subjoined, "Even the kiss is not enough."\*

Thomas had long foreseen his fate, and was resigned to it. Just before his departure from the convent of Pontigny, says the contemporary historian, the abbot saw him shed tears at supper. Surprised at this, he asked him if he wanted any thing, and offered him every thing that was in his power; "I have no need of any thing," said the archbishop, "all is ended for me; the Lord deigned last night to acquaint his servant with the end that awaits him." "What is there in common," said the abbot jestingly, "between a *bon-vivant* and a martyr? Between a martyr's cup and that from which you have just drunk?" The archbishop replied, "It is true, I allow something to the pleasures of the body,† but the Lord is good, he justifies the unworthy and the ungodly."‡

After having returned thanks to the King of France, Thomas and his followers proceeded to Rouen, where they found nothing that Henry had promised them, neither money, nor escort. Far from it; Becket learned, that the holders of the estates of Canterbury threatened to kill him if he entered England. Ranulf de Broc, who held all the estates of the archbishopric for the king, said, "Only let him land, and he shan't have time to eat a whole loaf here."§ The intrepid archbishop wrote to Henry, that he knew his danger, but that he could no longer see the church of Canterbury, the mother of Christian Britain, perishing for the sake of the rancour borne to her bishop. "Necessity compels me, unfortunate pastor, to return to my unfortunate church; I return to it by your permission; and will die to save it, if your pity does not hasten to protect me. But whether I live or die, I am and will be evermore, yours in the Lord. Whatever befall me and mine, may God's blessing be on you and your children."||

Meanwhile, he had reached the coast near Boulogne; it was the month of November, an unfavourable season for the sea. The primate and his companions were obliged to wait some days at the port of Wissant, near Calais. Once, as they were walking on the shore, they saw a man running towards them, and at first they supposed

\* Epist. S. Thom., ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 400.

† See, however, in Hoveden (ap. Scr. anglicos post Bedam, 1601, Franco-furti, p. 520) the life of austerity and mortification led by the saint. His table was splendid, yet he took only bread and water. He used to pray by night, and wake all his people in the morning. He received from three to five stripes of discipline at night, and as many during the day, &c.

‡ Vit. quadrip., p. 86: Subridens abbas inquit. . . . Quid esculento, temulento, et martyri! . . . Archiepiscopus inquit: Fateor, corporeis voluptatibus indulgeo; bonus tamen Dominus, qui justificat impium, indigno dignatus est revelare mysterium.

§ Scr. Fr., xvi. 460.

|| Epist. S. Thom., p. 822. Sed sive vivimus, sive morimur, vestri sumus et erimus semper in Domino, et quidquid nobis contingat et nostris, beneficiat vobis Deus et liberis vestris.

he was the captain of their vessel, coming to bid them prepare to embark; but the man told them he was a clerk, and dean of the church of Boulogne, and that the count, his lord, sent him to warn them not to embark, because troops of armed men were on the look-out upon the coast of England to seize or slay the archbishop. "My son," replied Thomas, "though I were certain of being dismembered and cut to pieces on the other side, I would not halt. An absence of seven years is enough for the pastor and for the flock."<sup>\*</sup> "I see England," he said, again, "and I will go thither with the help of God; yet I know for certain, that I shall find my Passion there."<sup>†</sup> Christmas was approaching, and he longed, at all risks, to celebrate the birth of the Redeemer in his own church.

When he approached the shore, and when the cross of Canterbury, which was always carried before the primate, was descried upon his bark, the multitude eagerly rushed forward to receive his benediction. Some threw themselves upon their faces, and uttered loud cries; others cast their garments under his feet, and cried, "Blessed is he, who cometh in the name of the Lord." The priests met him at the head of their parishioners; all said, that Christ was to be crucified a second time; that he was about to suffer for Kent, as at Jerusalem he had suffered for all the world.<sup>‡</sup> This concourse intimidated the Normans, who had come down with great threats, and had drawn their swords.<sup>§</sup> As for the archbishop, he reached Canterbury to the sound of hymns and bells, and ascending the pulpit, he preached from this text, "I am come to die amongst you."<sup>||</sup> He had already written to the pope, requesting him to repeat for him the prayers for the dying.<sup>¶</sup>

The king was then in Normandy. He was greatly astonished and dismayed when he was told that the primate had dared to pass over into England; it was related, that he marched along surrounded by a host of paupers, serfs, and armed men. This king of the poor was re-established upon his throne of Canterbury, and had advanced as far as London. He was the bearer of papal bulls, by which the realm was again to be put under interdict. Such was actually the duplicity of Alexander III.; he had sent absolution to Henry, and to the archbishop a permission to excommunicate him. The king, now beside

<sup>\*</sup> Scr. Fr., xvi. 613, ap. Thierry, iii. 201.

<sup>†</sup> Vit. quadrip., p. 111. Terram Angliæ video, et favente Domino terram intrabo, sciens tamen certissime, quod mihi imminet passio.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid., p. 112: In navi vexillo crucis, quod archiepiscopi Cantuarienses coram se semper bajulare consueverunt, erecto. . . . videres turbam pauperem. . . . alios se humi prosternantes, ejulantes, hos plorantes, illos præ gaudio, et omnes conclamantes: *Benedictus qui venit*, etc.—P. 113: Diceret Dominum secundo ad Passionem appropinquare. . . . et venire iterum moriturum in Christo Domini pro anglicana ecclesia Cantuariæ, qui Hierosolymis pro totius mundi salute in se ipso semel mortuus est.—J. Saresb., ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 614: Plebs. . . . sic de recepto pastore gavisæ est, ac si de cælo inter homines Christus ipse descenderet.

<sup>§</sup> Scr. Fr., xvi. 613.

<sup>||</sup> Vit. quadrip., p. 117.

<sup>¶</sup> Roger de Hovenden, p. 521.

himself, cried out, "What! a man who has eaten of my bread, a low fellow, who came to my court mounted upon a foundered jade, shall trample royalty under his feet. He seats himself in triumph upon my throne, and not one of the dastards I feed will have heart enough to rid me of this priest?"\* This was the second time these murderous words issued from his lips, but now they were uttered not in vain. Four of Henry's knights deemed themselves dishonoured, if they left unpunished the outrage done to their lord. Such was the force of the feudal bond, such the virtue of the reciprocal oath plighted to each other by the lord and the vassal. The four knights did not wait for the decision of the judges, whom the king had commissioned to try Becket; their honour was compromised, if he died otherwise than by their hands.

Setting out at different hours, and from different gates, they all arrived at the same time at Saltwood.† Ranulf de Broc brought them a great number of soldiers. "It was now the fifth day after Christmas, when, as the bishop was in his chamber about eleven o'clock, talking on some business with some clerks and monks, the four satellites entered. Being saluted by those who were seated near the door, they returned their salute, but in a low voice, and walked up to the archbishop. They sat down upon the ground before his feet, without saluting him either in their own name or that of the king. They kept silence; and the anointed of the Lord likewise held his peace."‡

At last, Reginald Fitzurse broke silence, "We bring thee orders from the king from over sea. We desire to know whether thou wouldst rather hear them in public or in private." The saint sent his people out of the room, but the man who kept the door, left it open, that every thing might be seen from the outside. When Reginald had communicated the orders to the archbishop, and the latter saw clearly that he had nothing pacific to expect, he called every one in again, and said to the messengers, "My lords, you may speak before those who are here present."§

The Normans then asserted that Henry sent him orders to make oath of allegiance to the young king, and they reproached him with having been guilty of lese majesty. They would fain have cunningly made him commit himself by his words, and every moment they blundered in their own. They accused him, furthermore, of

\* Vita. quadrip., p. 119: "Unus homo, qui manducavit panem meum, levavit contra me calcaneum suum? Unus homo, qui manticato jumento et claudo, primo prorupit in curiam depulso regum stemmate, videntibus vobis fortunæ comitibus, triumphans exultat in solio!"—Omnes quos nutriverat . . . maledixit, quod de sacerdote uno non vindicarent. Ibid., et J. Saresb. epist., ap. Scr. Fr.

† Ibid., p. 120.

‡ Ibid., p. 121: Salutati, ut moris erat, a nonnullis in introitu considentibus, resalutatis eis, sed voce submissa . . . et considentibus ante pedes ejus in terra . . . per moram aliquantulam compresserunt silentio, innocentissimo Christo Domini nihilominus tacente.

§ Ibid., p. 122.



wanting to make himself King of England; then, captiously fastening on a word let fall by the archbishop, they cried out, "What! you accuse the king of perfidy? you threaten to excommunicate us all again?" and one of them said, "God keep me; he shall never do it; too many have already been put under the ban by him." They then started up in a furious rage, tossing their arms about and twisting their gauntlets,\* and turning to the by-standers they said, "In the king's name you shall answer to us for this man, and produce him in fit time and place." "What!" said the archbishop, "do you think I want to escape? Never would I fly for fear either of the king or of any living man." "Thou art right," said one of the Normans, "with God's help thou shalt not escape."† The archbishop in vain called back Hugh de Moreville, the most noble among them, and the one who seemed likely to be the most reasonable;‡ they did not listen to him, however, but burst from the place with loud and noisy threats.

The door was immediately fastened behind the conspirators. Reginald armed himself in the forecourt, and snatching an axe from the hands of a carpenter, who was at work, he struck at the door to open or break it down. The people of the house hearing the blows of the axe, intreated the primate to take refuge in the church, which communicated with his apartment by a cloister or gallery. He would not do so, and they were about to drag him thither by force, when one of the bystanders remarked that the time for vespers had come; "Since it is the hour for my duty, I will go to the church," said the archbishop, and ordering his cross to be carried before him, he passed slowly through the cloister, and then walked toward the great altar, which was separated from the nave by a grated iron door that stood half open.

When he entered the church he saw the agitated clerks locking and barring the doors, "We forbid you," he cried, "by your vow of obedience to close the door. It is not seemly to turn a church into a fortress." He then made those of his followers come in who had remained outside.

He had scarcely set his feet upon the steps of the altar, when Reginald Fitzurse appeared at the other end of the church, dressed in his coat of mail, with his broad two-edged sword in his hand, and shouting, "Come on, come on, loyal servants of the king." The other conspirators followed him closely, armed like him from head

\* Vita. quadrip., p. 126 : Ad hanc vocem unus illorum : "Minæ, Minæ. Etiam si totam terram interdicto subicies et nos omnes excommunicabis...." Illis igitur exilientibus, et iræ et conviciis frena laxantibus, chirotecas contorquentibus, brachia furiose jactantibus, et tam gestibus corporum quam vehementia clamorum manifesta insanientiæ indicia dantibus, archiepiscopus etiam surrexit.

† Ibid. "Quid est hoc? Numquid me fuga labi velle putatis?".... Satellites inquirunt : "Vere, vere, volente Deo, non effugies."

‡ Ibid., p. 126 : Secutus est eos usque ad ostium thalami, Hugonem de Moreville, qui cæteris, sicut nobilitate generis, ita et virtute rationis debebat præminere, et secum reversus loqueretur, inclamans.

to foot, and brandishing their swords. The primate's people would then have closed the iron door of the choir, but he forbade them to do so, and left the altar to prevent them. They earnestly intreated him to place himself in safety in the crypt, or to go up the staircase that led by many windings to the roof of the building. Both these proposals he rejected as positively as the others. During this time the armed men were advancing, a voice cried out, "Where is the traitor?" Becket made no reply. "Where is the archbishop?" "Here I am," replied Becket, "but there is no traitor here. What make you in the house of God in such a garb? What is your object?" "Thy death." "I am resigned to it. You shall not see me fly before your swords, but in the name of Almighty God I forbid you to touch one of my people, clerk or layman, great or small." At this moment he received a blow from the flat of a sword across his shoulders, and the man who struck him said, "Fly, or thou art a dead man." He never moved. The armed men tried to drag him out of the church, feeling some scruples at killing him there. He struggled against them and resolutely declared that he would not leave the church, but would force them to execute their intentions or their orders upon that very spot.\* Then, turning to another whom he saw advancing with a drawn sword, he said to him, "What is this, Reginald? I have granted thee many favours, and thou comest to me all armed in the church." The murderer replied, "Thou art a dead man." He then raised his sword, and with the same blow struck off the hand of a Saxon monk, named Edward Cryn, and wounded Becket in the head. A second blow, struck by another Norman, stretched the archbishop on his face upon the ground, and such was the violence of the stroke that the sword broke upon the pavement. A man-at-arms, named William Mau-trait, kicked the corpse of the murdered man, and said, "Thus perish the traitor who has troubled the realm, and made the English rebel."

As they were going away they said, "He wanted to be king and more than king; well, let him be king now."† But with all their bravadoes their minds were not yet fully assured. One of them returned into the church to satisfy himself that the murderous work had been fully done, and thrusting his sword into the dead man's head, drew out the brains.‡ He could not kill him enough for his own satisfaction.

Man is, indeed, a thing of intense vitality, it is not easy to destroy him; to deliver him from the body, to cure him of this earthly life, is to purify, adorn, complete him; no garb becomes him better than death. A moment before the murderers had done

\* Thierry, iii. 213.

† Vita quadrip., p. 138 : "Modo sit rex, modo sit rex." Et in hoc similes illis qui Domino in cruce pendentibus insultabant.

‡ Ibid. Ille quippe ethnicus latus Domini aperuit, iste vero christianus Christi Domini capite gladium infixit.

their work, the partisans of Thomas were languid and dispirited, the people dubious, Rome vacillating. But from the instant the steel had touched him, hallowed by his blood, crowned by his martyrdom, he became at once exalted from Canterbury to heaven. "He was king," as the murderers had said, unconsciously repeating the words of the Passion. All men were agreed concerning him, peoples, kings, and the Pope. Rome, which had forsaken him, proclaimed him a saint and a martyr. The Normans, who had slain him, received the bulls of canonisation at Westminster with abundant marks of hypocritical compunction, and weeping hot tears.

At the very moment after the murder, when the assassins, in pilaging the episcopal mansion, found amongst the archbishop's garments the coarse haircloths with which he mortified his flesh, they were struck with consternation, and whispered to each other, like the centurion in the Gospel, "Truly this was a righteous man." In recounting his death, the whole people agreed in declaring, that never had martyr presented a more complete image of the Redeemer's Passion; if there were differences, they were interpreted in favour of Thomas. "Christ," says a contemporary writer, "was put to death outside the city in a profane place, and upon a day which the Jews did not hold sacred; Thomas perished in the church itself, in Christmas week, upon the day of the Holy Innocents."†

King Henry was in a very dangerous predicament; every body attributed the murder to him. The King of France and the Count of Champagne solemnly accused him before the Pope. The Archbishop of Sens, primate of Gaul, pronounced excommunication against him; even those who owed him most recoiled from him with horror. He allayed the public clamour by dint of hypocrisy; his Norman bishops wrote to Rome, that for three days he had refused to eat or drink. "We, who weep for the primate," they said, "thought that we should also have to weep for the king."‡ The court of Rome, which at first affected violent indignation, at last, however, suffered its anger to be mitigated. The king swore that he had had no part in the death of Thomas; he offered the legates to submit to flagellation; he laid his recent conquest of Ireland at the Pope's feet: imposed the tax of Peter's pence on every house in that island; gave up the constitutions of Clarendon; engaged to pay money toward the crusade, and to join it in person when the Pope should require him so to do;§ and, finally, declared England to be a fief under the Holy See.||

\* Vita quadrip., p. 137.

† Ibid., p. 133.

‡ Ep. S. Thom., p. 857: *Tribus fere diebus conclusus in cubiculo, nec cibum capere, nec consolatores admittere sustinuit. . . . Qui sacerdotem lamentabamur primitus, de regis salute cepimus desperare.* Vit. quadrip., p. 146.

§ Vit. quadrip., p. 148. Ep. S. Thom., p. 873. *Quod inveniet ducentos milites per annum integrum sumptibus suis. . . . in terra Hierosolymitana. . . . Quod prava statuta de Clarendonia, etc. . . . dimitteret. . . . Quod si necesse fuerit, ibit in Hispaniam, ad liberandum terram illam a paganis.*

|| Præterea ego et major filius meus rex, juramus quod a domino Alexandro

It was not enough to have appeased Rome; this would have been letting him off too cheaply; but soon afterwards his eldest son, the young King Henry, demanded his share of the kingdom, and declared his determination to avenge the death of him who had brought him up, the holy martyr Thomas of Canterbury. The grounds which the young prince alleged for claiming the crown appeared very cogent in those days, however weak they may now seem. In the first place, the king himself, when waiting upon him at table on the day of his coronation, had imprudently said, that he abdicated. The middle ages took every expression in its literal sense: that let fall by Henry II. was enough to make the majority of his subjects uncertain as to which of the two kings could rightfully claim their allegiance. The letter is all-potent in barbarous times; the principle of all jurisprudence is then: *Qui virgula cadit, causa cadit*.

Again, Henry had made but imperfect satisfaction for the death of St. Thomas. To some he appeared still sullied with the blood of a martyr; others, remembering that he had offered to submit to flagellation, and seeing him annually pay an expiatory tribute towards the crusade, believed him still in a state of penance. Such a condition appeared irreconcilable with royalty. Louis le Débonnaire had appeared to be degraded and debased by it for ever.

Henry's sons had another specious excuse: they were encouraged and backed by the King of France, their father's suzerain. The feudal tie was then deemed superior to all those of nature. We have seen, how Henry I. thought it his duty to sacrifice his own children to his vassal. The sons of Henry II. pretended that it was their duty to sacrifice even their father to their liege lord. In reality, Henry himself apparently regarded the feudal oath as paramount; since he did not think himself secure of his sons until he had forced them to do him homage.

During a journey he made to the South, he saw all his family, his sons, and his wife Eleanor, abscond one after the other. Young Henry repaired to his father-in-law, the King of France; and when the envoys of Henry II. appeared, and claimed him in the name of the King of England, they found him seated beside Louis VII. in all the pomp of royal habiliments. "Of what King of England do you speak to me?" said Louis. "Here is the King of England; but if it is the father of this king, the whilom King of England, to whom you give that title, know that he is dead ever since the day his son first wore the crown; and if he pretends that he is still king, after having resigned the realm, in the face of the world, into the hands of his son, this is a matter that shall be set right before long."\*

papa et catholicis ejus successoribus recipimus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ.' Baron., Annal., xii. 637. At the end of the same year he wrote again to the Pope: "Vestram jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudatorii juris obligationem, vobis duntaxat teneor et astringor. Petr. Bles., epist., ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 650.

\* Guill. Neubrig., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 113: Scitote quia ille rex mortuus est. . . . porro quod adhuc pro rege se regit. . . . mature emendabitur.

Two other sons of Henry, Richard of Poitiers, and Geoffrey, Count of Bretagne, joined their eldest brother, and did homage to the King of France. The danger was becoming great. Henry had, it is true, provided with remarkable activity for the defence of his continental dominions; but he heard it said, that his eldest son was about to cross the straits with a fleet and an army belonging to the Count of Flanders, to whom he had promised the county of Kent. The King of Scotland, too, was to invade England. Henry made haste to engage mercenaries, Brabançon and Welsh free companions. He purchased the favour of Rome at all costs, and declared himself a vassal of the Holy See for England as well as for Ireland, adding this remarkable clause: "We, and our successors, will deem ourselves true kings of England only in so far as the lord popes shall hold us to be Catholic kings."\* In another letter he entreats Alexander III. to defend his kingdom as a fief of the Roman Church.†

Not thinking he had yet done enough, he repaired to Canterbury. As soon as he caught sight of the church from a distance, he dismounted from his horse, and, putting on a woollen garment, walked barefooted over the mud and stones.‡ When he reached the tomb, he threw himself on his knees, weeping and sobbing. "It was a spectacle to draw tears from the eyes of all the beholders."§ He then stripped himself; and all present, bishops, abbots, and simple monks, were invited successively to inflict discipline upon the king. "It was like the flagellation of Christ," says the chronicler, "only with this difference, that the one was whipped for our sins, the other for his own."|| All that day and night he remained in prayer by the grave of the holy martyr, without taking food, or quitting the spot for any need. He remained there in the condition in which he had come, and would not even have a carpet spread for him. After matins he went round the altars and the shrines, and then went again from the upper church into the crypt, to the tomb of St. Thomas. When it was day he asked leave to hear a mass; he drank of the holy water from the church of the martyr, filled a bottle with it, and went away in gladness of heart to Canterbury."¶

He had reason, it seems, to be glad of heart, for the game was won for the moment. He was informed that same day, that the King of Scotland had become his prisoner; the Count of Flanders did not venture to attempt the invasion; all the young king's partisans in England were forced to retreat to their castles. A war

\* Baron., xiii. 687. Muratori, iii. 463: "Nos et successores nostri in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ veros reges, donec ipsi nos catholicos reges tenuerint."

† Patrimonium B. Petri spirituali gladio tueatur. Scr. Fr., xvi. 650.

‡ Vit. quadrip., p. 150: Per vicos et plateas civitatis lustras. . . . Robert de Monte, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 318: Per paludes et acuta saxa.

§ Robert de Monte, *ibid.*: Ut videntes ad lacrymas cogeret.

|| *Ibid.* Imitatus Redemptorem; sed ille fecit propter peccata nostra, iste propter propria.

¶ Lætabundus a Cantuaria recessit. Gerv. Cant., ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 138.

was waged with more various chances, in Aquitaine, where the young princes were backed by the King of France, and above all, by the hatred of the people for the yoke of the foreigner. In the twelfth century, as in the ninth, the wars waged by sons against their father, only cloaked those waged by the various races which sought to free themselves from an union opposed to their interest and their genius. Guienne and Poitou strove to detach themselves from the English empire, as France, under Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bald, had broken the unity of the Carolingian empire.

The fickleness of the men of the South, their capricious revolutions, and the readiness with which they fell into discouragement, were all highly favourable to Henry. Besides this, they were not supported by Toulouse, which alone could have formed the centre of a great war in Aquitaine. Prudence forbade them to renew attempts at emancipation, which resulted in their ruin; but it was not so much patriotism as restlessness of mind and the idle love of military display, that prompted the nobles of the South to arms. This we may collect from what remains to us of the most famous among them, the troubadour, Bertrand de Born. His sole delight was to play off some good trick upon his liege lord, King Henry II., to arm some one of his sons against him, Henry, Geoffrey, or Richard; and then, when all was done, to make a fine *servente* upon the subject, in his Castle of Hautefort, like that Roman who chanted verses as he looked from a tower upon the burning of Rome. If there was any chance of a moment's quiet, that demon of confusion soon let fly a satire at the kings, that made them blush at their repose, and plunge again into war.

Nothing was seen in this family but rancorous wars and perfidious treaties. On one occasion, when King Henry met his sons for a conference, their soldiers drew their swords against him;\* this was the traditional usage of the two families of Anjou and Normandy. The children of William the Conqueror had more than once pointed their swords against their father's bosom; Foulques had set his foot upon the neck of his vanquished son. The jealous Eleanor, with all the passion and vindictiveness of the women of the South, encouraged the indocility and impatience of her sons, and reared them up for parricide. Her children, in whom was blended the blood of so many various races, Norman, Aquitainian, and Saxon, seemed to possess in addition, the pride and violence of the Foulques of Anjou, and the Williams of England, all the oppositions, all the rancour and discords of the races whence they sprang. They never knew rightly whether they were of the South or of the North; what they did know was, that they hated each other, and their father still more. They could hardly look back a step in their genealogy without meeting instances of rape, incest, or parricide. Their grandfather, the Count of Poitou, had had Eleanor by a

\* Roger de Hoveden, p. 536, ap. Thierry, iii. 312.

woman whom he had carried off from her husband, and a holy man had told the pair, "From you will be born nothing good."\* Eleanor, herself, had for her lover the very father of Henry II.,† and it was a great chance but that the sons she had by Henry were their reputed father's brothers. An expression of St. Bernard's respecting the latter, was cited, "He comes of the devil, and to the devil he will return."‡ Richard, one of the sons, spoke just to the same effect as St. Bernard.§ This diabolical origin was for them a family title, and they justified it by their deeds. When a clerk went to another son, Geoffrey, with the cross in his hand, and entreated him to become reconciled to his father, and not to imitate Absalom: "What!" replied the young man, "thou wouldst have me forego my birthright!" "God forbid, my lord," replied the priest, "I desire nothing to your detriment." "Thou dost not understand my words," retorted the Count of Bretagne; "it is our family's destiny not to love each other. This is our heritage, and none of us will ever renounce it."||

There was a popular tradition respecting a former Countess of Anjou, an ancestress of the Plantagenets. Her husband, it was said, had remarked that she hardly ever attended mass, and always went out secretly; whereupon he bethought him to have her detained, at her usual time of going out, by four squires; but she left her mantle in their hands, as well as two of his children she had upon her right arm. She carried off the two others, which she held in her left arm, under a fold of the mantle, flew out through a window and never appeared again.¶ The story is nearly the same as that of Mellusina of Poitou and Dauphiné. Obligated to return every Saturday to her original shape, half woman, half serpent, Mellusina took great care to keep herself concealed on that day. Her husband having surprised her, she disappeared. That husband was Geoffrey Longtooth, whose image was to be seen at Lusignan upon the gate of the famous castle. Whenever one of the family was about to die, Mellusina appeared by night upon the towers uttering cries.

The real Mellusina, a medley of contradictory natures, the mother and daughter of a diabolical generation, was Eleanor of Guienne. Her husband punished her for the rebellion of her children, by imprisoning in a fortress the woman who had given him so many dominions. This harshness on the part of Henry II. was one of the causes of the

---

\* "Nusquam proles de vobis veniens fructum faciat felicem." J. Brompton, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 215.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Beatus Bernardus abbas, rege Franciæ presente, sic prophetavit: De D'abolo venit, et ad Diabolum ibit.

§ Ibid. Richardus . . . asserens non esse mirandum, si de tale genere procedente mutuosese infestent, tanquam de Diabolo revertentes et ad Diabolum transeuntes.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid. Rejeto pallio per quod tenebatur . . . cum reliquis duobus filiis, per fenestram ecclesiæ . . . evolavit.

hatred borne to him by the men of the South. One of them, in a barbarous poetic chronicle, expresses the hope that Eleanor will soon be delivered by her sons. According to the customs of the times, he applies the prophecy of Merlin to the whole family.\*

"All these evils have occurred since the Roi de l'Aquilon smote the venerable Thomas of Canterbury. It is Queen Alienor whom Merlin designates as the 'eagle of the broken treaty'—Rejoice, then, Aquitaine; rejoice, land of Poitou; the sceptre of the northern king will vanish. Woe to him; he has dared to lift the lance against his liege lord the King of the South." . . .

"Tell me, double eagle,† tell me where wast thou then, when thy eaglets, flying from the paternal nest, dared to put forth their talons against the King of the North? Was it for this thou wast carried off from thy country, and taken into a foreign land? The songs have been changed into tears, the harp has given place to mourning. Reared in royal freedom in the times of thy gentle youth, thy hand-maids sang, thou didst dance to the sound of their guitars. Now, I entreat thee, double queen, cease at least a little from thy tears; return, if thou canst, return to thy towns, poor prisoner.

"Where is thy court? Where are thy fair young companions? Where are thy counsellors? Some, forced far away from their country, have suffered an ignominious death; others have been deprived of sight; others wander about as banished men in various places. For thee, thou criest and no one hears thee, for the King of the North keeps thee close pent, like a besieged city. Cry, then, and cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, that thy sons may hear thee; for the day is at hand when thy sons will deliver thee, and thou shalt behold again thy native land."‡

It was the fate of King Henry in his latter years to be the persecutor of his wife, and the object of his sons' execration. He plunged desperately into pleasure; old as he was, gray-headed, and laden with a huge belly, adultery and rape were the varied occupation of all his days. He was not content with his fair Rosamond, whose bastards he had constantly about him; he violated his cousin Alice,§ the heiress of Bretagne, who had been confided to his hands as a hostage; and when he had obtained for his son the daughter of the King of France, who was not yet of age to be married, he even polluted that child.||

\* The prophecy was : *Aquila rupti fœderis tertia nidificatione gaudebit*. Raoul de Diceto and Mat. Paris (A. D. 1189) apply it to Eleanor.—Joann. Saresb., ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 534 : *Instat tempus ut aiunt quo Aquila rupti fœderis juxta Merlini vaticinium, frenum deauratura est quod apro ejus datur aut modo fabricatur in sinu Armorico*. By the boar he means Henry VI.

† *Aquila bispertita*. By this he means Eleanor. "Dic, aquila bispertita, dic: ubi," &c.

‡ Richardus Pictaviensis, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 420, 421.

§ J. Saresb., ap. Scr. Fr., xvi. 591 : *Impregnavit, ut proditor, ut adulter, ut incestus*.

|| Brompton, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 214 : *Quam post mortem Rosamundæ desoravit*.



Meanwhile, fortune wearied not of smiting him. He had lulled his heart in pleasure and sensuality; it was as a lover and a father that his chastisement befel him. A tradition relates, that Eleanor made her way into the labyrinth in which the old king had thought to conceal Rosamond,\* and that she slew her with her own hand. His vile conduct with regard to the princesses of Bretagne and of France excited hatreds that were never extinguished. He loved most of all two of his sons, Henry and Geoffrey, and they died. The elder had wished, at least, to see his father and entreat his forgiveness, but treachery was so usual among those princes, that the old king hesitated to comply with the summons of his dying son, and was soon informed that it was too late.†

He had two sons left, the ferocious Richard, and the dastardly, perfidious John. Richard thought his father lived too long, he was impatient to reign, and as the old king refused to resign his crown, Richard abjured his homage before his father's face, and declared himself the vassal of the new King of France, Philip Augustus. The latter, out of hostility to the King of England, affected a fraternal intimacy with his revolted son; they ate out of the same plate and slept in the same bed. The preaching of the crusade scarcely suspended the hostilities between the father and son; the old king found himself attacked on all sides at once; on the north of Anjou by the King of France, on the west by the Bretons, and on the south by the Poitevins. Notwithstanding the intercession of the Church, he was obliged to accept the terms of peace dictated to him by Philip and Richard, and was forced expressly to acknowledge himself the King of France's vassal, and to place himself at his mercy. He would

\* Brompton, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 214: *Huic puellæ fecerat rex apud Wodestoke mirabilis architecturæ cameram, operi Dedalino similem, ne forsan a regina facile deprehenderetur.*

† Shortly after the death of his son, Bertrand de Born became his prisoner. "Before pronouncing the sentence of the victor upon the vanquished, Henry wished for some time to taste the pleasure of vengeance, by treating with derision the man who had made him fear, and who boasted that he did not fear him. 'Bertrand,' he said to him, 'you who allege that at no time you have need of half your sense, know that now is the time when the whole of it will not be too much for you.' 'My lord,' replied the man of the South, with the habitual assurance he derived from the feeling of his mental superiority, 'It is true I have said so, and I have spoken the truth.' 'And I,' said the king, 'do believe that your sense has failed.' 'Yes, my lord,' replied Bertrand gravely, 'it failed me on the day when the valiant young king, your son, died. Upon that day I lost sense, wit, and knowledge.' At the name of his son, which he by no means expected to hear uttered, the King of England burst into tears and fainted. When he came to himself again he was quite changed: his schemes of vengeance had vanished, and he now saw in the man who was in his power, only the old friend of the son whose loss he mourned. Instead of bitter reproaches and the sentence of death, or dispossession, which Bertrand might have expected, 'Sir Bertrand, Sir Bertrand,' he said, 'it is with reason and with good right that you lost your senses for my son, for he wished you well more than any man in the world, and I, for his sake, bestow on you your life, your lands, and your castle; I give you back my friendship and my good favour, and bestow on you 500 marks of silver for the damage you have sustained.'" *Thierry*, iii. 356.

have consented to declare John his heir for all his continental provinces; John was the youngest of his sons, and apparently the most attached to him. When the envoys of the King of France appeared before him as he lay upon his sick-bed, he asked them the names of the partisans of Richard, it being a condition of the treaty that an amnesty should be extended to them. The first man named to him by the envoys was his son John. The moment he heard the name he started up convulsively in bed, and looking wildly round him, cried out, "Is it true indeed, that John, the son of my heart, the one I have loved more than all the others, and for whose sake I have brought on myself all my misfortunes, has also separated from me?" They told him that such was really the case; "Then," said he, falling back in his bed, and turning his face to the wall, "let things take their course; I care no longer for myself or for the world."\*

The fall of Henry II. was a great blow for the English power; it recovered but partially under Richard, to suffer a second fall under John. The court of Rome took advantage of the disasters of those kings, twice to extort the recognition of its sovereignty over England. Henry II. and John expressly acknowledged themselves vassals and tributaries of the Pope.

The temporal power of the Holy See was increased, but can we say as much for its spiritual authority? Did it not lose something of the respect with which it had been regarded by the nations? That crafty, patient diplomacy, which knew so well how to amuse, to adjourn, to seize an opportunity, and to show itself at the critical moment to filch a kingdom, must assuredly have suggested a lofty idea of the practical ability of the popes, but, at the same time, have occasioned some doubt as to their sanctity. Alexander III. had defended Italy against Germany; he had very ably defended himself against the emperor and the anti-pope; but who, during that time, had battled for the liberties of the Church? Who had spoken and suffered for the Christian cause? A priest, sometimes forsaken by the Pope, and sometimes betrayed. The Pope had accepted the homage of the king in exchange for the blood of the martyr, and now that martyr was become the great saint of the West; Rome had been constrained to do him homage, and herself to proclaim his canonisation. In the days of Gregory VII., sanctity had been found in the Pope, and religious sentiment had been in accordance with the hierarchical principle. Afterwards mankind, physically emancipated by the crusade which the popes did not direct, and by the first communal movement which they chastised in Arnaldo da Brescia, had been agitated in its profoundest depths by the voice of Abailard. To continue its religious emancipation, Thomas of Canterbury had just taught it to seek elsewhere than in Rome for sacerdotal heroism, and zeal for the liberties of the Church.

It was not the Pope who really derived advantage from the death

---

\* Thierry, iii. 381.

of St. Thomas, and the humiliation of Henry, but much rather the King of France. It was this latter who had given an asylum to the persecuted saint, whom he had abandoned only for a moment. Thomas, when setting out to encounter martyrdom, sent words of farewell to him by his own followers, declaring him his sole protector. The King of France was the first to denounce the murderer of the archbishop before the court of Rome; he had immediately begun war, and, although in this he followed the dictates of his own interest, the nations gratefully applauded his conduct. The Pope himself chose France as the land of his asylum, when the Emperor expelled him from Italy; and so, although he frequently protected England, when threatened by France, it was with the latter country that he kept up the most intimate and the most continuous intercourse. The only sovereign on whom the Church could count was the King of France, the enemy of the English and of the German. "Thy realm," said Innocent III., writing to Philip Augustus, "is so identified with the Church, that the one cannot suffer, without the other suffering in an equal degree." Even at the times when the Church chastised the King of France, she still preserved a motherly affection for him. In the time of Philip I., whilst the king and the realm lay under interdict for the abduction of Bertrade, all the bishops of the North remained true to his party, and Pope Pascal II. himself did not scruple to visit him.\*

On every occasion, great and small, the bishops lent him the aid of their military forces. Louis VII. found himself supported in the very dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, by the soldiery of nine dioceses, against Frederic Barbarossa, who was threatening an invasion of the land.† Louis VI. was backed in like manner at the approach of the emperor, Henry V.,‡ and Philip Augustus, at Bouvines. How should the clergy have failed to defend those kings who were reared by itself, and received from it a wholly clerical education? Philip I., who was crowned at the age of seven, himself read his coronation oath;§ Louis VI. was brought up in the abbey of St. Denis, and Louis VII. in the convent of Notre Dame;|| three of his brothers were monks. No one more than he regarded the privileges of the Church with reverential awe.¶ He revered priests,

---

\* See above.

† Radevic. Frising., ad ann., 1157.

‡ Suger., Vita Lud. Grossi, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 51.

§ Coronales Phil. I., ap. Scr. Fr., xi. 32: *Ipse legit dum adhuc septennis esset: "Ego... defensionem exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesie sibi commissæ... debet."*

|| Suger., Vit. Lud. Grossi, ap. Scr. Fr., xii. 11. *Fragm. de Lud. VII., ibid. 90.*

¶ As he was returning from a journey (1154) he was benighted at Crèteil, and stopping there, he quartered himself upon the inhabitants, who were serfs of the church of Paris. The fact coming to the ears of the canons they immediately suspended divine service, and determined not to resume it until the king should have returned their born serfs, as Stephen of Paris says, the expense he

and yielded precedence to the lowest clerk. He kept three Lents, and equalled or surpassed the austerities of the monks. After having been the protector of Thomas of Canterbury, he ventured on a perilous journey to England, to visit the tomb of the saint.\* Nay, was not the King of France himself a saint? Philip I., Louis le Gros, and Louis VII. touched for the evil, and could not do enough in this way to satisfy the eagerness of the simple people. The King of England could make no such pretension to the gift of miracles.†

Thus he grew and throve, this good King of France, both after God and after the world. Having become the vassal of St. Denis, since his acquisition of Vexin, he set the flag of the abbey, the *Oriflamme*, at the head of his array.‡ In his arms he displayed the mystic flower of the lily, in which the middle ages beheld the purity of his faith. As protector of the churches, he received the *regale* during vacancies, and he strove to impose a payment of certain sums on the clergy,§ under pretext of supporting the crusades.

Philip Augustus was no degenerate son of his ancestors. Save the two periods of his divorce, and of the invasion of England, no king was more after the heart of the priests. He was a wary prince, more pacific than warlike, notwithstanding the acquisition made by the monarchy under him. The *Philippide* of Guillaume le Breton, a classical imitation of the *Æneid* by one of the king's chaplains, has misled us as to the true character of Philip II., and the romances have completed his metamorphosis into a hero of chivalry. In reality, the great achievements of his reign, and the victory of Bouvines itself, were fruits of his policy, and of the protection of the Church.

Surnamed Augustus, because he was born in the month of August, we find him, at the age of fourteen, sick with fear in consequence of having lost his way by night in a forest.¶ The first act of his reign was eminently popular and agreeable to the Church. By the advice of a hermit then in great repute in the environs of Paris, he

had occasioned them. Louis made reparation, and the act was engraved upon a *verger's* rod, which was long preserved by the church of Paris, in commemoration of its liberties. *Art de vérifier les Dates*, v. 522.

\* *Chronic. Normanniæ*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xii. 789. *Transfretavit in Angliam, pergens ad S. Thomam Cantuariensem*.—Roger de Hoveden remarks, that this was the first time a king of France was seen in England.

† Guibert. *Novig.* l. i c. l. The kings of England did not lay claim to this power till after they had assumed the title and the arms of the kings of France. *Art de vérifier les Dates*, v. 519.

‡ See the diploma of Louis le Gros, in vol. xii. of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, and the note of the editors.

§ *Fragm. Histor.*, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xii. 95.

¶ *Chronic. Reg. Franc.*, *ibid.*, 214. *Remansit in silva sine societate Philippus; unde stupefactus concepit timorem, et tandem per carbonarium fuit reductus Compendium; et ex hoc timore sibi contigit infirmitas, quæ distulit coronationem.*

despoiled and expelled the Jews,\* an act which, in the opinion of the time, was a profession of piety, and a comfort to the Christians. Those whom the Jews ruined and shut up in prisons, failed not to applaud the measure.†

Blasphemers and heretics were delivered over without mercy to the Church, and religiously burned.‡ The mercenary soldiers whom the English kings had spread over the South, and who pilaged upon their own account, were pursued by Philip, who encouraged the popular association of the *capuchons*§ against them. The lords who tormented the churches had the king for their enemy. He attacked the Duke of Burgundy, his cousin, and obliged him to give the prelates of that province better treatment; he defended the church of Rheims against similar oppression. He wrote to the Count of Toulouse, enjoining him to respect the holy churches of God. Lastly, his victory of Bouvines was regarded as the salvation of the clergy of France. It was publicly declared, that Otho's barons wanted to divide the ecclesiastical estates, and to despoil the Church,|| as did Otho's allies, King John, and the misbelievers of Languedoc.

---

\* Chronic. Reg. Franc., *ibid.*, 214. *Fecit spoliari omnes una die. . . . Receserunt omnes qui baptizari noluerunt.* They paid 15,000 marks for their ransoms. Rad. de Diceto, ap. Scr. Fr., xiii. 204.—Rigordus, *Vita Philippi Aug.*, ap. Scr. Fr., xvii. Philip remitted all the debts due to the Jews except a fifth, which he assumed to himself. See also the Chron. de Mailros, ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 250.

† Shakspeare's Shylock is no false picture of the hardness of the Jews, and the hatred that was felt towards them.

‡ Guillelm. Britonis Philippidos, l. i. "Throughout his whole realm he did not suffer a single person to live who contradicted the laws of the Church, swerved from a single point of the Catholic faith, or denied the sacraments."

§ The members of this association were not bound by any vow; they only made a mutual promise to labour in common for the maintenance of peace. They all wore a linen hood, and a little image of the Virgin hanging on their breasts. In 1183, they numbered 7000 *routiers* or *coteriaux*, among whom were 1500 women of bad character. "The *coteriaux* burned monasteries and churches, and dragged the priests and monks after them, calling them *cantadors* in derision; when they beat and tormented them they said: *Cantadors, cantets*" Chron. de St. Denis, ap. Scr. Fr., xvii. 354. Rigordus, *ibid.*, 11, 12—Their concubines made themselves coifs out of the cloths of the communion service, and broke the chalices with stones. Guill. de Nang., ad ann. 1183.—See also D. Vaimète, *Hist. générale du Languedoc*, t. iii., ann. 1183.

|| *Ibid.* See the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

1200—Innocent III.—The Pope prevails by the Arms of the Northern French over the King of England and the Emperor of Germany—The Greek Empire and the Albigeois—Greatness of the King of France.

THE world wore a gloomy aspect at the close of the twelfth century; the old order of things was in jeopardy, and the new had not begun. It was not now a physical struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, alternately driving each other from Rome, as in the time of Henry IV. and Gregory VII. In the eleventh century, the evil had been upon the surface; in 1200, it was at the heart; a deep and terrible malady was afflicting Christianity. How gladly would it have returned to the quarrel about investitures, and have nothing to contend about but the question of the straight or the curved staff! In the days of Gregory VII., the Church was liberty; it had maintained that character down to the times of Alexander III., the head of the Lombard league. But Alexander, himself, had not dared to support Thomas à Becket. He had defended the liberties of Italy, and betrayed those of England. Thus, the Church was about to separate itself from the great movement of the age; instead of guiding and preceding the world, as it had done till then, it endeavoured to stop the movement, to stay time in its flight, to fix the earth that turned beneath it, and carried it along. Innocent III. appeared to succeed in this purpose; Boniface VIII. perished in the effort.

It was a solemn moment, and one of infinite sadness; the hope of the crusade had failed to the world; authority seemed no longer unassailable; it had promised and had disappointed. Liberty was beginning to arise, but under twenty fantastical and offensive aspects; confused and convulsive, multiform, monstrous; human will was every day bearing some progeny, and recoiling from its own child. It was as in the secular days of the great week of creation; Nature, trying her 'prentice hand, at first produced strange, gigantic, ephemeral things; monstrous abortions, the remains of which inspire the beholder with horror.

One thing shone out through that mysterious anarchy of the twelfth century, which was produced under the hand of the irritated and trembling Church, and this was a prodigiously audacious sentiment of the moral power and grandeur of man. This daring apothegm of the Pelagians, *Christ had nothing more than I: I may become divine by virtue*, was reproduced in the twelfth century, under a barbarous and mystic form. Man declares that the end is come, that in himself is that end; he believes in himself, and

feels himself to be God; Messiahs rise up on every hand; and not alone in Christendom, but even within the pale of Mohammedanism, the enemy of the incarnation, man deifies and adores himself. The Fatimites of Egypt had already set the example; the chief of the Assassins declares too, that he is the long expected Iman, the incarnate spirit of Ali; the Mehedi of the Almohades of Africa and Spain is recognised as such by his own people; in Europe, a Messiah appears in Antwerp, and is followed by the whole populace.\* Another, in Bretagne, seems to resuscitate the old gnosticism of Ireland.† Amaury de Chartres, and his disciple, the Breton David of Dinan, taught that every Christian is physically a member of Christ,‡ in other words, that God is perpetually incarnated in the human race. The Son has reigned long enough, they said, now let the Holy Spirit reign. This is in some respects Lessing's idea as to the education of the human race.

Nothing could equal the audacity of these doctors, who taught for the most part in the university of Paris (authorised by Philip Augustus, in 1200). Abailard had been put down, it was thought, but he lived and spoke in his disciple, Peter the Lombard, who swayed the philosophy of all Europe from Paris. Nearly 500 commentators of this scholastic doctrine are enumerated. The spirit of innovation received two auxiliaries; jurisprudence grew up by the side of theology, to which it threatened mischief; and the popes, by forbidding priests to profess law, only threw open the business of teaching to the laity. Aristotle's metaphysics arrived from Constantinople, whilst his commentators, brought from

---

\* He proclaimed the inutility of the sacraments, of the mass, and the hierarchy, and preached community of women, &c. He went about in clothes adorned with gold, his hair tressed with ribbons, accompanied by 3000 disciples, to whom he gave splendid entertainments. Bulæus, *Hist. Universit. Parisiensis*, ii. 98.—*Per matronas et mulierculas . . . errores suos spargere.*—*Veluti Rex, stipatus satellitibus, vexillum et gladium præferentibus . . . declamabat.* *Epistol. Trajectens. Eccles.*, ap. Gieseler, ii., 2nd part, p. 479.

† He called himself Eon de l'Etoile (Eon of the Star). This name, Eon, savours of the gnostic doctrines. He was a gentleman of Loudéac, and lived at first as a hermit in the forest of Broceliande, where he was advised by Merlin to hearken to the first words of the gospel in the mass. He thought that he himself was referred to in these words: "*Per Eum qui venturus est judicare, &c.*" and thenceforth he gave himself out for the Son of God. He attracted numerous disciples, whom he called Wisdom, Judgment, Knowledge, &c. Guili. Neubrig, l. i.: *Eudo natione Brito, agnomen habens de Stella, illiteratus et idiota . . . sermone gallico Eon; . . . eratque per diabolicas præstigias potens ad capiendas simplicium animas . . . ecclesiarum maxime ac monasteriorum infestator.* See also Otho of Freysingen, c. 54, 55; Robert du Mont; Guibert de Nogent; Budeus, ii. 241; D. Morice, p. 100; Roujoux, *Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne*, t. ii.

‡ Rigordo, *ibid.*, p. 375: *Quod quilibet Christianus teneatur credere se esse membrum Christi.*—*Concil. Paris. ibid.* *Omnia unum, quia quidquid est, est Deus, Deus visibilibus indutus instrumentis.*—*Filius incarnatus, i. e. visibilis formæ subjectus.*—*Filius usque nunc operatus est, sed Spiritus Sanctus ex hoc nunc usque ad mundi consummationem inchoat operari.*

Spain, were beginning to be translated from Arabic, by orders of the kings of Castile, and of the Italian princes of the house of Swabia, Frederic II. and Manfred. It was nothing less than the irruption of Greece and of the East into Christian philosophy. Aristotle assumed a place almost on a level with Jesus Christ;\* at first prohibited by the popes, then tolerated, he reigned in the professors' chairs. Aristotle was the great name that was heard aloud, but in whispers those of the Arabs and the Jews, with the pantheism of Averrhoes and the subtleties of the Cabala. Dialectics seized upon all subjects, and propounded to itself every bold question. Simon of Tournay taught indifferently *pro* and *con*. One day, when he had particularly delighted the school of Paris by the admirable manner in which he had proved the truth of the Christian religion, he cried out suddenly, "Oh! little Jesus, little Jesus, how I have exalted thy law! If I pleased, I could pull it down still better!"†

Such is the intoxication and the pride of self, of the *ego* on its first awakening; it attacks the *non ego* in three shapes, by philosophy, by republicanism, and by industrialism; it shatters authority, and vanquishes nature. The school of Paris grew up between the young communes of Flanders, and the old municipalities of the South; logic between industry and commerce.

Meanwhile, an immense religious movement was breaking out among the people at two points at once; Vaudois rationalism in the Alps, and German mysticism on the Rhine, and in the Low Countries.

The Rhine, in truth, is a sacred river, full of histories and mysteries; I speak not merely of its heroic passage between Mayence and Cologne, where it cleaves its way through the basalt and granite. South and north of this feudal passage, as it approaches the holy cities of Cologne, Mayence, and Strasburg, its course grows smoother, it becomes popular, its banks undulate gently in fair plains; it flows silently beneath the scudding barks and the fisherman's nets. But a vast poetry broods over the river; this is a thing not easy to define; it is the vague impression of a vast, calm, gentle nature, perhaps a maternal voice calling back man to the elements, like that which in the ballad invites the thirsty man to the bottom of the fresh waves. Perhaps it is the poetic charm of the Virgin, whose churches rise all along the Rhine to her town of Cologne, the town of the 11,000 virgins. It did not exist in the twelfth century, this marvellous Cologne, with its flickering roses and its airy stairs climbing to the sky; the church of the Virgin existed not, but

\* Averrhoes, ap. Gieseler, 2nd part, p. 378: *Aristoteles est exemplar, quod natura advenit ad demonstrandam ultimam perfectionem humanam.*—Cornelius Agrippa said in the fourteenth century: *Aristoteles fuit præcursor Christi in naturalibus; sicut Joannes Baptista.... in gratuitis.* Ibid.

† Mat. Paris, ap. Scr. Fr., xvii. 681. God punished him: he became such an idiot that his son could hardly make him learn the paternoster again.



the Virgin existed; she was everywhere upon the Rhine, a simple German woman, whether fair or ugly, I know not; but so pure, so touching, and so resigned. All this is to be seen in the picture of the Annunciation at Cologne, the angel in which presents to the Virgin not a beautiful lily, as in the Italian pictures, but a book, a hard sentence; Christ's Passion before his death, and all the pangs of a mother's heart before her conception. The Virgin, too, had her Passion; it was the Virgin, it was woman who renovated the German genius. Mysticism was rekindled by the béguines of Germany, and of the Low Countries.\* The minnesinger knights and nobles sang the real woman, the gracious spouse of the Landgrave and Thuringia, so celebrated in the poetic conflicts of the Wartburg. The people worshipped the ideal woman; that gentle Germany needed a woman-god. Among that people, the rose is the symbol of mystery; simplicity and profoundness, dreamy infancy of a people to which it is granted never to grow old, because it lives in the infinite, in the eternal!

This mystical genius was, it seems, to fade away as it descended the Scheldt and the Rhine, and fell in with Flemish sensuality and the industrialism of the Low Countries. But industry itself had created there a world of suffering men, weaned from the delights of nature, and whom the necessities of every day shut up in the gloom of a humid workshop. Laborious and poor, deserving and disinherited, not having even in this world that place in the sun which a good God seems to promise to all his children, they knew only by hearsay what was the verdure of the fields, the song of birds, and the perfume of flowers; they were a race of prisoners, of monks of industry, doomed to celibacy by poverty, or rendered still more wretched by marriage, and suffering in the sufferings of their children. These poor people, weavers for the most part, had sore need of God. God visited them in the twelfth century, illuminated their gloomy abodes, and soothed them at least with apparitions and dreams. Isolated and almost savage in the midst of the most populous cities in the world, they embraced the God of their soul, their only blessing; the God of the cathedrals, the rich God of the rich and of the priests gradually became strange to them. If any sought to rob them of their faith, they let themselves be burned, filled with hope and rejoicing in the future. Sometimes, too, when driven to desperation, they issued from their cellars, dazzled by the daylight, glaring fiercely with those large, hard, blue eyes, so common in Belgium, ill-armed with the tools of their trade, but terrible from their blind fury and their numbers. In Ghent the weavers occupied twenty-seven *carrefours*, and formed of themselves one of the three members of

\* Mat. Paris, ann. 1250, ap. Gieseler, ii., 2nd part, p. 339: In Alemannia mulierum continentium, quæ se Beguinas volunt appellari, multitudo surrexit innumerabilis, adeo ut solam Coloniam mille vel plures inhabitarent.—*Beghin*, from the Saxon *beggen*, in Ulphilas *bedgan* (in German *beten*), to pray. Mosheim de Beghardis et Beguinabus, p. 88, sqq.

the city.\* Round Ypres their numbers were more than 200,000 in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.†

The spark of fanaticism rarely fell in vain on these great multitudes; the other trades took part with them. The men belonging to these were less numerous, but strong, better fed, robust, hardy, and rude men, who put their faith in the bulk of their arms and the weight of their own hands. Fullers and bakers, smiths who made the knightly cuirass their anvil, and butchers who practised their trade without scruple on men. In the mud and smoke, in the dense cloud and the melancholy confused murmur of great cities, there is, as we have experienced, something that intoxicates, a sombre poetry of revolt. The people of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, armed and in-regimented beforehand, rallied at the first stroke of the bell round the burgomaster's banner. Wherefore? they could not always tell, but they fought all the better for that; it was the count, or the bishop, or their people, who were the cause of the riot. These Flemings were not very fond of priests; they stipulated, in 1193, as one of the privileges of Ghent, that they should be at liberty to dismiss their curés and chaplains at pleasure.‡

Far away from thence, in the heart of the Alps, a different principle was bringing about analogous revolutions. The mountaineers of Piedmont and Dauphiné, men of cold and argumentative temper, whose imaginations seemed chilled by the icy wind of the glaciers, had early begun to reject symbols, images, crosses, mysteries, and all the poetry of Christianity. Among them there was no pantheism as in Germany, no illuminism as in the Low Countries, all was downright common sense, dry and prosaic reason; the critical spirit under a rude and popular form. Claude of Turin undertook this reform on the Italian side of the mountains, in the time of Charlemagne; it was resumed in the twelfth century on the French slope, by a man of Gap or Embrun,§ that district which furnishes schoolmasters to our south-eastern provinces. This man, whose name was Pierre de Bruys, descended into the South, crossed the Rhone, and traversed Aquitaine, continually preaching to the people with immense success. Henry, his disciple, was still more in vogue; he advanced northward as far as into Maine, everywhere followed by the multitude, who abandoned the clergy, broke the crosses, and would have no other worship than that of sermonising. These sectarians, after being for awhile put down, reappeared in Lyons, under the merchant *Vaud* or *Valdus*, and in Italy under Arnaldo da Brescia. No heresy, says a dominican, is more dangerous than this, *because*

\* Oudegherst, *Chroniques de Flandre*, fol. 295.

† See above, p. 321, note †.

‡ And, moreover, that no citizen of Ghent should be liable to be called on to answer in any ecclesiastical matter beyond the limits of the city. Oudegherst, fol. 149.

§ *Petri Venerabilis epist. ad Arelat., Ebredun. Diens., Wapic. episcopos*, ap. Gieseler, ii., P. 2a, p. 481.

*none is more durable.\** He was right, for it was nothing else than the revolt of ratiocination against authority, of prose against poetry. The Vaudois, or partisans of Valdus, at first gave out that it was merely their intention to restore the Church of the first ages, in its purity and apostolic poverty; they were called the poor of Lyons. The church of Lyons, as we have elsewhere said, had always asserted pretensions to have remained true to the traditions of primitive Christianity. These Vaudois were simple enough to solicit the Pope's authorisation;† that was as much as to ask permission to separate from the Church. Repulsed, persecuted, and proscribed, they subsisted, nevertheless, in the mountains and the cold valleys of the Alps, the first cradle of their faith, until the massacres of Mérindol and Cabrières under Francis I., and until the birth of Zwinglianism and Calvinism, which adopted them as precursors, and endeavoured to create through them for their new church, I know not what secret perpetuity during the middle ages, in emulation of Catholic perpetuity.

The character, then, of reform in the twelfth century was rationalism in the Alps and on the Rhone, and mysticism on the Rhine; in Flanders it was mixed, and still more so in Languedoc.

This Languedoc was a real medley of people, a perfect Babel. Placed in the angle of the great road between France, Spain, and Italy, it exhibited a singular fusion of Iberian, Gallic, Roman, Saracen, and Gothic blood. These various elements occasioned in it rude oppositions; it was just the fit scene for the great combat between creeds and races. What creeds? I would fain enumerate them all; those even who contended against them could never make them out distinctly, and found no other way of designating those sons of confusion than by the name of a town, *Albigensis*.

The Semitic, Jewish, and Arabian element was strong in Languedoc. Narbonne had long been the capital of the Saracens in France; the Jews in it were innumerable. Maltreated, but yet endured, they flourished at Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Nîmes, where their rabbins held public schools. They formed the connecting link between the Christians and the Mohammedans; between France and Spain. The sciences applicable to physical wants, medicine and mathematics, were studies common to the men of the three religions. Montpellier was more connected with Salerno and Cordova than with Rome. An active commerce linked together all these peoples, who were united rather than separated by the sea. Since the beginning of the crusades especially, Upper Languedoc had inclined as it were towards the Mediterranean and turned towards the East. The counts of Toulouse were counts of Tripoli;

\* *Reinerus contra Waldenses*, c. 4, ap. Gieseler, ii., P. 2a, p. 507. *Inter omnes sectas quæ sunt vel fuerunt . . . est diuturnior.*

† *Steph. de Borbone*, ap. Gieseler, ii., P. 2a, p. 510: *Hi multa petebant instantia, prædicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmari.* See also *Chron. Usperg.* *ibid.*, p. 511.

the manners and the equivocal faith of the Christians of the Holy Land had flowed back on our southern provinces. The fine moneys and handsome stuffs\* of Asia had very much reconciled our croises with the Mohammedan world. The merchants of Languedoc continually took their way to Asia with the cross upon their shoulders; but it was much more for the purpose of visiting the market of Acre than the sepulchre of Jerusalem. The mercantile spirit had so overborne religious repugnances, that the bishops of Maguelonne and Montpellier coined Saracen moneys, made a profitable traffic in specie, and discounted the impress of the crescent without scruple.†

The nobility, one would suppose, should have held out more firmly against innovations; but here there was none of that chivalry of the North, ignorant and pious, which could still assume the cross in 1200. The nobles of the South were shrewd men, most of whom knew well what they should think of their own nobility; there was hardly one who, if he went back a little, did not find in his genealogical tree some Saracen or Jewish ancestress. We have already seen that Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, the adversary of Charles Martel, bestowed his daughter upon a Saracen emir.‡ In the Carlovingian romances the Christian knights espouse without scruple the fair dame who liberates them, the sultan's daughter. In truth, in this land of Roman law, amidst the old municipalities of the Empire, there were none who could precisely be called nobles, or rather all were so; that is to say, all the inhabitants of the towns. The towns constituted a sort of nobility with regard to the rural districts. The burgher, just like the knight, had his house fortified and surmounted with towers; § he appeared in the tournaments, || and often unhorsed

\* Richard wore at Cyprus a silk mantle embroidered with silver crescents.

† *Epistola papæ Clementis IV., episc. Maglonensi, 1266, in Thes. Novo Anecd., ii. 403: Sane de moneta Miliarensi quam in tua diocesi facis cudi miramur plurimum cujus hoc agis consilio.... Quis enim catholicus monetam debet cudere cum titulo Machometi?.... Si consuetudinem forsan allegas, in adulterino negotio te et prædecessores tuos accusas.*—St. Louis wrote, in 1268, to his brother Alphonse, Count of Toulouse, upbraiding him with the fact that in his county of the Venaissin coin was struck with a Mohammedan inscription: *In cujus (monetæ) superscriptione sit mentio de nomine perfidi Mahometi, et dicatur ibi esse propheta Dei; quod est ad laudem et exaltationem ipsius, et detestationem et contemptum fidei et nominis Christiani; rogamus vos quatenus ab hujus modi opere faciatis cudentes cessare.*—This letter, according to Bonamy (*Acad. des Inscript., xxx. 725*), was to be found in a register long lost and afterwards restored to the treasury of Chartres, in 1748. I have been assured, however, that the register no longer exists there.

‡ See *supra*, Book ii.

§ Aug. Thierry, *Lettres*.

|| In the *Preuves de l'Hist. gén. du Languedoc*, iii. 607, we find it attested by several *Damoisels* (Domicelli) knights, jurists, &c.: *Quod usus et consuetudo sunt et fuerunt longissimis temporibus observati, et tanto tempore quod in contrarium memoria non extitit in senescallia Belliquadri et in Provincia, quod Burgenses consueverunt a nobilibus et baronibus et etiam ab archiepiscopis et episcopis, sine principis auctoritate et licentia, impune cingulum militare assumere, et signa militaria habere et portare, et gaudere privilegio militari.*—*Chron. Langued. ap. D. Vaissete, Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*: "Then spoke

the noble, who only laughed. If we judge by the abuse they lavished on each other in the poems of the troubadours, there was more wit than dignity in the nobility of the South. They coolly interchanged reproaches for which the knights of the North would have cut each other's throats a hundred times over. Thus, Rambaud de Vaqueiras and the Marquis Albert de Malespina accuse each other in a *tenson* of treachery, robbery,\* &c.

If you would know what manner of men were these nobles, read what remains of Bertrand de Born, that sworn foe to peace, that Gascon who passed his life in fanning the flames of war and singing of it. Bertrand gives the son of Eleanor of Guienne, the fiery Richard, the nickname *Yes and no*;† but the name is very well suited to himself and to all the fickle spirits of the South.

Graceful, light, immoral literature which knew no other ideal than love, the love of woman, which never rose to the contemplation of eternal beauty; barren perfume, ephemeral flower that grew up on the rock and faded away of itself when the men of the North laid their heavy hands upon it. Its first symptom of decay appeared early; poetry was turned into subtlety, and inspiration into academic dogmatism, when the crusade against the Albigeois began. The famous courts of love became infected from the very first with the scholastic and legist spirit; the subtlety of Scotus and the pedantry of Barthole were far outdone in them. Juridical forms were rigorously observed there in the discussion of light questions of gallantry.‡ Pedantic as were the decisions of these courts, they were not the less immoral. The beautiful Countess of Narbonne, Ermenгарde (1143—1197), the beloved of poets and kings, lays it down in a judgment which has been religiously preserved, that the divorced husband may very fitly become the lover of his wife after she has been married to another. Eleanor of Guienne pronounces that true love cannot exist between husband and wife, and she allows of a man taking another mistress for a while, in order to prove the first one.§ The Countess of Flanders, a princess of the House of Anjou (about 1134), and the Countess of Champagne, Eleanor's daughter, instituted similar tribunals in the North of France; and, probably, those regions which took part in the crusade against the Albigeois derived small edification from the jurisprudence of the dames of the South.

---

another baron, named Valats, and said to the count: 'My lord, thy brother gives thee a good counsel' (viz., to spare the Toulousans), 'and if thou wilt hearken to me, thou wilt do as he has told thee; for, my lord, thou well knowest that the greater part are of gentle blood, and, in honour and nobility, thou oughtest not to do what thou hast intended.'"

\* Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 135.

† *Oc et non*. Raynouard, *Poésies des Troubadours*, v. 77, 78.

‡ Ibid., ii. p. 122. The court of love was organised upon the model of the tribunals of the time. Such courts still existed under Charles VI. in the court of France; they had their auditors, their masters of the requests, their counsellors, their deputy-solicitor-generals, &c. &c., but women did not sit in them.

§ Raynouard, ii. 109.

The men of the North would of course take still more in earnest all the amorous impieties we meet with in the poetry of the troubadours, one of whom says, "God alone shares with her this loving heart, and as for His portion of it, He would hold it of her in fief, if God could be a vassal."\*

One word as to the political condition of the South, which will enable us the better to understand its religious revolution.

In the centre was the great city of Toulouse under a count. The dominions of the latter extended every day; in the time of the first crusade he was the richest prince in Christendom. He had missed the crown of Jerusalem, but had taken Tripoli. His great power, it is true, was very much menaced by restless neighbours; on the north were the counts of Poitiers, who were become kings of England; on the south, the great house of Barcelona, mistress of Lower Provence and Aragon; and these treated the Count of Toulouse as an usurper, notwithstanding an actual possession of many centuries.

These two houses of Poitiers and Barcelona claimed to be descended from St. Guilhem, the guardian of Louis le Débonnaire, the vanquisher of the Moors, the man whose son, Bernard, had been proscribed by Charles the Bald. The counts of Roussillon, Cardagne, Conflans, and Bézalu, laid claim to the same origin; they were all foes to the Count of Toulouse. He was hardly upon better terms with the houses of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi, and Nîmes. In the Pyrenees there were poor and brave lords singularly enterprising; men who put themselves up for sale; a sort of condottieri, whom fortune destined for the highest things; I speak of those of Foix, Albret, and Armagnac. The latter house also made pretensions to the county of Toulouse, and frequently attacked it; we know the part it played in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; a tragical, incestuous, impious history. Rouergue and Armagnac, placed face to face with each other at the two corners of Aquitaine, constitute, as we know, with Nîmes, the energetic and often atrocious portion of the South. Armagnac, Comminges, Béziers, and Toulouse, never agreed in any thing but in making war on the churches. Interdicts gave them little concern; the Count of Comminges quietly kept three wives at once; Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, had a harem; from his boyhood he had a special predilection for his father's concubines. This French Judæa, as Languedoc has been called, resembled its prototype, not merely in its bitumens and its olives, it also had its Sodom and Gomorrah, and it was to be feared that the vengeance of the Church would give it its Dead Sea.

It is not to be wondered at that the creeds of the East found their way into this country; every doctrine found a footing there; but Manicheism, the most odious of all in the Christian world, eclipsed the rest. It broke out early in the middle ages in Spain. Brought,

---

\* Sismondi, *Hist. des Littératures du Midi*, i. 163.

it seems, into Languedoc from Bulgaria and Constantinople,\* it readily took root there. The Persian dualism seemed to the people of the country to explain the contradiction which is equally manifest in the universe and in man. As a heterogeneous race they readily acknowledged a heterogeneous world; along with the good God, they were fain to have a bad one, to whom they could impute whatever in the ancient Testament is contrary to the New;† and to that God was also ascribed the degradation of Christianity, and the debasement of the Church. In themselves and in their own corruption they recognised the hand of the malevolent creator who had made the world his sport; to the good God they ascribed the spirit, to the evil God the flesh; the latter was to be immolated. This was the grand mystery of Manicheism, and here a twofold course presented itself. Was it needful to subdue the flesh by abstinence—to fast, to avoid marriage, to restrict life, prevent birth, and rob the demon creator of every thing of which man's will could deprive him? In this system the ideal of life is death, and its perfection would be suicide. Or else, was the flesh to be subdued by satiating it? Was the monster to be silenced by filling his ravening throat, and throwing into it something of one self in order to save the rest—at the risk of throwing in all and falling into it bodily?

We are not well informed as to the precise doctrines of the Manicheans of Languedoc; we see that in the reports of their enemies, contradictory things are simultaneously imputed to them, things which doubtless have reference to different sects. According to some, God was the creator; according to others, the Devil.‡ Some will have it that a man is saved by works, others by faith;§

\* The heretics were called *Bulgarians*, or *Catharins*, from the Greek word *καθαρὸς*, i. e. *pure*. Mon. Autissiod., ap. Gieseler, ii., P. 2, p. 488: *Hæresis quam Bulgarorum vocant*.—Godefr. Mon., *ibid.*, p. 491: *Hos nostra Germania Catharos, Flandria Piphles, Gallia Texerant*, ab usu texendi appellat.—The Begghard mystics assumed also the names of Pious Workmen and Companion Weavers. Among the drapers, on the contrary, there prevailed a prosaic and mundane spirit. In the thirteenth century there was formed in Lombardy and Tuscany a religious fraternity, the members of which were for a great part weavers. It is to Germany, doubtless, that we must look for its origin. Hillmann, *Städtwesen*, i. 234.

† Petrus Vall. Saru., c. i., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 5. *Duos creatores, invisibilem scilicet, . . . benignum Deum, et visibilem, malignum Deum.*—*Novum Testamentum benigno Deo, vetus vero maligno attribuebant.*—*Alii dicebant quod unus est creator, sed habuit filios Christum et Diabolum.* (Just so in Magic, Ormuz and Ahrimanes are subordinate to a supreme God, the Eternal, Zervane Akerene. See Creuzer and Guignaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, t. i.)—*Quidam dicebant quod nullus poterat peccare ab umbilico et inferius.*

‡ Mausi, i. 251, ap. Gieseler, ii. p. 504. *Omnia quæ facta sunt, facta esse a Diabolo.*

§ Ebrardi Liber Antihæresis, p. 501: *In operibus solummodo confidentes, fidem prætermittunt.*—Petrus Vall. Saru., c. 2, ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 6: *Si monenti cuilibet quantumcumque flagitioso manus imposuissent, dummodo Pater noster dicere posset, ita salvatum.*

the former preach up a material God; the latter think that Jesus Christ did not actually die, and that only a shade was crucified.\* Again, these innovators declare they preach for all, and many of them exclude women from eternal happiness.† They pretend to simplify the law, and they prescribe a hundred genuflexions daily.‡ The one thing on which they seem agreed is their hatred to the God of the Old Testament. "That God, who promises and breaks his word," they say, "is a juggler; Moses and Joshua were *routiers* in his service."§

"In the first place, be it known that the heretics recognised two creators; the creator of invisible things, whom they called the good God, and that of the visible world, whom they called the wicked God. To the former they ascribed the New Testament and to the latter the Old one, which they absolutely rejected, with the exception of some passages transferred from it into the New Testament, which they admitted out of respect to the latter.

"They said, that the author of the Old Testament is a liar, because it is said in Genesis, 'Upon the day you eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, you shall surely die;' and yet, said they, after having eaten of it, they did not die. They also called him a homicide, for having reduced the men of Sodom and Gomorrah to ashes, and destroyed the world by the waters of the Deluge, and for having buried Pharaoh and the Egyptians beneath the sea. They believed all the patriarchs of the Old Testament to be damned, and they put St. John the Baptist in the number of the great demons. They even said, that the Christ, who was born in the earthly and visible Bethlehem, and was crucified in Jerusalem, was but a false Christ; that Mary Magdalen had been his concubine, that she was the woman taken in adultery, who was mentioned in the gospel. As for Christ, they said, he never ate or drank, never put on a real body, and never was in this world, except spiritually, in the body of St. Paul. We have said the *earthly and visible Bethlehem*, because the heretics imagined another invisible earth, in which they supposed the good Christ to have been born and crucified.

"They said, also, that the good God had two wives, Oolla and Ooliba, and that he begat sons and daughters.

"Other heretics said, that there is but one Creator, but that he had two sons, Christ and the Devil. These latter said, that all creatures had been good, but that these daughters, of whom mention is made in the Apocalypse, had corrupted them all.

"All these infidels, members of anti-Christ, first-born of Satan, seed of sin, children of crime, with hypocritical tongues seducing

\* Petr. Vall. Saru., c. 2.—These latter are, doubtless, not so much Manicheans as Gnostics; their heresy is that of the Docetans.

† Ebrardus, *ibid.*, 501: *Femineo sexui cœlorum beatitudinem nituntur surripere.*

‡ Heriberti Mon. *epist.*, *ibid.*, 487: *Centies in die genua flectunt.*

§ Ebrardus, *ibid.*, 500: *Eum joculatorem esse, etc.* Petr. Vall. Saru., c. 4.



the hearts of the simple by lies, had infected the whole province of Narbonne with the venom of their perfidy. They said, that the Church of Rome was little else than a den of thieves, and the whore spoken of in the Apocalypse. They annulled the sacraments of the Church, to the extent of teaching publicly, that the water of holy baptism differs in no respect from the water of the stream, and that the Host of the most holy body of Christ is nothing more than lay-bread; instilling this horrible blasphemy into the ears of the simple, that the body of Christ, had it been as big as the Alps, would have been long since consumed and reduced to nothing by the numbers that have eaten of it. Confirmation and confession they held to be idle and frivolous things, holy marriage they deemed a prostitution, and no one could be saved in that estate whilst engendering sons and daughters. Denying, likewise, the resurrection of the body, they invented I know not what unheard-of fables, saying, that our souls are those angelic spirits who, having been cast down from heaven for their presumptuous apostacy, left their glorious bodies in the air; and that those souls, after having passed successively through any seven bodies on earth, return when their expiation is thus completed, and resume their former bodies.

“Be it known, moreover, that some of these heretics were called Perfect, or Good Men; the others were called Believers. The Perfect Men wore black garments, feigned the observance of chastity, and rejected with horror the use of eggs, meat, and cheese. They wished to have it believed that they never lied, whilst they uttered a perpetual lie, above all respecting God. They said, too, that on no account should men swear. The name of Believers was given to those who, living in the world, and without seeking to imitate the life of the Perfect Men, hoped yet to be saved by the faith of the latter; they were divided by their mode of life, but united by their faith and their infidelity. The Believers were given up to usury, highway robbery, murder, and carnal pleasures, to perjury, and all vices. In fact, they sinned with perfect security and full licence, because they believed that without making restitution of their ill-gotten goods, without confession or repentance, they could be saved, provided they could say a *pater* in their last moments, and receive from their masters the imposition of hands. The heretics chose, among the Perfect Men, magistrates, whom they called deacons and bishops; and the Believers thought they could not be saved unless they received the imposition of hands from these men at their death. If they laid their hands upon a dying man, however criminal he might have been, provided he could say a *pater*, they believed him saved and comforted, according to their expression, without making any satisfaction; and without any other remedy, he was sure to fly straight to Heaven.

“Certain heretics said, that no man could sin from the navel downwards. They looked on the images in churches as idolatrous

things, and called the bells the devil's trumpets. They said, too, that there was no greater sin in sleeping with one's mother or sister, than with any other woman. One of their greatest follies was the belief, that if any of the Perfect Men committed mortal sin, as for instance, by eating the least bit of meat, cheese, or egg, or any other forbidden thing, all those whom he had comforted, lost the Holy Spirit, and required to be re-comforted; and even those who had been saved, were cast down from heaven by the sin of their comforter.

"There were, again, other heretics, called Vaudois, after a certain Valdis of Lyons. These were bad men, but much less so than the others, for they agreed with us in many things, and differed from us only in a few. To say nothing of the greater part of their infidelity, their error consisted principally in four points; in their wearing sandals after the manner of the Apostles; in their saying, that it was not lawful in any wise to swear or to slay; and, above all, in this, that any man amongst them might at need consecrate the body of Jesus Christ, provided he wore sandals, and though he had not received orders from the hands of the bishop.

"These few words may suffice as to the sects of the heretics. When any one joins the heretics, he who receives them says, 'Friend, if thou wilt be one of us, thou must renounce all the faith held by the Church of Rome.' The man replies, 'I renounce it.' 'Receive, then, the Holy Spirit from the Good Men.' He then breathes seven times into his mouth. Again he says to him, 'Dost thou renounce the cross which the priest made in baptism on thy breast, thy shoulders, and thy head, with oil of chrism?' 'I renounce it.' 'Dost thou believe that that water effects thy salvation?' 'I do not believe it.' 'Dost thou renounce the veil which the priest put on thy head in thy baptism?' 'I renounce it.' In this way he receives the baptism of the heretics, and renounces that of the Church. Thereupon they all lay their hands upon his head, give him a kiss, and dress him in a black garment, and thenceforth he is one of themselves."\*

---

\* Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 1, ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 5—7. Extract from an old register of the Inquisition of Carcassonne (*Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, iii. 371): Isti sunt articuli in quibus errant moderni hæretici: 1, Dicunt quod corpus Christi, sacramento altaris, non est nisi parum panis; 2, Dicunt quod sacerdos existens in mortali peccato non potest conficere corpus Christi; 3, Quod anima hominis non est nisi purus sanguis; 4, Quod simplex fornicatio non est peccatum aliquod; 5, Quod omnes homines de mundo salvabuntur; 6, Quod nulla anima intrabit Paradisum nisi ad diem judicii; 7, Quod tradere ad usuram ratione termini, non est peccatum aliquod; 8, Quod sententia excommunicationis non est timenda, nec potest nocere; 9, Quod tantum prodest confiteri socio laico, quantum sacerdoti seu presbytero; 10, Quod lex Judæorum melior est quam lex Christianorum; 11, Quod Deus non fecit terræ nascentia, sed natura; 12, Quod Dei filius non assumpsit in beata et de beata Virgine carnem veram, sed fantasticam; 13, Quod Pascha, pœnitentiæ et confessiones non sunt inventa ab Ecclesia, nisi ad habendam pecuniam a laicis; 14, Quod existens in peccato mortali non potest ligare vel absolvere; 15, Quod nullus prælatus potest

Thus by the side of the Church rose up another church, of which Toulouse was the Rome. One Nicetas, of Constantinople, presided near Toulouse, in 1167, as pope, over the council of the Manichean bishops.\* Lombardy, Northern France, Albi, Carcassonne, and Aran, were represented by their pastors. Nicetas explained the practice of the Manicheans of Asia, respecting whom the people made eager inquiries. Byzantine Greece, and the East, definitively invaded the Western church. The Vaudois themselves, whose rationalism seems the spontaneous fruit of the human mind, had their first books written by a certain Ydros, who would seem, by his name, to have been a Greek.† Aristotle and the Arabs were entering, at the same time, into the domain of science; the mutual antipathies of languages, races, and peoples, were disappearing. Conrad, the Emperor of Germany, was the relation of Manuel Comnena; the King of France bestowed his daughter on a Byzantine emperor; the King of Navarre, Sancho the Recluse, sought the hand of a daughter of the head of the Almohades; Richard Cœur de Lion declared himself the brother-in-arms of the Sultan Malek Adhel, and offered him his sister. Already Henry II. had threatened the Pope that he would turn Mohammedan; and it is affirmed, that John actually offered the Almohades to apostatise, on condition of obtaining their assistance. These kings of England were closely connected with Languedoc and Spain; Richard bestowed one of his sisters on the King of Castile, the other on Raymond VI.; he even gave up Agenois to the latter, and renounced all the pretensions of the house of Poitiers to Toulouse. Thus the

indulgentias dare; 16, Quod omnis qui est a legitimo matrimonio natus, potest sine baptismo salvari. Western Manichæism, though it may have been derived from the Paulicianism of the Greek empire, had also its more primary origin, and was more in accordance with the old Manichæism as regarded the rejection of marriage, and the distinction and gradation of the *electi*, *credentes*, and *auditores*. Manes was execrated by the Paulicians and highly honoured by the Westerns.—Western Manichæism appeared in the East in the beginning of the twelfth century, in the heresy of the Bogomiles. Ann. Comnen. (ed. Paris) xv. 486, sqq.

\* See Gieseler, ii., P. 2, p. 495. Anno MCLXVII. incarnationis Dominicæ, in mense Maii, in diebus illis ecclesia Tolosana adduxit papa Niquinta in castro S. Felicii, et magna multitudo hominum et mulierum ecclesiæ Tolosane, aliarumque ecclesiarum vicinarum congregaverunt se ibi, ut acciperent consolamentum, quod dominus papa Niquinta cœpit consolare. Postea vero Robertus de Spemone Ep. eccl. Francigenarum venit cum consilio suo similiter, et Sicardus Cellarerius eccl. Albiensis Ep. venit cum consilio suo, et Bernardus Catalani venit cum consilio suo eccl. Carcassensis, et consilium eccl. Aranensis fuit ibi . . . . Post hoc vero papa Niquinta dixit eccl. Tolosane: "Vos dixistis mihi ut ego dicam vobis consuetudines primitivarum ecclesiarum; sint leves aut graves: et ego dicam vobis septem eccl. Asiæ fuerunt divisæ et terminatæ inter illas, et nulla illarum faciebat ad aliam aliquam rem ad suam contradicionem. Et eccl. Romanæ et Drogometiæ, et Melenguiz, et Bulgariæ, et Dalmatiæ sunt divisæ et terminatæ, et una ad altera non facit aliquam rem ad contradicionem, et ita pacem habent inter se. Similiter et vos facite.—Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccles. iv. 494: Veniens papa Nicetas nomine a Constantinopoli . . .

† Steph. de Borb., ap. Gieseler, ii., P. 2, 508.

heretics and misbelievers drew near to each other from all points. Fortuitous coincidences contributed to this result; the marriage of the Emperor Henry VI., for instance, with the heiress of Sicily, established a constant intercourse between Germany, Italy, and that thoroughly Arab island. It seemed as though the two human families, the European and the Asiatic, were approximating to each other; each of them was modifying itself, as if to the end that it might differ less from its sister. Whilst the people of Languedoc were adopting the Moorish civilisation and the creeds of Asia, Mohammedanism had become christianised, as it were, in Egypt and in a great part of Persia and Syria, by adopting the doctrine of the Incarnation under various forms.\*

What must have been the trouble and perplexity of the visible head of the Church, in this its danger! The Pope had laid claim, since the days of Gregory VII., to be the supreme ruler of the world, and responsible for its destinies. Forced up to an immense elevation, he was only the better able to discern the perils that surrounded him. In the prodigious edifice of mediæval Christianity, in that cathedral of the human race, he occupied the spire; his seat was in the clouds, upon the summit of the cross, as when from that of Strasburg your vision takes in forty towns and villages on both banks of the Rhine—a fearful and dizzy position. He saw from thence I know not how many armies advancing, hammer in hand, for the destruction of the great edifice, tribe upon tribe, generation on generation. The mass was solid, it is true; the living edifice, built by apostles, saints, and doctors, had its foundations deep in the earth; but every wind beat against it, from east and west, from Asia and Europe, from the past and the future. No cloud, however small, appeared on the horizon, but threatened a storm.

The Pope was at that time a Roman, Innocent III.† Such as the danger, such was the man. A great legist,‡ accustomed to appeal to the principles of law on every question, he scrutinised himself, and believed in the righteousness of his cause. In reality, the Church had then, certainly, on her side an immense majority, the voice of the people, which is that of God; she had everywhere, and in all things, the advantage of *actual possession*, and that of such ancient date, as seemed to amount to prescription. In this great litigation the Church was the defendant, the recognised proprietor,

\* Mohammedanism is at this moment reconciling itself in India with the religions of the country, as it did with Christianity in the time of Frederick II. The Mussulman wife of an Englishman, who came to Paris a few years ago, published an important work on this subject.

† He was made Pope at the age of thirty-seven. . . . Propter honestatem morum et scientiam litterarum, fientem, ejulantem et renitentem.—Fuit. . . . matre Claricia, de nobilibus urbis, exercitatus in cantilena et psalmodia, statura mediocris et decorus aspectu. Gesta Innoc. III. (Baluze fol.) i. 1, 2.

‡ Erfurt. Chronic. S. Petrin. (1215.) Nec similem sui scientia, facundia, decretorum et legum peritia, strenuitate judiciorum, nec adhuc visus est habere sequentem.

established on the property in dispute; she held the title deeds; the written law seemed in her favour. The plaintiff was the human mind; it came somewhat late into court; and then this plaintiff seemed, in his inexperience, to get up his case badly, quibbling about texts, instead of appealing to the broad principles of equity. If he was asked what he wanted, it was impossible to understand him, such a confused medley of voices rose in reply. All demanded different things; the majority wished not so much to advance as to retrograde. In politics, they called for the antique republic; that is to say, urban immunities, to the exclusion of the rural districts. In religion, some wished to suppress the established worship, and to return, as they said, to the ways of the apostles. Others went further back, and returned to Asiatic views; they would have two gods; or else, they preferred the strict unity of Islamism. Islamism was advancing towards Europe; whilst Saladin was recovering Jerusalem, the Almohades of Africa were simultaneously invading Spain, not with armies, like the Arabs of old, but with the multitude, and the fearful aspect of a popular migration. They were 300,000 or 400,000 in number at the battle of Tolosa.\* What would have befallen the world had Mohammedanism been victorious? We tremble to think of the result. It had just produced its last fruit in Asia, the order of the Assassins; already all the Christian and Mussulman princes feared for their lives. Many of them, it is said, entered into communication with the order, and urged it to murder their enemies. The English kings were suspected of a connexion with the Assassins. Conrad of Tyre and of Montferrat, the enemy of Richard, and the pretender to the throne of Jerusalem, fell under their daggers in his own capital. Philip Augustus affected to think himself in danger, and took body-guards; the first kept by our kings. Thus fear and horror possessed the Church and the people, and awful tales were in circulation. The Jews, the living image of the East in the midst of Christianity, seemed there for the purpose of keeping up religious hatred. In times of natural calamities and political catastrophes, they corresponded, it is said, with the infidels, and invited their presence. Rich beneath their rags, sequestered, gloomy, and mysterious, they afforded a ready handle to accusations of all kinds. The imagination of the people suspected something extraordinary in their always close-shut houses. It was thought that they enticed Christian children into them to crucify them, by way of parodying the death of Jesus Christ.†

\* Conde, History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain, ii. 461.

† See the ballads published by M. Michel. The slap on the face annually received by a Jew at Toulouse, on the day of the Passion, is a well-known story. At Puy, whenever any litigation occurred between two Jews, the cause was decided by two children of the choir, "to the end that the great innocence of the judges might correct the great malice of the litigants." In Provence and Burgundy they were prohibited from entering the public baths, except on Friday, the day of Venus, when the baths were opened to mountebanks and harlots. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, ii. 598.

Men exposed to such monstrous outrages might, in reality, be tempted to justify the persecution they sustained by actual crime.

Such, then, appeared the enemies of the Church, and the Church was *people*; the prejudices of a people, the sanguinary intoxication of hatred and terror, all this pervaded every rank of the clergy from the lowest up to the Pope. It would, likewise, be too grossly wronging human nature, to believe that selfishness, or corporate interests alone, animated the leaders of the Church. No; every thing indicates that in the thirteenth century they were still convinced of the righteousness of their cause; their right admitted, all means were good in their eyes by which they could defend it. It was not for the sake of any human interest that St. Dominique traversed the regions of the South alone and unarmed, through the midst of sectaries whom he sent to death, seeking and inflicting martyrdom with equal avidity.\*

And whatever may have been the temptations of pride and vengeance that wrought upon the soul of that great and terrible Innocent III., still other motives impelled him to the crusade against the Albigensis and to the foundation of the Dominican inquisition. He had seen, it is said, in a dream, the order of the Dominicans rising like a great tree, against which the tottering Church of the Lateran leaned for support.

The more that Church tottered, the loftier was the pride of its head; the more men denied, the more he affirmed. In proportion as his enemies increased in numbers, so did he increase in daring, and stand the more stiffly against them. His pretensions augmented with his danger beyond the measure of those of Gregory VII. or Alexander III. No pope trampled like him on kings. Those of France and Leon he deprived of their wives; those of Portugal, Aragon, and England, he treated as vassals, and made them pay tribute† Gregory VII. had gone the length of saying, with his own lips or by those of his canonists, that the Empire had been founded by the devil, and the priesthood by God.‡ That priesthood, Alexander III. and Innocent III. concentrated in their own hands. According to them, the bishops should be nominated by the Pope, deposed by the Pope; they should be assembled at his pleasure, and their judgments controlled and altered at Rome.§ In that city resided

\* "Passing through a place in which he strongly suspected that snares were laid for him, he kept on his way singing and cheerful. When this was made known to the heretics, admiring his unshaken firmness, they said to him, 'Hast thou no dread of death? What wouldst thou have done had we caught thee?' 'I would have asked you,' he said, 'not to put me to a sudden death, but to protract my martyrdom by slow mutilation; then, when you had placed before my eyes the particles successively detached and the truncated limbs, and when you had afterwards torn out my eyes, I would have had you leave my trunk bathed in its blood till life was fled; so that by this protracted suffering I might deserve a greater crown of martyrdom.'" Acta SS. Dominici, p. 549.

† Gieseler, ii., P. 2, p. 106.

‡ Ibid., p. 95.

§ Decretal Greg., l. ii. tit. 28, c. 11 (Alex. III.): De appellationibus pro

the Church's very self; the treasure of mercy and of vengeance. The Pope, sole judge of what was just and true, supremely disposed of crime and innocence, unmade kings, and made saints.\*

The affairs of the civil world fluctuated in those days between the hands of the Emperor, the King of England, and the King of France; the two former of whom were the Pope's enemies. The Emperor was the nearest to him. It was the custom of Germany to inundate Italy periodically,† and then to flow back without leaving much trace behind. The Emperor marched, lance in hand, through the defiles of the Tyrol at the head of a bulky and cumbrous cavalry into Lombardy and the plain of Roncaglia. Thither came the jurists of Ravenna and Bologna to consult and give their opinions on the imperial rights.‡ When they had proved in Latin to the Germans, that their King of Germany, their Cæsar, had all the rights of the ancient Roman Empire, he went to Monza, near Milan, to the great vexation of the towns, to assume the iron crown. But the campaign would not have been complete had he not advanced as far as Rome, and had himself crowned by the Pope's hand. Things seldom quite reached that pass; the German barons were soon weary of the Italian sun; they had loyally fulfilled their time of service, and they gradually withdrew to their homes. The Emperor, left almost alone, had to cross the mountains again as he could.§ He carried back with him, at least, a magnificent idea of his own rights; the difficulty was to realise them. The German lords, who had listened patiently to the doctors of Bologna, were scarcely inclined to let their leader put those lessons in practice. The attempt to do so did not prosper with the greatest emperors, even with Frederic Barbarossa. This idea of immense right and immense impotence, all the rancour of that old war, filled the mind of Henry VI. from his very birth. He is, perhaps, the only emperor in whom we discover no trace of German frankness and good nature. To Naples and Sicily, the patri-

---

*causis minimis interpositis volumus te tenere, quod eis, pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quam si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum.*—Gregory VII. had already exacted an oath of homage and allegiance from the metropolitans. *Acta Roman. Synod.*, ann. 1079, *ibid.*, 217. *Ab hac hora et in antea fidelis ero B. Petro et papæ Gregorio, etc.*

\* *Decr. Greg.*, l. iii. tit. 45, c. 1 (Alex. III.): *Etiam si per eum miracula plurima fierent, non liceret vobis ipsum pro Sancto, absque auctoritate Romanæ ecclesiæ publice venerari.*—*Conc. Later.*, iv., c. 22: *Reliquias inventas de novo nemo publice venerari præsumat, nisi prius auctoritate Romani pontificis fuerent approbatæ.*—Innocent III. even went so far as to say (l. ii., ep. 209), *Dominus Petro non solum universam ecclesiam, sed totum reliquit seculum gubernandum.*

† "Germany poured forth from its clouds an iron rain on Italy." *Cornel. Zanfiet, ap. Martea. Collect. (Biblioth. des Croisades, vi. 201.)* Rome found her defence in her climate:

*Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum;*

*Romana febres stabili sunt jure fideles.*

(*Petr. Damiani, ap. Alberic., in Leibnitz Access.*, i. 123.)

‡ See Sismondi, *Republiques Italiennes*, t. ii.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 168. *Otto Frising.*, l. ii., c. 25. *Baron. Annal.*, sec. 75—78.

mony of his wife, he was a bloody conqueror, a furious tyrant.\* He died young, whether poisoned by his wife, or worn out by the violence of his own nature. His son, the pupil of Pope Innocent III., was a wholly Italian emperor, a Sicilian, the friend of the Arabs, the most terrible enemy of the Church.

The King of England was scarcely less hostile to the Pope, whose enemy and vassal he was alternately; like a lion that breaks, and submits to his chains. That king was, in the times we are speaking of, *Cœur de Lion*, Richard the Aquitanian, the true son of his mother Eleanor, the son whose rebellion avenged her for the infidelities of Henry II. Richard, and his brother John, loved the South, their mother's native land; they kept up an understanding with Toulouse, with the enemies of the Church. At the very time when they pledged themselves to the crusade, or actually engaged in it, they were connected with the Mussulmans.

Young Philip, who became king at the age of fifteen, under the guardianship of the Count of Flanders (1180), and who was ruled by Clement de Metz his governor, and marshal of the palace,† married the daughter of the Count of Flanders, in opposition to the will of his mother and his uncles, the princes of Champagne. This marriage connected the Capetians with the race of Charlemagne, from whom the counts of Flanders were descended.‡ The Count of Flanders restored Amiens, that is to say, the barrier of the Somme, to the king, and promised him Artois, Valois, and Vermandois. So long as the king was not in possession of the Oise and the Somme, it could hardly be said that the stability of the monarchy was secure; but once master of Picardy, he had little to fear from Flanders, and he could take Normandy in the rear. The Count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to recover Amiens by entering into confederacy with the king's uncles.§ The king employed the intervention of old Henry II., who feared Philip as the friend of his son Richard, and he also succeeded in making the Count of Flanders give up a part of Vermandois (Oise). Then, when the Fleming was about to set out for the crusade, Philip, supporting Richard in his rebellion against his father, seized the two most important fortresses of Mans and Tours,|| one of which enabled him to harass Normandy

\* See Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, iii. 6.

† This was a petty office in those times.

‡ Beaudoin Bras-de-fer carried off and afterwards married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. Epist. Nicolai, ap. Scr. Fr., vii. 391—397. Hincmar. epist., *ibid.*, 214.

§ When Philip heard of the first movements of the great vassals, he said in presence of his court, and without appearing surprised, according to an old MS. Chronicle: "J'aiot ee chose que il facent orendroit (dorénavant) lor forces; et lor gang outraiges et gran vilonies, si me les convient à souffrir; se à Dieu plect, ils affoibloieront et envieilleront, et je croistray se Dieu plect, en force et en povoir: si en serai en tores (à mon tour) vengié à mon talent. Art de vérifier les Dates, v. 528.

|| Rigordus, ap. Scr. Fr., xvii. 28.



and Bretagne, and the other, to command the Loire. Thenceforth, he had within his dominions the three great archbishoprics of the realm, Rheims, Tours, and Bourges, the metropolitan sees of Belgium, Bretagne, and Aquitaine.

The death of Henry II. was a misfortune for Philip. It placed on the throne his great friend Richard, with whom he ate and slept,\* who had been so useful to him for tormenting the old king. Richard became, himself, the rival of Philip; a brilliant rival who had all the faults of the men of the middle ages, and who was but the more liked by them for that reason. Eleanor's son was, above all, famous for that headlong valour which is often found in the children of the South.† No sooner had this prodigal son laid hold of his paternal inheritance, than he began to give away, sell, spoil, and destroy. He was bent by all means on obtaining ready money, and setting out for the crusade. He found, however, at Salisbury, a fund amounting to 100,000 marks,‡ the harvest of a whole century of rapine and tyranny. This was not enough, and he sold Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham for his life.§ He sold Berwick and Roxburgh to the King of Scotland, and that glorious suzerainty which had cost his fathers so dear.|| In the hope of attaching his brother John to him, he gave him a county in Normandy, and seven in England;¶ this was nearly a third of the realm. He hoped to win in Asia much more than he sacrificed in Europe.

A crusade was becoming more and more necessary. Louis VII. and Henry II. had taken the cross, but had remained at home; their backwardness had occasioned the downfall of Jerusalem (1187). This misfortune was an enormous sin that lay upon the souls of the deceased kings; a blot upon their memory, which their sons seemed bound to efface. However little alacrity Philip Augustus may have felt to undertake this ruinous expedition, it was becoming impossible for him to evade it. If the capture of Edessa fifty years before had been the determining cause of the second crusade, what was to be said of that of Jerusalem? The Christians now held the Holy Land only by the extreme verge, so to speak. They were besieging Acre, the only port which could receive the pilgrim fleets, and secure the means of communication with the West.

The Marquis of Montferrat, Prince of Tyre, the pretender to the throne of Jerusalem, had a representation of the unfortunate city carried about through Europe. In the middle of it appeared the Holy Sepulchre, over which was portrayed a Saracen rider, whose horse was defiling the tomb of our Lord. This opprobrious and bitterly reproachful image cut the Christians of the West to the heart;

\* Roger de Hoveden, p. 635: *Singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum cationum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus.*

† E. g. King Murat and Marshal Lannes.

‡ Lingard, *History of England*, ii. 500.

§ Hoveden, *ibid.*, 501.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*, 373, 500.

nothing was to be seen but men beating their breasts, and crying out, "Woe is me! woe is me!" \*

Mohammedanism had for half a century been undergoing a sort of reform and renovation, which had brought on the downfall of the little kingdom of Jerusalem. The Atabecks of Syria, Zenghi and his son Nuhreddin, two saints of Islamism,† whose family was of Irak (Babylonia), had founded a military power between the Euphrates and the Taurus, the rival and enemy of the Fatimites of Egypt and the Assassins. The Atabecks adhered to the strict law of the Koran, and detested the practice of interpretation, which had been so much abused. They attached themselves to the Caliph of Bagdad, and that old idol so long enslaved by the successive military leaders, saw these new ones voluntarily submit to him, and lay their conquests at his feet. The Alides, the Assassins, the free-thinkers, the *phelasseft*,‡ or philosophers, were rancorously persecuted and put to death without mercy, just like the innovators in Europe. Here was a strange spectacle, two hostile religions, strangers to each other, agreeing unawares in simultaneously proscribing liberty of thought. Nuhreddin was a legist,§ like Innocent III., and his general, Salah-

\* Boha-Eddin (Biblioth. des Croisades, iii. 242).

† Extracts from the Arabian historians, by M. Reinaud (Bibl. des Croisades, iii. 242): "Whenever Nouredin prayed in the temple, it seemed to his subjects as though they beheld one sanctuary within another."—"He devoted a considerable time to prayer, rose in the middle of the night, made his ablutions, and prayed until daylight."—"Seeing his men give way in a battle, he uncovered his head, prostrated himself, and cried aloud: 'My Lord and my God, I am Mah-moud thy servant: forsake him not. In defending his cause thou defendest thine own religion!' He ceased not to humble himself, to weep, and grovel on the ground, until God had granted him the victory."—He did penance for the disorders committed in his camp, wearing coarse raiment, lying on a hard bed, abstaining from all kinds of pleasure, and writing in every direction to solicit the prayers of the pious. He built many mosques, khans, hospitals, &c. He would never impose any contribution on the houses of the sophis, the men of the law, or the readers of the Koran.—"His pleasure consisted in conversing with the chiefs of the dervishes and the ulemas, or doctors of the law; he embraced them, made them sit by his side on his divan, and the conversation turned on some topic of religion. Accordingly, devout persons flocked to him from the most distant countries to such a degree, as to excite the jealousy of the emirs." The Arab historians represent him as very crafty, so also does William of Tyre.

‡ Biblioth. des Croisades, t. iii. (Extraits, &c.), p. 370.—Kilig Arslan was accused of having joined that sect. Nouredin made him renew his profession of the faith of Islam. "By all means," said Kilig Arslan; "I see plainly that Nouredin's enmity is particularly directed against the misbelievers."

§ History of the Atabecks, *ibid.* He had studied law in accordance with the principles of Abou-Hanifa, one of the most celebrated Mussulman juris-consults. He was always saying: "We are the ministers of the law, it is our duty to enforce its execution;" and when he had any cause to plead, he pleaded it in person before the *cadi*. He was the first who instituted a court of justice, prohibited torture, and substituted for it testimonial proof. Saladin complains in a letter to Nuhreddin of the mildness of his laws; nevertheless, he says elsewhere: "All we have learned in matters of justice we derive from him." Saladin himself employed his leisure in dispensing justice; he was surnamed the *Restorer of justice on earth*.

ed-Din (Saladin), overthrew the schismatic Mussulmans of Egypt, whilst Simon de Montfort was exterminating the schismatic Christians of Languedoc.

So rapid, however, and so inevitable was the tendency to innovation, that even Nuhreddin's children manifested a leaning to the Alides and the Assassins, and Salah-ed-Din was obliged to set them aside. This Kourdu,\* this barbarian, the Godefroy or St. Louis of Mohammedism, a great soul pledged to the service of a petty devotion,† a man of humane and generous nature, who imposed intolerance on himself as a duty, taught the Christians a dangerous truth, viz., that one who was circumcised, could be a saint; that a Mohammedan could be a born knight by virtue of his purity of heart and magnanimity.‡

Saladin had struck two blows against the enemies of Islamism. On the one hand, he invaded Egypt, dethroned the Fatimites, and destroyed the focus of those daring doctrines which had penetrated all Asia. On the other hand, he overthrew the little Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, defeated and took prisoner King Lusignan, in the battle of Tiberias,§ and seized the holy city. His humanity to his captives was strikingly contrasted with the hardness of the Christians of Asia towards their brethren. Whilst those of Tripoli closed their gates against the fugitives from Jerusalem, Saladin expended the money that remained after defraying the expenses of the siege, in delivering poor persons and orphans who fell into the hands of his soldiers; his brother, Malech Adhel, on his part, delivered two thousand.||

France had almost singly effected the first crusade; Germany had potently contributed to the second; the third was popular above all in England. But King Richard led none but knights and soldiers to the Holy Land; no useless men, as had been done in the first crusades. The King of France did likewise, and both passed over in vessels of Genoa and Marseilles. Meanwhile, the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, had already set out over land with a great and formidable army. He wished to retrieve his military and religious

\* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

† Boha-Eddin (*Bibl. des Crois.*, iii. 362, sqq.) depicts him as most punctilious in the practice of devotion. He fasted as often as his health allowed him, and made all his servants read the Koran. One day seeing a child reading it to his father, he was affected to tears.

‡ Saladin's generosity to Christians is more extolled by the Latin historians, and principally by the continuator of William of Tyre, than by the Arab historians. There are even found in the latter some passages, obscure it is true, but which indicate that the Mussulmans saw with pain the generous sentiments of the sultan. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii. 346.

§ With Lusignan were made prisoners the Prince of Antioch, the Marquis of Montferrat, the Count of Edessa, the constable of the kingdom, the grand-masters of the Temple and of Jerusalem, and almost all the nobility of the Holy Land. Jac. de Vitriaco, c. 94. *Histor. Hieros.*, p. 1153. Bern. *Thesaurarii*, c. 155, 156.

|| Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii. 346, 350.

reputation, which had suffered from his Italian wars. Frederic surmounted the difficulty under which Conrad and Louis VII. had succumbed in Asia Minor. This hero, already aged and worn by so many misfortunes, triumphed once more over nature, Greek perfidy, and the stratagems of the Sultan of Iconium, whom he defeated in a memorable battle.\* But all these achievements were only to lead him to an inglorious death in the waters of a paltry river of Asia. His son, Frederic of Swabia, hardly survived him a year. He refused to follow the advice of his physicians, who prescribed incontinence as a remedy for the malady that was wasting him, and he died preserving the glory of chastity†, like Godefroy de Bouillon.

Meanwhile the kings of France and England, proceeded together by sea, with very different views. A rupture took place between the two friends in Sicily. It was the besetting sin of the Normans and Aquitanians, as we have seen in the case of Bohemond and Raymond de St. Gilles, to halt on their crusading route. In the first crusade, they wished to stop at Constantinople, and then at Antioch. The Normano-Gascon, Richard, in like manner, had a mind to stop in that fair Sicily. Tancred, who had made himself king of the island, had in his behalf only the voice of the people, and the hatred of the Germans, who disputed his rights in the name of Constance, the daughter of the last king, and wife of the emperor. Tancred had imprisoned the widow of his predecessor, who was sister of the King of England. Richard desired nothing better than to avenge this outrage, and had already seized a pretext to plant his flag on the walls of Messina.‡ Tancred had no other resource than to gain over Philip Augustus, cost what it might; and the latter, as Richard's suzerain, forced him to remove his flag. To such a pitch was the mutual jealousy of the two sovereigns carried, that, if the Sicilians were to be believed, the King of France solicited them to aid him in exterminating the English. Richard was forced to content himself with 20,000 ounces of gold, paid him by Tancred, as his sister's dowry, and he was further to receive of him 20,000 as the dowry of one of Tancred's daughters, who was to marry Richard's nephew. The King of France did not allow him to take the whole of that enormous sum to himself. He made a great outcry against the perfidy of Richard, who had promised to marry his sister, and who had brought a Princess of Navarre as his betrothed, to Sicily. He knew very well that same sister had been seduced by old Henry II.; Richard offered to prove

\* Hist. Hierosolym., ap. Bongars, p. 1161. The historian asserts that the Turks were more than three hundred thousand.

† Godofr. Monach., ap. Raumer, Gesch. der Hohenst. Cum a physicis esset suggestum posse curari eum si rebus venereis uti vellet, respondit: malle se mori, quam in peregrinatione divina corpus suum per libidinem maculare.

‡ Roger de Hoved., p. 674. Et signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus per circuitum posuerunt. See Thierry, Conq. de l'Angle., iv. 37.

the fact, and presented 10,000 marks of silver to Philip, who made no scruple of accepting both the money and the disgrace.\*

The King of England was more fortunate in Cyprus. The petty Greek king of the island having laid hand on one of Richard's vessels which had been thrown upon the coast, and in which his mother and his sister were embarked, Richard did not let pass so fair an opportunity. He conquered the island without difficulty, and loaded the king with silver chains.† Philip Augustus was already waiting before the walls of Acre, which he refused to storm until the arrival of his brother-in-arms.

An author estimates at 600,000, the number of those Christians who came successively to fight in this siege of Acre;‡ 120,000 of them perished;§ nor were these, as in the first crusade, a multitude of men of all sorts, serf and free, a medley of all races and conditions, a blind swarm, wandering at hazard, wherever the divine rage, the æstrum of the crusade should lead them. The present besiegers were knights and soldiers, the flower of Europe, which was fully represented, nation by nation. A Sicilian fleet had been the first to arrive; then came the Belgians, Frieslanders, and Danes; then an army of French, English, and Italians, under the Count of Champagne; then the Germans, led by the Duke of Swabia, after the death of Frederic Barbarossa; next arrived, with the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles, the French under Philip Augustus, and the English, Normans, Bretons, and Aquitanians, under Richard Cœur de Lion. Even before the arrival of the two kings, the army was already so formidable, that a knight exclaimed: "Only let God remain neutral, and the victory is ours."||

On the other side, Saladin had written to the Caliph of Bagdad, and to all the Muslim princes, demanding aid. It was a conflict between Europe and Asia bodily; far other things were at stake than the town of Acre; other thoughts must have possessed minds so ardent as those of Richard and Saladin. The latter proposed to himself nothing less than an anti-crusade; a grand expedition, in which he would have forced his way through all Europe to the heart of the Frank country.¶ Rash as was this project, it would yet have terrified Europe, had Saladin, after overthrowing the feeble Greek empire, made his appearance in Hungary and Germany, at the very moment when 400,000 Almohades were endeavouring to force the barrier of Spain and the Pyrenees.

\* Roger de Hoved., p. 688: Sub hac conventionē dedit ei licentiam ducendū uxorem quamcumque vellet.

† Bened. Petrob., 517. J. Brompton, 1197.

‡ Boha-Eddin (Bibl. des Croisades, iv. 359).

§ The list of the killed contains the names of six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty-five counts, and 500 barons. Hoveden, p. 390. Galter. de Vinis, ap. Lingard, ii. 517. According to Abulfarage there perished 180,000 Mussulmans. (Bibl. des Crois., iv. 359.)

|| Galter. de Vinis, ap. Michaud, ii. 399.

¶ Boha-Eddin, who relates this scheme, had it from Saladin's own lips. See Bibl. des Crois., iii. 374.

The exertions made were in proportion to the greatness of the prize; every resource of military art was put in operation; the strategy of ancient and feudal times, of Europe and of Asia, the moving towers, the Greek fire, and all the machines then known. The Christians, say the Arab historians, brought with them lava from Etna, which they flung upon the towns, *like the thunderbolts hurled against the rebel angels*. But the most terrible machine of war was King Richard himself. This bad son of Henry II., the son of wrath, whose whole life was like one fit of furious passion, acquired an imperishable renown among the Saracens for valour and cruelty. When the garrison of Acre had been forced to capitulate, and when the Saracens refused to ransom the prisoners, Richard had them all butchered between the two camps. That fearful man spared neither the enemy, nor his own men, nor himself. "He comes back from the *mêlée*," says an historian, "with arrows stuck all over him, as thick as pins in a pincushion."\* For many a day, in after-times, mothers used to silence their little ones by uttering the name of King Richard; and when the horse of a Saracen started, his rider chided him, saying, "What! dost think thou hast seen Richard of England?"†

All this valour and all these efforts, produced little result. Every nation was represented, as we have said, at the siege of Acre; but so, too, were all national antipathies and rancours. Every man fought as if for his own hand, and far from seconding his comrades, endeavoured to do them mischief. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, rivals in war and commerce, regarded each other with a hostile eye; the Templars and the Hospitallers could scarcely abstain from coming to blows. There were in the camp two kings of Jerusalem; Guy de Lusignan, backed by Philip Augustus; and Conrad of Tyre and Montferrat, supported by Richard. Philip's jealousy increased with the glory of his rival; having fallen ill he accused Richard of having poisoned him. He laid claim to half the island of Cyprus, and to half the money paid by Tancred; and at last he left the crusade and embarked almost alone, leaving the French behind him covered with shame at his departure.‡ Richard, left alone, succeeded no better; he incensed every one by his insolence and his pride. The Germans having planted their flags on a part of the walls, he had them thrown into the ditch.§ His victory at

\* Gaut. de Vinisau, ap. Michaud, ii. 509.

† Joinville (edit. 1761. folio), p. 116: "Le roy Richart fist tant d'armes outremer a celle fois que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrasins avoient pouour d'aunc bisson, leur mestres leur disoient: Cuides tu, fesoient ils à leurs chevaus, que ce soit le roy Richart d'Angleterre? Et quant les enfans aus Sarrasins bréoiert, elles leur disoient: Tai-toy, tai-toy, ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera."

‡ At the siege of Acre many French barons passed over to the English banner; from that period the Chronicle of St. Denis no longer calls the King of England Richard but *Trichard* (cheat).

§ In cloacum dejicere. Scr. Fr., xviii., 27.

Assur remained without effect; he lost the opportunity of capturing Jerusalem by refusing to promise the garrison their lives. At the moment he was approaching the city, the Duke of Burgundy quitted him with the remains of the French force. Thenceforth all was lost. A knight pointing out the holy city to him from a distance, he burst into tears, and covering his eyes with his coat-of-arms, exclaimed, "Lord, suffer me not to behold thy city, since I have been unable to deliver it."\*

This crusade was, in fact, the last. Asia and Europe had met together, and had found each other invincible; henceforth it was to other countries, to Egypt, Constantinople, to any part except the Holy Land, that the great expeditions of the Christians were to be directed under pretexts more or less specious. Religious enthusiasm had, besides, considerably diminished by this time; the miracles and revelations that signalled the first crusade no longer appeared in the third; it was a great military expedition, a struggle of races quite as much as of religion. This long siege was a siege of Troy, as it were, for the middle ages; the plain of Acre was become in the course of time a common country for both parties; there they scanned each other's forces; they beheld each other every day, became mutually known, and their rancour passed away. The camp of the Christians became a great town frequented by the merchants of both religions.† They met each other willingly, they danced together, and the Christian minstrels sang to the accompaniment of Arab instruments.‡ The miners of both parties meeting in their subterraneous work, agreed to do each other no hurt; nay, more, each party came to hate itself more than the enemy; Richard was less the foe of Saladin than of Philip Augustus; and Saladin detested the Assassins and the Alides more than the Christians.§

During all this great movement of the world, the King of France was noiselessly effecting his purposes. To Richard all the honour, to him the gain. This sort of partition seemed to content him. Richard remains burdened with the cause of Christendom, amuses

\* Joinville (edit. 1761), p. 116.

† For instance, the camp of Ptolemais in 1191. Michaud, ii. 451.

‡ Michaud, ii. 450. The crusaders were frequently admitted to Saladin's table, and the emirs to that of Richard. Ibid., 522.

§ Saladin sent the Christian kings, on their arrival at Damascus, plums and other fruits, and they sent him jewels. Michaud, ii. 436 (from Brompton). Philip and Richard accused each other of corresponding with the Mussulmans. Richard wore at Cyprus a mantle adorned with silver crescents. Bibl. des Crois. ii. 685. Richard offered his sister, the widow of William of Sicily, in marriage to Malech Adhel; the two spouses were to reign conjointly, under the patronage of Saladin and Richard, over the Mussulmans and the Christians, and to rule the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin appeared to accept this proposition without repugnance; the imams and the doctors of the law were much surprised by it, whilst the Christian bishops threatened Jane and Richard with excommunication. Michaud, ii. 477. Saladin wished to be acquainted with the statutes of chivalry, and Malech Adhel sent his son to Richard, that the young Mussulman might be made a knight in the assembly of the Christian barons. Ibid., p. 322.

himself with adventures and doughty strokes of the sword, immortalises and beggars himself. Philip, who set out on the expedition after swearing to do his rival no mischief, loses no time, but repairs to Rome and asks the pope to free him from his oath. \* He returns to France in time to partition Flanders upon the death of Philip of Alsace. He forces his daughter and his son-in-law, the Count of Hainault, to leave a portion of it as a dowry to his widow, but he keeps for himself Artois and St. Omer in memory of his wife, Isabella of Flanders. † Meanwhile he excites the Aquitanians to revolt, and encourages Richard's brother to seize the crown; the foxes make good use of their time in the absence of the lion. Who knows whether he will ever return? He will probably get himself killed or captured. He was captured, in fact, and that treacherously by Christians. That same Duke of Austria whom he had outraged, whose banner he had pitched into the ditch of St. John of Acre, seized him as he was passing *incognito* through his dominions, and gave him up to the Emperor Henry VI. ‡ Such was the law in the middle ages; the stranger who passed through the dominions of the lord without his consent, belonged to him. The Emperor paid no heed to the privileges of the crusade; he had destroyed the Normans of Sicily, and was well pleased to humble those of England. Besides, John and Philip Augustus offered him as much money as Richard would have given for his ransom. § He would, doubtless, have kept him, but old Eleanor, the pope, and the German lords themselves, made him ashamed of retaining the hero of the crusade in captivity. || Still he did not let him go till he had extorted from him an enormous ransom, amounting to 150,000 silver marks. In addition to this, Richard was forced to uncover before him and do him homage in a diet of the Empire. ¶ Henry granted him in return the title of King of Arles, a mere mockery. The hero returned home (1194), after a captivity of thirteen months, King of Arles, vassal of the Empire, and ruined. He had but to show himself to put down John and repulse Philip. His last years passed away ingloriously between truces and petty wars. Still the counts of Bretagne, Flanders,

\* Bened. Petroburg, p. 541. The pope refused.

† Ibid., 542. Oudegherst, c. 88.

‡ Richard having arrived in Vienna after three days' journey, worn out with fatigue and hunger, his servant, who spoke Saxon, went to change some gold byzants and buy provisions in the market. He made a great display of his gold, and ostentatiously affected the manners of a courtier. In his girdle were seen gloves richly embroidered, such as were worn by the great lords of those days. This gave rise to suspicion; the rumour of Richard's landing had spread through Austria; the man was arrested, and torture forced him to confess all. Radulph de Coggeshale, ap. Scr. Fr., xviii. 72. See Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angle.*, iv. 70.

§ Scr. Fr., xviii. 38.

|| Petri Blesensis ad papam epist. ap. Gieseler, ii., 2nd part, p. 91: Regem . . . in sancta peregrinatione, in protectione Dei celi, captum, et vinculis carcerum coarctatum tenet.

¶ Rog. de Hoved., p. 724: Deposuit se de regno Angliæ, et tradidit illud imperatori sicut universorum domino, et investivit eum inde per pileum suum.



Boulogne, Champagne, and Blois, were with him against Philip. He was killed when besieging the castle of Chaluz, to force the lord of that place to give him up a treasure (1199),\* and was succeeded by John; although he had named as his heir his nephew, young Arthur, Duke of Bretagne.

This period was not more glorious for Philip. The great vassals were jealous of his aggrandisement, and he had imprudently embroiled himself with the pope, whose friendship had exalted his house so high. Philip, who had married a Danish princess, solely with the expectation of making the Danes useful towards thwarting Richard, conceived a disgust for the young barbarian on the very day of the wedding;† and when he no longer needed her father's aid, he repudiated her and married Agnes de Méranie, of the house of Franche-Comté. This unfortunate divorce, which embroiled him for many years with the Church, condemned him to inaction, and rendered him a passive spectator of the great events which then took place, the death of Richard, and the fourth crusade.

The men of the West had little hope in succeeding in an enterprise in which that hero Richard Cœur de Lion had failed; nevertheless, the impulse which had been given a century before continued of itself. Statesmen endeavoured to take advantage of it. The Emperor Henry VI. himself preached the crusade at the assembly of Worms; declaring, that it was his desire to make atonement for the captivity of Richard. Enthusiasm was at its height; all the German princes took the cross. A great number proceeded through Constantinople; others consented to follow the emperor, who persuaded them that Sicily was the true route to the Holy Land. He thus obtained potent aid towards conquering that kingdom, of which his wife was heiress; but the whole people of which, Norman, Italian, and Arab, joined heart and hand in opposing the Germans. He did not make himself master of the island till he had shed torrents of blood. It is said that his wife, herself, took vengeance on her husband for the wrongs of her country, and poisoned him. Henry, trained by the jurists of Bologna in the idea of the unlimited rights of the Cæsars, thought to make Sicily a point of departure for the invasion of the Greek empire, as Robert Guiscard had done. Thence it was his intention to return into Italy, and to reduce the pope to the same level as the patriarch of Constantinople.

This conquest of the Greek empire which he was unable to accomplish, was the sequel, the unforeseen effect of the fourth crusade. The death of Saladin, and the accession of a young pope full of ardour and genius (Innocent III.), seemed to reanimate Christendom.

\*

TELUM LIMOGIE

OCCIDIT LEONEM ANGLIE.

A nun of Canterbury composed this epitaph for Richard: "Avarice, Adultery, and blind Lust reigned ten years on the throne of England; an arbalist de-throned them." Rog. de Hoveden.

† Rigord., ap. Scr. Fr., xvii. 38. Gesta Innoc. III., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 343.

The death of Henry VI. freed Europe from the alarm his power had occasioned. The crusade preached by Foulques de Neuilly was above all popular in the north of France. The Count of Champagne had just been King of Jerusalem; his brother, who succeeded him in France, assumed the cross, and with him the majority of his vassals. This potent lord was suzerain of 1800 fiefs.\* Among the foremost of his vassals we may mention his marshal of Champagne, Geoffroy de Ville Hardouin, the historian of this great expedition; the first prose writer, the first historian of France in the vulgar tongue. It was likewise a man of Champagne, the Sire de Joinville, who was to narrate the history of St. Louis and the termination of the crusades. The lords of the north of France took the cross in multitudes; the counts of Brienne, St. Paul, Boulogne, Amiens; the Dampierres, the Montmorencies, and the famous Simon de Montfort, who had just returned from the Holy Land, where he had concluded a truce with the Saracens in the name of the Christians of Palestine. The movement spread to Hainault and Flanders; the Count of Flanders, brother-in-law to the Count of Champagne, became, by the premature death of the latter, the principal leader of the crusade. The kings of France and England were too busy; the Empire was divided between two emperors.

No thought was now entertained of taking the overland route; the Greeks were too well known. It was but just recently they had massacred the Latins who were found in Constantinople,† and had endeavoured to destroy the Emperor Barbarossa on his march. Vessels were necessary, in order to cross the sea, and the Venetians were applied to.‡ These merchants took advantage of the wants of the crusaders, and would not agree for less than 85,000 marks of silver. Furthermore, they wished to become associated in the crusade by furnishing fifty galleys. In return for this small contribution, they stipulated for a half-share in the conquests that should be made. The old doge, Dandolo, an octagenarian, and nearly blind,§

\* Gibbon, xii. 24. Ducange, *Observ.*

† Will. Tyr. xxii. 11, 12, 13. A legate was murdered and his head dragged at a dog's tail through the streets of the town. The patients even in the hospital of St. John were put to the sword (*ad Xenodochium...quotquot in eo reppererunt languidos, gladio peremerunt*). None were spared except 4000 of the Latins, who were sold to the Turks. See also Baldwin's encyclic letter, 1204, ap. *Scr. Fr.*, xviii. 524.

‡ It was Ville Hardouin who was spokesman on the occasion; when he had ended, he says himself: "The six envoys now knelt at their feet with much entreaty; and the Doge and all the others cried out with one voice, and held up their hands, and said: 'We grant it, we grant.' "And there was such a great din and noise withal, that it seemed as though the earth were breaking." The doge then spoke to the people, and the treaty was drawn up. "And when the doge delivered them his charters, he knelt down weeping much; and swore in good faith on holy things that he would truly keep the covenants that were in the charters, and all his councillors likewise, who were of the number of xlvj. And the envoys again swore to their charters, to keep the same, both their lord and themselves, in good faith. Be assured that many a tear was that day wept for pity." Ville Hardouin (*edit. Petitot*), c. 17.

§ Nic. in *Al. Comn.*, iii., c. 9, p. 347: *Δάνδουλος, ἀνὴρ πηρὸς μὲν τὰς ἔφεις,*

would not commit to any other person the command of an enterprise which might be so profitable to the republic, and declared his determination to embark in person in the fleet.\* Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, a brave and poor prince who had fought in the Holy Land, and whose brother, Conrad, had distinguished himself by the defence of Tyre, was appointed commander-in-chief, and promised to bring with him the Piedmontese and the Savoyards.

When the crusaders were assembled at Venice, the Venetians announced to them, amidst the festivities of the departure, that they would not set sail until they had been paid.† Every man drew his purse-strings, and gave what he had; but after all, the required sum was not complete by 34,000 marks.‡ Thereupon, the excellent doge interceded and remonstrated with the people, telling them, that it would not be honourable to be rigorous in so holy an enterprise. He proposed that the crusaders should discharge the remains of the debt, by besieging, for the Venetians, the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which had withdrawn from their yoke, and recognised the King of Hungary. That king himself had assumed

---

καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ πέμπελος, ἐπιβουλᾶτατον δὲ πρᾶγμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ φόβερῶτατον, ὅς παλαιῶνα ὡν ἀγυρτείας, καὶ φρονιμώτερον τῶν φρονιμῶν ἱκανὸν ἀνομαζέω...

\* "Then they assembled one Sunday in the Church of St. Mark. It was a great festival, and the people of the land were present, and most of the barons and pilgrims. Before high mass began, the Duke of Venice, whose name was Henry Dandolo, went up to the gallery and spoke to the people, and said, 'My lord, you are accompanied by the best host in the world, and for the highest affair ever people undertook; and I am an old and feeble man, and have need of repose. But I see that none could so govern and rule you, as I who am your father. If you will permit me to take the cross, to guard and direct you, while my sons remain in my place and keep the land, I will go and live or die with you and with the pilgrims.' And when they heard this, they cried out with one voice, 'We pray you, in God's name, to vouchsafe and do this, and to come with us.'" Ville Hardouin, c. 30.

"Great pity was there then among the people of the land and the pilgrims, and many a tear was shed, because that lord had so great motive to remain behind, for an old man he was, and though he had handsome eyes in his head, yet he saw not at all, for he had lost his sight by a wound in the head. He was surely a man of great heart; O, how different from others who shunned the danger. So he descended from the gallery, and went to the altar, and knelt down weeping much, and they sewed him a cross on a large cotton hat, because he wished that all should see it. And the Venetians began to take the cross in great numbers, which had not been the case before. Our pilgrims had great joy and very great pity of that cross, for the sense and the *proesse* there was in it. Thus did the duke take the cross as you have heard. Then began the preparation of the ships and the galleys, and before all was completed, September was nigh at hand." Ville Hardouin, c. 34.

† Ibid., 30, 31.

‡ A great number of crusaders had been deterred by the difficulties of the route through Venice, and had gone to embark in other ports: those who remained, being reduced to a smaller number than they had expected, had great difficulty in paying the sum agreed on. "And on this much did they rejoice who had put their money aside, and they would pay nothing before they thought that the army would certainly be frustrated in its purpose." These divisions were frequently on the point of defeating the enterprise. (See *infra*.)

the cross, and it was a bad commencement of the crusade to attack one of his towns. The pope's legate remonstrated in vain; the doge told him that the army could dispense with his directions. He put the cross upon his ducal bonnet, led away the crusaders against Zara,\* and then against Trieste; and they conquered almost all the towns of Istria for their good friends of Venice.

Whilst these brave and honest knights were working out their passage by this warfare, "Behold, there came to pass," says Ville Hardouin, "a great miracle, an unexpected adventure, and the strangest in the world." A young Greek prince, the son of the Emperor Isaac, who was then supplanted by his brother, threw himself at the feet of the crusaders, and promised them immense advantages, if they would re-establish his father on the throne; they would all be rich for evermore; the Greek Church would submit to the pope, and the emperor, when re-established, would aid them with all his power to reconquer Jerusalem. Dandolo was the first whose heart was touched by the misfortunes of the prince,† and he persuaded the crusaders to *begin the crusade with Constantinople*. In vain the pope put forth an interdict; in vain Simon de Montfort and many others‡ separated from them and proceeded to Jerusalem; the majority followed the leaders, Baldwin and Boniface, who sided with the Venetians.

---

\* The pope threatened the crusaders with excommunication, because the King of Hungary, having taken the cross, was under the protection of the Church (Epist. Innoc. III. ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 420, 421. Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 19). After the capture of the town, the crusaders sent deputies to the pope to plead their excuse: "The barons cry you mercy for the taking of Jadres, which they have done for that they could not do better through the default of those that went to other ports, and for that otherwise they could not hold together; and therewith they bid you, as their good father, to make known to them your commands, which they are ready to fulfil." Ville Hardouin, p. 169.—Epist. Innoc. III. ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 432.

† Guy de Montfort, his brother, Simon de Néaufle, the Abbot of Vaux-Sernay, etc. Ville Hardouin, p. 171. "A great number of the crusaders resolved, in Corfu, to remain in that rich and plenteous island." When the leaders of the army were aware of this, they resolved to dissuade them therefrom. "Let us go to them and cry them mercy, that they have pity on themselves, and on us, for God's sake, and that they disgrace not themselves, and forsake the rescuing of the Holy Land. Thus was it agreed, and they all went together into a valley, where the others held their parliaments, and took with them the son of the Emperor of Constantinople, and all the bishops and all the abbots of the host. And when they had come thither they dismounted. And when the others saw them they also dismounted and came to meet them, and the barons sought them on foot, weeping plenteously, and said that they would not depart before they had promised not to forsake them. And when the others saw this they had very great compassion, and wept very sore." Ville Hard., 173—177. When the inhabitants of Zara sent to Dandolo with proposals to surrender: "Whilst he went to speak to the counts and barons, that party whereof you have already heard, which wished to break up the host, spoke to the envoys and said, 'Why will you surrender your city, &c., &c.'" These manœuvres caused the capitulation to be broken off. There was a fight in Zara between the Venetians and the French.

‡ Ville Hard., p. 151, 157.

Whatever opposition the pope made to the enterprise, the crusaders thought they did a holy work in subjecting the Greek Church to him, whether he would or not. The mutual opposition and hatred of the Latins and the Greeks was incapable of augmentation. The old religious war, begun by Photius in the ninth century,\* had been resumed in the eleventh (about the year 1053).† Nevertheless, the common opposition to the Mohammedans, who were threatening Constantinople, seemed likely to bring about a reconciliation. The Emperor Constantine Monomachus made great efforts; he invited legates from the pope; the two clergies met and investigated each other's tenets; but each side thought it heard, in the language of the other, nothing but blasphemies, and their mutual abhorrence grew more intense. They separated, and mutual excommunications proclaimed the irrevocable rupture of the two churches (1054).

Before the end of that century, the crusade of Jerusalem, solicited by the Commenæ themselves, brought the Latins to Constantinople. National antipathy was then added to that of religion; the Greeks detested the brutal insolence of the Westerns, and the latter inveighed against the treachery of the Greeks. At every crusade, the Franks that passed by Constantinople deliberated as to whether or not they should make themselves masters of it; and they would have done so, but for the loyal integrity of Godefroy de Bouillon and Louis the younger. When Greek nationality, for once, awoke so fearfully under the tyrant Andronicus, the Latins who were settled in Constantinople were all involved in one massacre (April, 1182).‡ Commercial interests induced a great number of Latins to settle there again, under the successors of Andronicus, notwithstanding the constant peril to which they were exposed. They constituted a hostile colony in the very heart of Constantinople, always invoking the presence of the Westerns, and ready to second them, if ever they made an attempt upon the capital of the Greek empire. The Venetians alone, of all the Latins, were able and willing to do

\* In the year 858, Photius, a layman, was put in the place of the patriarch Ignatius, by the Emperor Michael III. Nicolas I. took part with Ignatius (Nicol. epist. 2, 9, ad Michael., 10 ad Cler. Const., 3 ad Phot., &c.). Photius anathematised the pope in 867.

† By a letter from the Patriarch Michael to the Bishop Trani, on the *azumi* and the sabbath, and the observances of the Roman Church. Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 1053.

‡ Nicetas in Alex. Comn., c. 10. Will. Tyr., xxii. 10—13. In an encyclic letter in which he relates the capture of Constantinople, Baldwin accuses the Greeks of having often contracted alliances with the infidels; of repeating baptism, and honouring Christ only with pictures (*Christum solis honorare picturis*); of calling the Latins *dogs*, and thinking it no sin to shed their blood. He mentions the cruel death of the legate sent to Constantinople in 1183. "*Hæc et ejus modi deliramenta.....impletis iniquitatibus eorum quæ ipsum Dominum ad nauseam provocabant, divina justitia nostro ministerio digna ultione percussit; et.....terram nobis dedit omnium honorum copiis affluentem, frumento, vino, et oleo stabilitam, fructibus opulentam, nemoribus, aquis, et pascuis speciosam, spatiosissimam ad manendum, et cui similem non continet orbis, ære temperatam.*" Scr. Fr., xviii. 524. See also Baronius, ann. 1054.

that great thing. Competitors of the Genoese, as to the commerce of the Levant, they were afraid of being anticipated by them; to say nothing of the great name of Constantinople, and of the prodigious wealth enclosed within its walls, within which the Roman empire had taken refuge. Its commanding position between Europe and Asia, promised whosoever should be able to seize it, a monopoly of commerce and the dominion of the seas. The old doge, Dandolo, whom the Greeks had formerly deprived of sight, followed up this scheme with all the ardour of patriotism and of vengeance. It is affirmed, too, that the Sultan Malech Adhel, when threatened by the crusade, had put all Syria under contribution, in order to purchase the friendship of the Venetians, and to turn aside, against Constantinople, the danger that impended over Judæa and Egypt. Nicetas, who was much better informed than Ville Hardouin as to the matters preceding the crusade, alleges that all was prepared beforehand, and that the arrival of young Alexis did not augment the impulse which had been already given. "It was," he says, "the rolling of wave on wave."\*

The crusaders were in the hands of Venice a blind brute force, which she let loose on the Byzantine empire. They knew nothing of the motives of the Venetians, nor of their secret understandings, nor of the condition of the empire which they were attacking. Accordingly, when they found themselves in front of that prodigious Constantinople; when they beheld those palaces, those countless churches, with their gilded domes† glittering in the sun; when they saw those myriads of men on the ramparts, they could not help feeling some emotion. "And in good truth," says Ville Hardouin, "there was none so bold but his heart throbbed within him. Each man looked to his arms, whereof he would have need betimes."

The population was great, it is true, but the city was unarmed. It was a settled opinion among the Greeks, since they had repulsed the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable, and this opinion caused them to neglect all the means of making it so. It had 1600 fishing-boats, and only twenty ships. It did not send one against the Latin fleet; not one fire-ship attempted to float down the current against it. Sixty thousand men appeared upon the shore, magnificently armed; but at the first glimpse of the crusaders, they all vanished.‡ In reality their light cavalry could not have sustained the shock of the heavy *gendarmarie* of the Latins. The city had nothing but its strong walls, and a few corps of excellent troops; I mean the Varangian guard, composed of Danish and Saxon

\* Nicet. in Alex. Comn., iii., c. 9, p. 348: *Κακὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ προσβάλλει, καὶ κύμα, ὃ φασιν, ἐπὶ κύματι Ρωμαίοις ἐπικυλίνδεται.*

† Ville Hardouin, pp. 183, 231; Foulches de Chartres, c. 41, ap. Bongars, p. 386; Willm. of Tyre, l. ii., c. 3, l. xx., c. 26.

‡ In another engagement "the Greeks showed their backs, and were discomfited at the first charge." Ville Hard., p. 191.

refugees from England.\* To these we may add some auxiliaries from Pisa. Commercial and political rivalry everywhere armed the Pisans against the Venetians.†

The latter probably had friends in the city. As soon as they had forced the harbour, as soon as they showed themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared above them, planted by an invisible hand, and the doge rapidly got possession of twenty-five towers. But he was compelled to lose that advantage in order to go to the aid of the Franks, who were hemmed in by that Greek cavalry which they had so much despised. That same night the emperor lost all courage and fled. His predecessor, old Isaac Comnena, was brought forth from his prison, and the crusaders had now only to enter Constantinople in triumph.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new emperor could not satisfy the exorbitant demands of his liberators, except by ruining his subjects; the Greeks murmured, the Latins grew more urgent, and began to threaten. Meanwhile, they insulted the people in a thousand ways, and the emperor himself, who was their creature. One day, playing at dice with Prince Alexis, they clapped a bonnet of wool, or hair, upon his head.‡ They violated all the usages of the Greeks at pleasure, and cried out loudly against every thing that was new to themselves. Having caught sight of a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. Some churches were set on fire; the conflagration spread, enveloped the most populous portion of Constantinople, lasted eight days, and laid bare a surface of a league.§

This event put the climax to the exasperation of the people; they rose against the emperor, whose restoration had brought with it so many calamities. The purple was offered for three days to all the senators; it needed great courage to accept it. The Venetians, who, it seems, might have endeavoured to interfere, remained outside the walls and looked on. Perhaps they were afraid to enter into that huge city, where they might have been overwhelmed; perhaps it suited their purpose to leave the emperor they had made to his fate, so that they might have a pretext for again entering Constantinople as enemies. Old Isaac was actually put to death, and his place supplied by a prince of the royal house, Alexis Murzuphle, who proved himself a match for the critical circumstances under which he accepted the imperial crown. He began by rejecting the capitious proposition of the Venetians, who offered, again, to content themselves with a sum of money.|| In this way they would have ruined him, and rendered him odious to the people, like his predecessor. Murzuphle raised money, but it was to make war; he equipped vessels, and twice endeavoured to burn the enemy's fleet; the Latins were in great danger. Nevertheless, it was impossible

\* Ville Hard., p. 213.

† Ibid., p. 358.

‡ Ibid., p. 365.

† Nicetas, iii. 298.

§ Ibid., p. 355.

that Murzuphle should at once call up an army out of nothing. The Greeks, men of far different mettle from the crusaders, were unable to sustain the assault. Nicetas honestly confesses, that in that fearful moment, a Latin knight, who bore down all before him, appeared to them fifty feet high.\*

The leaders strove to check the abuses of the victory, and they prohibited, on pain of death, the violation of married women, virgins, and nuns; but the city was cruelly pillaged. Such was the enormous quantity of booty, that after 50,000 francs had been super-added to the share of the Venetians, in payment of the last portion of the debt, there remained for the Franks 500,000 marks.† A countless multitude of precious monuments, heaped together in Constantinople since the Empire had lost so many provinces, perished under the hands of those who wrangled for them, who wished to divide them, or destroyed them for mere mischief's sake. The churches and the tombs were not respected; a prostitute sang and danced on the patriarch's chair.‡ The barbarians scattered the bones of the emperors; and when they came to the grave of Justinian, they perceived with surprise that the remains of the legislator were still entire in the tomb.

On whom was to devolve the honour of sitting on Justinian's throne, and founding the new empire? The most worthy was old Dandolo; but the Venetians themselves were against this,§ not thinking it expedient to bestow on a family what belonged to the republic. As to the glory of renovating the Empire, they cared little for that: what these merchants desired was ports, commercial depôts, and a long chain of factories, which should secure them the whole route of the East. They took for themselves the shores and the islands, along with three out of the eight quarters of Constantinople; assuming, at the same time, the whimsical title of *Lords of a quarter and half of the Greek empire*.||

The Empire, reduced to one-fourth, was bestowed on Baldwin, Count of Flanders, a descendant of Charlemagne, and a relation of the King of France. The Marquis of Montferrat contented himself with the kingdom of Macedonia. The greater part of the Empire,

\* *Εντα ὄψυας*. In another place he says more moderately: "These Franks were as tall as their spears."

† Ville Hard., p. 281.

‡ Nicetas, p. 362. "The crusaders dressed themselves, not from want, but for the sake of ridicule, in the painted robes commonly worn by the Greeks. They put our linen head-dresses on their horses' heads, and tied round their necks cords, which according to our custom, ought to hang behind. Some of them held paper, ink, and pen-cases in their hands in derision of us, as though we were only sorry scribes or simple copyists. They passed whole days at table. Some indulged themselves with dainty dishes, others only ate, after the fashion of their country, boiled beef and salt bacon, garlic, flour, beans, and a very strong sauce."

§ Ramnusius, l. iii., c. 36, ap. Sismondi, Rep. ital., ii. 406.

|| Sanuto, ap. Gibbon, xii. 91.



that same which had fallen to the share of the Venetians, was cut up into fiefs.

The first care of the new emperor was to excuse himself to the pope. The latter felt himself embarrassed by his involuntary triumph. The fact, that God had justified by success a war condemned by the Holy See, was a great blow to the principle of papal infallibility. The union of the two churches, the reconciliation of the two moieties of Christendom, had been consummated by men who lay under interdict. The pope had no alternative but to repeal his sentence, and pardon those conquerors who condescended to demand pardon. The grief of Innocent III. is manifest in his reply to the Emperor Baldwin. He compares himself to the fisherman in the Gospel, dismayed by the miraculous draught he has made; and then he audaciously pretends, that he had himself contributed something to this successful issue; that he, too, had *cast the net*; "*Hoc unum audacter affirmo quia laxavi retia in capturam.*"\* But it was beyond the reach of his omnipotence to make men believe such a thing; to persuade them, that what he had said, had not been said, and that he had approved what he had disapproved. The conquest of the Greek empire shook his authority in the West more than it extended it in the East.

The results of this memorable event were not so great as might have been expected. The Latin empire of Constantinople had a still shorter duration than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1204—1261). Venice, alone, derived from it immense material advantages; France gained by it only in influence. Her manners and her language, already carried so far by the first crusade, became diffused throughout the East. Baldwin and Boniface, the Emperor and the King of Macedonia, were cousins to the King of France. The Count of Blois had the duchy of Nice; the Count of St. Paul that of Demotica, near Adrianople. Our historian, Geoffroy de Ville Hardouin, held the offices of Marshal of Champagne and of Romania. Long, even, after the fall of the Latin empire of Constantinople, about the year 1300, Montaner, the Catalan, assures us, that in the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, "they spoke as good French as in Paris.†

\* Innoc. III., epist., t. ii., l. vii., p. 619—622. He wrote to the clergy and university of France, ordering them immediately to send clerks and books for the instruction of the inhabitants of Constantinople. Epist., l. viii., p. 712, 713.

† E parlayen auxi bell frances, com dins en Paris. Raym. Montaner, ap. Ducange, Præf. ad Glossar.

## CHAPTER VII.

Downfall of John—Fate of the Emperor—War against the Albigeois—Greatness of the King of France—1204—1222.

BEHOLD the pope, now victorious over the Greeks in spite of himself. The reunion of the two churches has been effected; Innocent is the sole spiritual head of the world; Germany, the ancient foe of the popes, is put *hors de combat*; she is distracted between two emperors, who take the pope for umpire. Philip Augustus has just submitted to his orders, and has taken back a wife he hates. The west and south of France are not so docile; the Vaudois resist on the Rhone, and the Manicheans in Languedoc and in the Pyrenees. All the coast line of France on both seas, seems on the point of separating from the Church. The sea-board of the Mediterranean and that of the Ocean are swayed by two princes of dubious faith, viz.: the kings of Aragon and England; and between them lie the foci of heresy, Béziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse, where the great council of the Manicheans is assembled.

The first who was smitten was the King of England, Duke of Guienne, a neighbour and relation of the Count of Toulouse, whose son he brought up.\* The pope and the King of France profited by his downfall; but this event had been long in preparation. The strength of the Anglo-Norman kings reposed, as we have seen, only on their mercenary troops; they could put no trust either in the Saxons or in the Normans. To maintain those troops, demanded resources and an orderly administrative system foreign to the habits of the age. These kings made up for that deficiency only by violent fiscal exactions, which exasperated the rancour of their subjects, rendered their position more perilous, and obliged them still further to increase the number of those troops, that ruined the people and forced it into rebellion. It was a fearful dilemma, and they were destined to fall in attempting its solution. To give up their mercenaries, would have been to put themselves into the hands of the Norman aristocracy; to continue to employ them, was to march straight to certain ruin. The king was destined to meet his downfall in the reconciliation of the two races that divided the island; Normans and Saxons coalesced for the humiliation of the monarchy, and the loss of the French provinces was to be the first result of this revolution.

Henry II. had, at least, amassed money; but Richard ruined England at his departure for the crusade. "I would sell London," he

\* Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 156. Loqual lo Rey d'Anglaterra avia norrit un temps et de sa joynessa.

said, "if I could find a purchaser."\* All England, says a contemporary, from sea to sea, was reduced to penury.† Nevertheless, it was absolutely necessary to find money to pay the enormous ransom demanded by the emperor. More was wanting, again, when Richard on his return wished to make war on the King of France; so he took back every thing he had sold at his departure, without indemnifying the purchasers.‡ After having ruined the present, he ruined the future; and from that time forth, there was not a man who would deal with the King of England, either in the way of purchase or loan. His successor, whether good or bad, able or otherwise, found himself condemned beforehand to irremediable poverty and incurable weakness.

And yet, the progress of events called urgently for new resources; the discord prevailing in the English realm had never been more extreme. That realm consisted of populations which had made war on each other before being united under one yoke. Normandy, the foe of England before William's day; Bretagne, the foe of Normandy; Anjou, the foe of Poitou, and Poitou which laid claim to the rights of the duchy of Aquitaine and all the South; all these now found themselves combined together whether they would or not. Former kings of England had always had on their side some one of these continental provinces. William the Norman, and his first two successors, could count on Normandy; Henry II. on his countrymen, the Angevins; Richard Cœur-de-Lion was generally regarded with favour by the Poitevins and the Aquitanians, the countrymen of his mother, Eleanor of Guienne; he exalted the glory of the men of the South, who regarded him as one of themselves; he wrote verses in their language, and kept crowds of them about his person. His chief lieutenant was Marcader, a Basque. But, by degrees, these various populations fell away from the kings of England; for they perceived that those kings, whether Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin, were separated from them by so many different interests, as to be, in reality, foreign princes. The termination of Richard's reign completed all that was wanting towards fully disabusing the continental subjects of England.

These circumstances would account for John's violence, his intemperate bursts of passion, and his disasters, even though he had been a better and an abler man. He was forced to have recourse to unheard-of expedients to extract money from a country so often ruined. What remained after the covetous and prodigal Richard? John tried to extort money from the barons, and they made him sign *Magna Charta*; he threw himself upon the Church, and it deposed him. The pope, and his *protégé*, the King of France, profited by his ruin.

\* Guill. Neubrig, p. 396. *Londonias quoque venderem si emptorem idoneum invenirem.*

† Rog. de Hov., p. 544. *Tota Anglia, a mari usque ad mare, redacta est ad inopiam.*

‡ Scr. Fr., xviii. 43. Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angleterre*, iv. 108.

The King of England finding his bark foundering, threw Normandy and Bretagne into the sea, and the King of France had only to pick them up. The immediate determining cause of this inevitable dismemberment of the English realm, was the rivalry between John and his nephew Arthur. The latter, who was the son of the heiress of Bretagne and of John's brother, had been accepted by the Bretons at his birth as a liberator and avenger. In despite of Henry II., they had baptised him by the national name of Arthur.\* The Aquitanians favoured his cause. Old Eleanor, alone, held out against her grandson, for her son John, and for the unity of the English realm, which the accession of Arthur would have divided.† Arthur, in fact, held that unity very cheap. He offered the King of France to cede Normandy to him, provided he might have Bretagne, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine.‡ John would have been reduced to the possession of England alone. Philip willingly assented to this, put his own garrisons in Arthur's best fortresses, and demolished them when he had no hope of maintaining his position in them. John's nephew, thus betrayed by his ally, turned once more to his uncle; then he came back to the party of France, invaded Poitou, and besieged his grandmother, Eleanor, in Mirebeau.§ It was nothing new in that family to see the sons armed against their parents. Meanwhile, John came to the rescue, delivered his mother, defeated Arthur, and took him prisoner with most of the great lords of his party. What became of the captive? this has never been clearly ascertained. Matthew Paris alleges, that John treated him well at first, but was afterwards alarmed by the threats and the obstinacy of the young Breton. "Arthur disappeared," he says, "and God grant that it may not have been as malicious rumour reports."|| But Arthur had excited too many hopes to allow of the popular imagination resigning itself to this uncertainty. It was confidently affirmed, that John had caused him to be put to death, and it was soon added, that he had killed him with his own hand.¶ The chaplain of Philip Augustus relates, as if he had seen it with his own eyes, that John took Arthur in a boat, stabbed him twice with a dagger, and threw him into the river three miles from the castle of Rouen.\*\* The Bretons placed the scene of the tragedy in their own country near Cherbourg, at the foot of those ill-omened cliffs that present a line of precipices all along the ocean.†† Thus the tradition went on enlarging in details, and in dramatic interest, and at last Shakspeare makes

\* Chron. Walteri Hemengf., p. 507. Thierry, iv. 145.

† In fact Aquitaine was her paternal inheritance, and she had transferred her rights to John. Rymer, i. 110—112. Lingard, iii. 8.

‡ Hoveden, p. 598. M. Paris, p. 166.

§ Rad. Coggeshale, p. 95.

|| M. Paris, p. 174. Subito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida.

¶ Ann. de Margan, ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 247..... Propria manu interfecit et grandi lapide ad collum ejus alligato, project in Sequanam. \*\* Will. Brito, vi. 167.

†† Dumoulin, Hist. de Normandie, p. 514. Thierry, iv. 151.

Such was the miserable and precarious condition of the Catholic Church in Languedoc. It is universally supposed that heretics alone were persecuted in the middle ages; but this is an error. On both sides it was believed that violence was a legitimate means of bringing one's neighbour to the true faith; all parties persecuted as soon as they were strong; witness Jerome of Prague, Calvin, the Gomarists of Holland, and many others. The martyrs of the middle ages rarely display the gentleness of those of the first centuries, who knew only how to die. Neither the Albigeois of Languedoc, nor the Illuminati of Flanders, nor the Protestants of Rochelle and of the Cévennes, ever displayed such meekness. Their reforms, more or less impressed with the warlike character of their times, vanquished or succumbed, persecuted or suffered, but always, and by all means, fought without scruple or reserve.

A conflict was imminent in 1200. The heretic church was organised; it had its hierarchy, its priests, its bishops, its pope. Their general council was held at Toulouse; that city would, doubtless, have been their Rome, and its Capitol would have supplanted the other. The new church sent out zealous missionaries in every direction; the innovation broke out in the most distant and the least suspected place, in Picardy, Flanders, Germany, England, Lombardy, Tuscany, and at the very gates of Rome, at Viterbo.\* But, on the other hand, the strange oriental character of Manicheism disgusted many minds; to recognise two principles, that of good and that of evil, seemed to them equivalent to admitting two Almighties, lifting Satan into heaven and enthroning him by God's side. These blasphemies excited abhorrence. Again, the people of the North saw the mercenary soldiers among them, the *routiers*, for the most part in the service of England, realising all that was related of the impiety of the South. These men came partly from Brabant, partly from Aquitaine. Marcader, the Basque, was one of the principal lieutenants of Richard Cœur de Lion. The mountaineers of the South, who in these days descend into France or Spain to earn money by some petty employment, did the same in the middle ages; only their sole occupation then was war. They maltreated priests just as much as peasants; dressed their women in consecrated vestments; beat the clerks, and made them chant mass for the sake of mockery. It was also one of their amusements to daub and deface the images of Christ; to break the arms and legs,† and treat the figure worse than the Jews had treated the original in the Passion. These *routiers* were prized by princes precisely by reason of their

---

reception at Toulouse when he took possession of the bishopric. "He never could get hold of more than ninety-six sols Toulousain; and he durst not send four mules he had brought with him to water without an escort; they had water given them from a well sunk in the house." Guill. de Pod. Laur., c. 7.

\* Gesta Innocentii III., 79.

† Petrus. Vall. Sarn., c. 46. They made pestles of them to pound pepper and the herbs which they put in their sauces.

impiety, which rendered them insensible to ecclesiastical censure. War was a fearful thing thus waged by men without faith and without country; against whom the Church itself no longer afforded an asylum; men impious as those of modern, and fierce as those of barbarian, times. It was above all in intervals of peace, when they were without pay and without leader, that their presence was felt most cruelly in the country where they robbed, pillaged, and murdered at random. Their history has hardly been written, but if we may judge of it from some facts, we may make it out with the help of that of the mercenaries of antiquity, whose execrable warfare against Carthage is known to us.\* Their ravages were horrible on the northern and southern frontiers; in La Marche, Auvergne, and Limousin. At length the people took up arms against them. A carpenter, inspired by the Virgin Mary, formed the association of the *Capuchons* (hoods), for the extermination of these gangs. Philip Augustus encouraged the people, furnished troops, and 10,000 of these men were massacred on a single occasion.†

Independently of the ravages committed by the *rou tiers* in the South, the crusades had sown other seeds of discord. Thus the great expeditions which drew the East and the West nearer together, had likewise the effect of revealing southern to northern Europe. The former appeared to the latter under the most revolting aspect; with its mercantile rather than chivalric spirit; its contemptuous opulence;‡ its sarcastic elegance and triviality; its Moorish dances and customs, and its Saracen faces. The very viands afforded subjects of mutual dislike to the two races. The eaters of garlic, oil, and figs, reminded the crusaders of the impurity of the Moorish and Jewish blood, and Languedoc seemed to them another Judæa.

The Church of the thirteenth century availed itself of these antipathies of blood to secure its failing grasp on the South. It

---

\* See the author's Roman History.

† Le Velay speedily did homage to Philip Augustus. See D. Vaisette, iii.

‡ The Provençal princes and lords who had repaired in great numbers during the summer to the castle of Beaucaire, celebrated divers festivals there. The King of England had appointed that meeting for the purpose of negotiating a reconciliation between Raymond, Duke of Narbonne, and Alphonso, King of Aragon; but the two kings did not meet there, for certain reasons, so that all this preparation went for nothing. The Count of Toulouse there gave a 100,000 sols to Raymond of Agout, knight, who being very liberal, immediately distributed them amongst about 10,000 knights who were at the court. Bertrand Raimbaud had all the environs of the castle tilled and sowed with 30,000 sols in deniers. It is related that Guillaume Gros de Martel, who had 300 knights in his train, had all the meats in his kitchen cooked with wax candles. The Countess d'Urgel sent thither a crown valued at 40,000 sols; it was resolved to set up there as king of all the ribalds (*bateleurs*) a certain Guillaume Mite, if he had not absented himself. Raymond de Venous, out of ostentation, had thirty of his horses burned before the whole assembly." Hist. du Langued., iii. 37. (From Gaufrid. Vos., p. 321.)—The South was delirious on the eve of its destruction, like Pompeii the day before it was overwhelmed by Vesuvius.

transferred the crusade from the infidels to the heretics, and the preachers were still the same, the Benedictines of Cîteaux.

Several reforms had already taken place in St. Benedict's institute, but the order was a whole people. In the eleventh century, an order was formed within the order, a first congregation, the Benedictine one of Cluny. The result was immense; it produced Gregory VII. Nevertheless, these reformers themselves, soon had need of a reform,\* and one took place in 1098, just at the period of the first crusade. Cîteaux rose like Cluny, in the rich and wine-bearing Burgundy, the country of great preachers, of Bossuet and St. Bernard. The monks of Cîteaux took upon themselves the obligation of labour, according to the primitive rule of St. Benedict, changed only the black frock for a white one,† and declared that they would devote themselves solely to their own salvation, and would be obedient to the bishops, whose yoke the other monks were always tending to shake off.‡ Thus did the Church serry its hierarchy in its moment of danger. The more the Cistercians lowered themselves, the more they grew and spread, till they numbered as many as 1800 houses of monks, and 1400 of nuns. The Abbot of Cîteaux was called the abbot of abbots. Twenty years after their institution they were already so rich, that Bernard's austerity was alarmed, and he fled into Champagne to found Clairvaux. The monks of Cîteaux were then the only monks for the people; they were forced to ascend the pulpit, and preach the crusade. St. Bernard was the apostle of the second crusade and the legislator of the Templars. The military orders of Spain and Portugal, St. James, Alcantara, Calatrava, and Avis, were offshoots of Cîteaux and affiliated with it. The monks of Burgundy thus extended their spiritual influence over Spain, whilst the princes of the two Burgundies were giving it kings.

All this greatness ruined Cîteaux, which came to be in point of discipline almost on a level with the voluptuous Cluny. The latter had, at least, early affected gentleness and indulgence; Peter the Venerable had there received, consoled, and buried Abailard. But Cîteaux in its corrupted state preserved amidst its wealth and luxury the harshness of its primitive institution; it continued to be animated with the sanguinary spirit of the crusades, and to preach faith,

\* In an apology addressed to Guillaume de Saint Thierry, St. Bernard, whilst he justifies himself from the charge that had been brought against him of being the detractor of Cluny, nevertheless, strongly censures the morals of that order (edit. Mabillon, t. iv., p. 33; sqq.), c. 10 : *Mentior si non vidi abbatem sexaginta equos et eo amplius in suo ducere comitatu*, c. 11. *Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, &c.*

† The monks of Cluny replied to the attacks of those of Cîteaux : “O, o, phariseorum novum genus! . . . vos sancti, vos singulares . . . unde et habitum insoliti coloris prætenditis, et ad distinctionem cunctorum totius fere mundi monachorum, inter nigros vos candidos ostentatis.”

‡ S. Bernard. de consider. ad Eugen., iii. 4 : *Subtrahunt abbates episcopis, episcopi archiepiscopis, archiepiscopi patriarchis sive primatibus. Bonæ species hæc?*

whilst it neglected works. Nay, the more the unworthiness of the preachers rendered their words idle and of no effect, the hotter grew their anger; they were enraged to see how little effect their eloquence produced on those who judged their doctrines by their manners; and furious in their impotence, they threatened, they damned, and the people did nothing but laugh.

One day when the Abbot of Cîteaux was setting out with his monks in splendid array, to go into Languedoc and labour for the conversion of the heretics, two Castilians who were returning from Rome (these were the Bishop of Osma, and one of his canons, the famous St. Dominick), did not hesitate to tell them, that all their pomp and luxury destroyed the effect of their preaching. "It is bare-footed," they said, "that you must march against the sons of pride; they must have examples; you will not subdue them by words." The Cistercians dismounted, and followed the two Spaniards on foot.\*

The Spaniards, the countrymen of the Cid, had the honour of this spiritual crusade. One Durando d'Huesca, who had himself been a Vaudois, obtained permission of Innocent III. to form a brotherhood of *poor Catholics*, into which the *paupers of Lyons*, the Vaudois, might enter. The creed differed, but the exterior was the same; there was the same costume, the same manner of life. It was hoped, that on the Catholics adopting the garb and the manners of the Vaudois,† the latter would, in their turn, accept the belief of the Catholics; in a word, that the form would prevail over the substance. Unfortunately, the zealous missionary so well imitated the Vaudois, that he fell under the suspicion of the bishops, and his charitable attempt had little success.

At the same time, the Bishop of Osma and St. Dominick were authorised by the pope to associate themselves with the Cistercians in their labours. This Dominick, the terrible founder of the Inquisition, was a Castilian noble, singularly charitable and pious.‡

\* Jordanus, Acta S. Dominici (edit. Bollandus), p. 547: Cum videret grandem eorum qui misi fuerant, in expensis, equis, et vestibus apparatus: "Non sic," ait, "fratres, non sic vobis arbitror procedendum...." Another time St. Dominick met a bishop richly clad; the bishop bared his feet and followed him; but they had unwittingly taken a heretic for their guide, who led them through a wood, in which the thorns lacerated their legs. Theod. de Appoldia, ibid., p. 570.

† Innoc. III., l. xi., ep. 196: Et pauperes esse decrevimus.... Cum autem ex magna parte clerici simus et pene omnes litterati, lectioni, exhortationi, doctrinæ, et disputationi contra omnes errorum sectas decrevimus desudare.—Religiosum et modestum habitum ferre decrevimus, etc.—L. xii. ep. 69: Habitum etiam pristinæ superstitionis, scandalum apud catholicos generantem, in nullo vos penitus immutasse testantur.—Ep. 67: Si vero de pristina superstitione quicquam retineat ad cautelam, ut facilius capere possit vulpeculas.... tolerandus est prudenter ad tempus.

‡ So fervent was he in prayer that he became like one deprived of reason as he prayed. One night as he was engaged in his devotions before the altar, the devil, to disturb him, threw down a huge stone from the roof, which fell with great noise into the church, and grazed the saint's hood in its descent; he never stirred, and the devil fled howling. Acta S. Dominici, p. 592.



None more than he possessed the gift of tears, and the eloquence that makes them flow.\* A great famine prevailing in Palencia during the time he was studying there, he sold every thing, even to his books,† to assist the poor.

The Bishop of Osma had just reformed his chapter in accordance with the rule of St. Augustine when Dominick entered it. On his accompanying the Bishop of Osma on numerous missions into France, they beheld with deep pity so many souls perishing every day. There was one castle in Languedoc where the communion had not been received for thirty years. ‡ Infants died without baptism.§ We must look at this matter in the light in which it was beheld by the men of the middle ages, in order to conceive the grief with which they saw those innocent souls falling into eternal perdition through the impiety of their parents.

The Bishop of Osma, knowing that the poor nobility intrusted the education of their daughters to the heretics, made it his first step to obviate that danger by founding a monastery near Montréal. St. Dominick gave all he possessed, and on hearing a woman say, that if she left the Albigensis she would be reduced to a destitute condition, he wanted to sell himself as a slave, that he might have the means of restoring that one soul more to God.||

All this zeal was fruitless; no power of eloquence or of logic could have sufficed to check the impulse towards freedom of thought. Besides this, his alliance with the monks of Cîteaux brought odium on St. Dominick, and deprived his words of all credit; he was even obliged to advise one of those monks, Pierre de Castelnau, to retire for awhile from Languedoc, otherwise the inhabitants would have killed him. As for himself, they did not lay hands on his person; they did no more than pelt him with mud, spit in his face, and tie straw behind his back,¶ as one of his biographers tells us. The Bishop of Osma losing patience, at length raised his hands towards

\* When testimonies were collected for the canonisation of St. Dominick, a monk deposed that he had often seen him during the mass bathed in tears, which flowed so copiously down his face, that *one drop did not wait for the other*. Acta S. Domin., p. 537.—Sane de suis oculis quasi quemdam fontem effecerat lacrymarum, fiebatque uberrime itque creberrime.....in abscondito. Patrem orans, deducebat, velut torrentem, lacrymas. Ibid., p. 600.—Cum tanta lacrymarum effusione loquebatur, ut ipsos (auditores) ad compunctionis gratiam et lacrymas provocaret. . . . Nec est inventus similis illi, cujus verbum sic fratres ad fletum et ad gratiam emolliret. . . .etc. Ibid., pp. 594, 595.

† Jordanus, Acta S. Domin., p. 546: Vendens libros, quos sibi oppido necessarios possidebat, dedit pauperibus.

‡ Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 42.

§ Epist. S. Bernardi, ap. Gaufred. Claravallens, l. iii. c. 6.—Guill. de Pod. Laur., c. 7: "The night of ignorance covered the land, and the beasts of the Devil's forest roamed freely through it."

|| Acta S. Domin., p. 549: Se ipsum venumdare decrevit.—A woman came and told him one day that she had a brother a captive among the Saracens. St. Dominick wished to sell himself to ransom him.

¶ Acta S. Domin., p. 570: Sputum et luteum aliaque vilia projicientes in eum, a tergo etiam in derisum sibi paleas alligantes.

Heaven, and exclaimed, "Lord, stretch forth thy hand and punish them; chastisement, alone, can open their eyes."<sup>\*</sup>

The catastrophe of the South was to be foreseen from the period of the accession of Innocent III. The very year he ascended the pontifical throne, he sent letters to the sovereigns filled with words of havoc and bloodshed.† Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, who had succeeded to his father, in 1194, put the climax to the pope's anger. Having become reconciled with the ancient enemies of his family, the kings of Aragon, counts of Lower Provence, and the kings of England, dukes of Guienne, he no longer feared any thing, and he threw off all restraint. In his wars with Languedoc and Upper Provence, he continually employed those *routiers* whom the Church proscribed.‡ He waged war without making any distinction between lay and ecclesiastical lands, without regard to the Sabbath or to Lent; he expelled bishops, and surrounded himself with heretics and Jews.

"From the very first, from his cradle, he always cherished and fostered the heretics, and as he had them in his dominions, he honoured them in every manner. To this very day, as we are assured, he leads heretics about with him everywhere, in order, that should he chance to die, he might die in their arms. He said one day to the heretics (I have it from good authority), that he wished to have his son brought up in Toulouse among them, to the end, that he might become instructed in their faith; let us rather say, in their infidelity. Another day, he said, that he would freely give 100 marks of silver to have one of his knights embrace the creed of the heretics; that he had many times urged him to do so, and that he frequently caused him to be preached to. Moreover, when the heretics sent him presents or provisions, he received them very graciously, had them taken great care of, and suffered no one to taste them except himself and some of his intimates. Frequently, too, as we know to a certainty, he adored the heretics on his knees, entreated their benediction, and gave them the kiss. One day, when the count was expecting some persons who did not come, he exclaimed, 'It is plain, it was the devil who made this world, since nothing falls out to our wishes.'

\* Acta S. Domin., p. 549: Domine, mitte manum, et corrige eos, est eis saltem hæc vexatio tribuat intellectum!

† Innocent III. wrote to William, Count of Forcalquier, a letter without salutation, exhorting to take the cross: Si ad actus tuos Dominus hactenus secundum meritum tuorum exigentiam respexisset, posuisset te ut rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti, quinimo multiplicasset fulgura, ut iniquitatem tuam de superficie terræ deleteret, et justus lavaret manus suas in sanguine peccatoris. Nos etiam et prædecessores nostri.....non solum in te (sicut fecimus) anathematis curassemus sententiam promulgare, imo etiam universos fidelium populos in tuum excidium armassemus. Epist. Inn. III., t. x. p. 239, anno 1198.

‡ They were for the most part Aragonese. See Epist. Innoc. III., l. x. ep. 69; and the oath plighted to the pope by Raymond, in 1198: Hæreticos dicor semper fovisse, eisque favisse....ruptarios sive mainadas tenui....Judæis publica commisi officia. See also *Mandata Raymundo ante absolutionem*. (Ibid., p. 347.)

He said, also, to the venerable Bishop of Toulouse, as the bishop told me with his own lips, that the monks of Cîteaux could not work out their salvation, since some of their flock were given up to luxury. O unheard-of heresy!

"The count likewise told the Bishop of Toulouse to come to his palace by night, and he would hear the preaching of the heretics; whence, it is clear, that he often heard them by night.

"He was one day in a church, where they were celebrating mass. Now he had with him a buffoon, who, like mountebanks of that kind, made game of people with play-actors' grimaces. When the officiating priest turned to the people, saying; *Dominus vobiscum*, the villain of a count told his buffoon to mimic the priest. He once said, that he would rather resemble a certain heretic of Castres, in the diocese of Albi, whose limbs had been cut off, and who dragged out a miserable existence, than be king or emperor.

"How much he always loved the heretics we have evident proof in the fact, that no legate of the apostolic see could ever persuade him to expel them from his dominions, though he made I know not how many abjurations at the instances of those legates.

"He made so little account of the sacrament of marriage, that as often as his wife was distasteful to him, he sent her away and took another, in such wise that he had four wives, three of whom are still living. First, he had the sister of the Viscount of Béziers, named Beatrice; after her, the daughter of the Duke of Cyprus; then, the sister of Richard, King of England, his cousin in the third degree. His third wife having died, he married the sister of the King of Aragon, who was his cousin in the fourth degree. I must not omit to mention, that when he had his first wife, he often pressed her to assume the garb of a nun. Understanding what he meant, she asked him expressly, was it his wish, that she should enter Cîteaux? He said no. She then asked him, did he wish her to become a nun at Fontevrault? and again he said no. Then she asked him what it was he did wish? He replied, that if she would consent to retire to solitude, he would provide for all her wants; and the thing was so done.

"He was always so luxurious, and so lascivious, that he abused his own sister in contempt of the Christian religion. From his boyhood, he had a passion for his father's concubines, and lay with them; and hardly any woman pleased him, unless he knew she had lain with his father. Accordingly, his father, both because of his heresy, and for this enormous crime, frequently predicted to him the loss of his heritage. The count had, likewise, a marvellous affection for *rousters*, by whose hands he despoiled the churches, destroyed the monasteries, and deprived his neighbours of their possessions to the utmost of his power. Thus did he always comport himself; this limb of the devil; this son of perdition; this first-born of Satan; this rancorous persecutor of the cross, and of the Church; this supporter of the heretics;

this hangman of the Catholics; this minister of perdition; this apostate covered with crimes; this sink of all sins.

"The count one day playing at chess with a certain chaplain, said to him, 'The God of Moses, in whom you believe, could hardly help you in this game,' and he added, 'never may that God help me.' On another occasion, when the count had to go from Toulouse to Provence to fight some enemy, getting up in the middle of the night, he went to the house in which the Toulousan heretics were assembled, and said to them, 'My lords and brethren, the fortune of war is variable; whatever befall me, I commit my body and soul to your hands;' and then he took with him two heretics in a secular garb, so that if he happened to die, he should expire in their hands. One day, when this accursed count was sick in Aragon, and his disorder was making much progress, he had a litter made, and in that litter he had himself carried to Toulouse; and when they asked him, why he had himself transported in such great haste though labouring under a serious illness, he replied, the wretch, 'Because there are no Good-men in this region in whose arms I may die.' Now, the heretics make their partisans call them Good-men. But he proved himself still more clearly a heretic by his tokens and his expressions, for he said, 'I know that I shall lose my land for these Good-men; I am ready to endure that loss, and even that of my head.'"

Whatever be the worth of these accusations made against the count by an impassioned foe, he was triumphing at the head of his army on the Rhone, when he received from Innocent III. a terrible letter predicting his ruin. The pope insisted upon it that he should break off the war, enter into an engagement with his enemies to prosecute a crusade against his heretical subjects, and open his dominions to the crusaders. Raymond refused at first, was excommunicated, and submitted; but he endeavoured to evade the execution of his promises. The monk Pierre de Castelnau dared to reproach him to his face with what he called his perfidy. The prince, unaccustomed to such language, suffered some angry and vindictive words to escape; words, perhaps, like those uttered by Henry II. against Thomas à Becket.\* The effect was the same; feudal allegiance could not suffer that the least word of the liege lord should fall without effect. Those whom he fed at his table thought they belonged to him body and soul, without reservation of their eternal salvation. One of Raymond's knights fell in with Pierre de Castelnau on the Rhone and stabbed him.† The assassin found an asylum in the Pyrenees with the Count de Foix, then the friend of the Count of Toulouse, and whose mother and sister were heretics.

Such was the commencement of this fearful tragedy (1208). Innocent III. did not content himself like Alexander III. with the

\* Innoc., l. xi., epist. 28. *Mortem est publice comminatus.*

† Ibid. *Inter costas inferius vulneravit.* Chron. Langued., *ibid.* 116: *Ung gentilhome, servito d'eldit conte Ramon, donet d'ung spict à travers lo corps d'eldit Peyre de Castelnau.*

apologies and the submission of the prince, but caused a crusade to be preached throughout all the north of France by the monks of Cîteaux. The crusade of Constantinople had accustomed the minds of men to the idea of a holy war against Christians; in the present case, the proximity was tempting; there was no need to cross the seas. Paradise was offered to those who should here below pillage the rich prince and opulent cities of Languedoc. Humanity was also appealed to to render men's souls cruel; the blood of the legate, it was said, called for the blood of the heretics.\*

Nevertheless, vengeance would have been difficult had Raymond VI. been able to employ all his forces, and to struggle without reserve against the Church party; he was one of the most puissant princes, and, probably, the richest in Christendom. Count of Toulouse, Marquis of Upper Provence, Master of Quercy, Rouergue, and Vivarais, he had added Maguelonne to his possessions; the King of England had ceded to him Agenois, and the King of Aragon, Gévaudan, as their sisters' dowries. As Duke of Narbonne, he was suzerain of Nîmes, Beziers, Uzés, and of the counties of Foix and Comminges in the Pyrenees. But this great puissance was not everywhere held by the same title. The Count of Béziérs, supported by the alliance of the Count of Foix, refused to depend on Toulouse. Toulouse itself was a sort of republic. In 1202, we see the consuls of that city making war in the absence of Raymond VI., on the knights of the Albigensis territory, and the two parties took the count for umpire and mediator between them.† Under his father, Raymond V., the commencement of the heresy had been accompanied by such a burst of political independence, that the count himself solicited the kings of France and England to undertake a crusade against the Toulousans and the Viscount of Béziérs (1178).‡ That crusade took place under Raymond VI. and at his expense.

The crusaders, however, began by Lower Languedoc, Béziérs, Carcassonne, &c., where the heretics were in great number. The pope would have run the risk of combining the whole South against the Church, and of giving it a leader, had he dealt his first blow against the Count of Toulouse; he feigned to accept of the latter's submission, and admitted him to penance. Raymond humbled himself before all his people, and received flagellation from the hands of the priests, in the church where Peter of Castelnau was interred; care being taken to make him pass before the tomb. But the most horrible penance he had to undergo was the taking on himself to lead the army of the crusaders against the heretics, whom he loved in his heart, and to march the invaders into the dominions of his nephew, the Viscount of Béziérs, who dared to persist in ac-

\* Innoc., l. xi., ep. 28 ad Philipp. August. : *Eia igitur, miles Christi! eia Christianissime princeps!..... Clamantem ad te justis sanguinis vocem audias.—Ad Comit., Baron., etc. : Eia Christi milites! eia strenui militum Christiane tirones!*

† Hist. générale du Languedoc, iii. 115.

‡ Ibid., p. 47.

cording the heretics his protection. The unfortunate man thought to evade his own ruin by assisting in that of his neighbours, and he dishonoured himself in order to live one day longer.\*

The young and intrepid viscount had put Beziers in a state of defence, and had shut himself up in Carcassonne, when the principal army of the crusaders arrived from the direction of the Rhone. Others approached by Vélaz, and others by Agenois, "and so great was the siege, so many were the tents and banners, that it seemed as though the whole world was assembled there."† Philip Augustus did not join the invaders; *he had two great and fearful lions on each side of him*;‡ King John, and his nephew the Emperor Otho. But the French came to the siege, if their king did not,§ and at their head were the archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen; the bishops of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Chartres; the counts of Nevers, St. Pol, Auxerre, Bar-sur-Seine, Genève, Forez, and a host of lords. The most potent was the Duke of Burgundy; the Burgundians knew the road to the Pyrenees; they had especially distinguished themselves in the crusades of Spain, a crusade preached by the monks of Citeaux was a national affair in Burgundy. The Germans and Lorrainers, the neighbours of the Burgundians, also assumed the cross in great numbers; but no province furnished abler or more valiant men to the crusade than did the Isle of France. The engineer of the crusade, the man who constructed the machines, and directed the sieges, was a legist, one Master Théodise, Archdeacon of Notre Dame in Paris. It was he, too, who made the apology of the crusaders at Rome in the pope's presence.||

The most distinguished, not the most puissant among the barons, the man whose name has been given to this terrible war, was Simon de Montfort, Count of Leicester, in his mother's right. This Montfort family seems to have been possessed by an atrocious ambition. They claimed to be descended either from the son of King Robert, or from the counts of Flanders, who were sprung from Charlemagne. Their grandmother Bertrade, who forsook her husband, the Count of Anjou, for King Philip I., and who governed them both simultaneously, endeavoured to poison her stepson Louis le Gros, and to

\* Innoc. III., epist. ii. 349: Quando principes cruce signati ad partes meas accedent, mandatis eorum parebo per omnia. . . . Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 14: Associatur Christi militibus hostis Christi, rectoque gressu perveniunt ad Biterrensem civitatem. Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 118.

† Chron. Langued., ibid. 121.

‡ Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 10: Rex autem nuncio domini papæ tale dedit responsum, "quod duos magnos et graves habebat a lateribus leones."

§ Religion seemed to have become more gloomy and austere in the north of France. Under Louis VI. fasting on Saturday was not prescribed by rule, but it was so rigorously enforced under his son Louis VII., that the buffoons and players durst not omit it. Art de vérifier les Dates, v. 520.

|| He was, says Pierre de Vaux-Sernay, a circumspect and prudent man, and very zealous for God's business, and he aspired above all things to find in the law some pretext for refusing the count the opportunity of justifying himself which the pope had granted him. Cap. 39.

give the crown to her own sons. Louis, nevertheless, put trust in the Montforts. It is said to have been one of them who advised him, after his defeat at Brenneville, to call to his aid the communal militia under their parochial banners. In the thirteenth century, Simon de Montfort, the man of whom we are about to speak, went near to be king of the South. His second son, seeking in England the fortune he had missed in France, fought for the English commons, and opened an entrance for them into the parliament. After having had the king and the kingdom in his hands, he was vanquished and put to death. His son, the grandson of the celebrated Montfort, leader of the crusade against the Albigeois, avenged him by slaughtering in Italy, at the foot of the altar, the nephew of the King of England, who was on his way back from the Holy Land.\* This deed ruined the Montforts.† Abhorrence was felt for that nefarious race, whose name was mixed up with so many tragedies and revolutions. They were disliked both for having been the promoters of the communes and the butchers of heresy.

Simon de Montfort, the real leader of the war against the Albigeois, was a veteran crusader, hardened in the implacable wars between the Templars and the Assassins. On his return from the Holy Land, he found the army of the fourth crusade at Venice preparing to depart, but he refused to go to Constantinople. He obeyed the pope, and saved the Abbot of Vaux-Sernay, when the latter, at the great peril of his life, read the pope's prohibition to the crusaders.‡ This action signalised Montfort, and laid the foundation of his greatness; for the rest, it cannot be denied, that this fearful executioner of the decrees of the Church possessed some heroic virtues. This was confessed by Raymond VI., whose downfall Montfort had wrought.§ Not to mention his courage, his rigid morals, and his invariable confidence in God, he manifested a kindly regard for the humblest of his followers, which was very novel in the crusades. All his nobles having crossed with him on horseback a river swollen by a storm, the foot soldiers and the weak were unable to cross. Montfort immediately went back through the river followed by four or five riders, and remained with the poor men, in

\* Montfort l'Amaury, near Paris.

† He attacked him at the foot of the altar to avenge the death of his father, who had been killed in fighting against the King of England, and he ran him through with his sword. This being done, he left the church without Charles daring to order his arrest. At the door he found his knights waiting for him. "What have you done?" said one of them to him. "I have avenged myself." "What! was not your father dragged through the mire?" At these words Montfort returned to the church, seized the corpse of the young prince by the hair, and dragged it into the market-place. Sismondi, *History of the Italian Republics*, iii. 409.

‡ Petrus. Vall. Sarn., c. 20.

§ Chron. Langued., Guill. Podii Laur., c. xxx. "I have heard the Count of Toulouse marvellously extol his enemy Simon, for constancy, forethought, valour, and all the high qualities of a prince."

great danger of being attacked by the enemy.\* It was also related, to his credit, that in this horrible war, he spared the useless mouths that were driven out of a fortress, and that he caused the honour of female prisoners to be respected. His wife, Alice of Montmorency, was not unworthy of him. When most of the crusaders had abandoned Montfort, she put herself at the head of a new army, and led it to the assistance of her husband.†

The army assembled before Béziers was guided by the Abbot of Citeaux, and by the bishop of the town itself, who had drawn up a list of those he devoted to death. The inhabitants refused to give them up, and seeing the crusaders laying out the plan of their camp, they made a bold sally to surprise it. They knew not the military superiority of their enemies; the foot, alone, were sufficient to repulse them, and before the knights could take part in the action, they entered the town pell-mell with the besieged, and found themselves masters of the place. The only difficulty was to distinguish the heretics from the orthodox; "Kill them all," said the Abbot of Citeaux, "the Lord will know his own."‡

"Seeing this, they of the town retired, such as could do so, both men and women, into the great church of St. Nazaire; the priests of that church had the bells rung till every one was dead. But neither sound of bell, nor priest dressed in his vestments, nor clerk, could hinder all from passing under the edge of the sword. Not one solitary individual could escape. These murders and slaughters were the most piteous things ever seen or heard of. The city was pillaged and set on fire in every quarter, so that it was wholly devastated and burnt, as is seen to this day, and not one living thing remained. It was a cruel vengeance, seeing that the count was not a heretic nor of the sect. Present at this destruction were the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of St. Pol, the Count Peter of Auxerre, the Count of Genève, called Guy le Comte, the Lord of Anduze,

\* Petrus. Vall. Sarn., p. 68. "On a sudden there fell such copious rain, and the river was so swollen that no one could cross it without great danger of losing his life. At evening the noble count, seeing that all the knights and the strongest men of the army had swum across the water, and had entered into the castle, but that the infantry and the invalids, having been unable to do so, had remained on the other bank, he called his marshal and said to him, 'I will return to the army.' Whereupon the latter replied, 'What say you? The whole force of the army is in the place, and there are none on the other side of the river, but the pilgrims on foot. Moreover, the waters are so deep and so violent, that no one could cross them; not to mention that the Toulousans would perhaps come down on you, and kill you and all the others.' But the count said, 'Far be it from me to do what you counsel me. The poor of Christ are exposed to death and to the sword, and shall I remain in a fortress? Happen to me what the Lord wills, I will certainly go and remain with them.' Immediately issuing from the castle, he crossed the river, returned to the army of the foot-men, and remained among them with a very small number of horsemen, to wit, four or five, for several days, until the bridge was reconstructed, and the whole body could pass over."

† Hist. du Langued., l. xxi., c. 84, p. 194.

‡ Cæsar. Heisterbac., l. v., c. 21: "Cædite eos; novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus."



named Peter Vermont, and, likewise, the Provençals, the Germans, and the Lombards. There were men of all the nations of the world, who had come hither to the number of more than 300,000, as it is said, by reason of the pardon."\*

Some relate, that 60,000 persons perished; others say 38,000. The executioner himself, the Abbot of Cîteaux, humbly confesses in his letter to Innocent III., that he was not able to slaughter more than 20,000.†

Such was the dismay, that all the strong places were abandoned without striking a blow. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, and no place held out except Carcassonne, in which the viscount had shut himself up. The King of Aragon, his uncle, ineffectually interceded for him on condition of abandoning all the rest. All he could obtain was, that the viscount should be at liberty to come out with twelve followers. "Sooner would I suffer myself to be flayed alive," said the brave young man; "the legate shall not lay a hand on the humblest of my followers; for it is for my sake they are in danger."‡ So great, however, was the multitude of men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in the town from the country around, that it was impossible to hold out. They fled by a subterraneous issue, which led to a distance of three leagues. The viscount asked for a safe conduct, that he might plead his cause before the crusaders, and the legate had him treacherously arrested. Fifty prisoners, it is said, were hung, and four hundred burnt.

All this blood would have been shed in vain, if some one had not taken on him to perpetuate the crusade, and to watch in arms over the corpses and the ashes. But where was the man who could accept that rude task, and consent to be the inheritor of the victims; to seat himself in their deserted houses, and put on their bloody shirt? The Duke of Burgundy declined the office. "It seems to me," he said, "that we have done the viscount quite mischief enough without seizing his heritage." The counts of Nevers and St. Pol spoke to the same effect. Simon de Montfort accepted the offer after a little pressing. The Viscount of Beziers, who was in his hands, died soon, very opportunely for Montfort,§ who had, now, nothing more to do than to have the gift of the legates confirmed to him by the pope. He imposed an annual tribute of three deniers on each house for the benefit of the Church of Rome.||

It was not easy, however, to preserve a possession acquired in this manner. The host of the crusaders dispersed; Montfort had won, and it was for him to keep if he could. He had scarcely left of that

\* Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., 1922.

† Innoc. III., l. xii., Epist. 108.

‡ Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. Fr., 1924.

§ Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 128: "And he died, as we have said, a prisoner; wherefore it was noised abroad throughout the land that the said Count de Montfort had caused him to be put to death."

|| Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc, p. 213.

immense army more than 4500 Burgundians and Germans;\* and presently he had no troops, but such as he paid at great cost. He was, therefore, forced to look out for a new crusade, and to amuse the counts of Toulouse and Foix whom he had at first threatened. The latter took advantage of this respite to repair to Philip Augustus, and then to Rome, and to make protestation to the pope of the purity of his faith. Innocent spoke him fairly, and referred him to his legates. The latter, who had secret instructions, gained further time, and assigned him the term of three months to clear himself; at the same time, stipulating all sorts of intricate conditions, all of them affording a handle for equivocation. At the appointed time, the unfortunate Raymond presented himself, hoping at last to obtain that absolution which should secure his repose. Thereupon Master Theodise, who conducted the whole business, declared, that all the conditions were not fulfilled. "If he has failed in little things," said he, "how should he be faithful in great things?" The count could not refrain from tears. "A whole deluge of waters," said the priest, derisively, "will not waft you to the Lord."†

Meanwhile, Montfort's wife brought him a new army of crusaders. The heretics, no longer daring to trust themselves in any town after the disasters of Beziers and Carcassonne, had taken refuge in some fortified castles in which a valiant nobility made common cause with them. They had many nobles in their party, like the Protestants of the sixteenth century. The castle of Minerve, close to Narbonne, was one of their principal asylums.‡ The archbishop and the magistrates of Narbonne had hoped to turn aside the crusade from their own country by enacting fearful laws against the heretics, but the latter, hunted down throughout all the old dominions of the Viscount of Beziers, fell back in crowds on Narbonne. The multitude shut up in the castle of Minerve, could only exist by making excursions up to the very gates of that city. The people of Narbonne themselves called for Montfort and gave him aid. The siege was a tremendous one; the besieged neither hoped nor desired any mercy. When they were forced to surrender, the legate offered their lives to such as would abjure, and when one of the crusaders expressed his displeasure at this; "Be not afraid," says the priest, "you will lose nothing by it; not one will become converted."§ In fact these people were of those who are called *perfect*, that is to say, the foremost in the hierarchy of the heretics, and all of them, men and women, to the number of 140, ran to the fire and threw themselves into it.|| Montfort, pushing on to the south, besieged the castle of Termes, another asylum of the Albigensis Church. For thirty years

\* Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., 1928.

† Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 39: "In diluvio aquarum multarum ad Deum non approximabis." ‡ Ibid., c. 37.

§ Ibid. "Ne timeatis, quia credo quod paucissimi converterentur."

|| Ibid. Nec opus fuit quod nostri eos projicerent, quia obstinati in sua nequitia omnes se in ignem ultro precipitabant.

previously no one in that castle had partaken of the sacraments. The machines required for breaching the walls were constructed by the Archdeacon of Paris.\* Incredible efforts were necessary to reduce the place. The besiegers planted the crucifix on the top of the machines to disarm the besieged, or to render them still more guilty if they continued to defend themselves at the risk of striking the image of Christ. Among those they burned there was one who declared his willingness to be converted; Montfort insisted that he should be burnt.† It is true that the flames refused to touch his body, and only consumed his bonds.

It was manifest that after having got possession of so many strong places in the mountains, Montfort would return to the plain and attack Toulouse. The count, in his dismay, applied to every one; to the Emperor, the King of England, the King of France, and the King of Aragon. The two former, threatened by the Church and by France, could afford him no aid. Spain had full employment in watching the progress of the Moors. Philip Augustus wrote to the pope. The King of Aragon did the same, and endeavoured to gain over Montfort himself, whose homage he consented to receive for the dominions of the Viscount of Beziers, and he intrusted his own son to him in order to secure his good faith.‡ At the same time this generous prince, wishing to show that he knit himself without reserve to the fortunes of the Count of Toulouse, gave him one of his sisters in marriage, and bestowed the other on the count's young son, who was afterwards Raymond VII.§ He went in person to the Council of Arles to intercede for the count. But those priests were men without bowels; the two princes were obliged to fly from the city without taking leave of the bishops, who intended to arrest them.|| The following is the mockery of a treaty to which they would have had Raymond subscribe:

"Firstly; the count shall incontinently dismiss all those who have come to bring him aid and assistance, or who shall yet come, and shall send them all away without retaining one. He shall be obedient to the Church; shall make reparation for all the mischief and damage she has received, and shall be submissive to her as long as he lives without any contradiction. Throughout all his dominions there shall be eaten but two kinds of viands. The Count Raymond shall expel and cast out of his dominions all the heretics and their allies. The said count shall make over and deliver into the hands of the said legates, and the said Count de Montfort, to the end that they may do with them according to their will and pleasure, all and every one of those whom they shall name and declare to him, and that within the space of one year. Throughout all his

\* Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 41.

† "If he lies," says Montfort, "he will only have his deserts. If he waken really to be converted, the fire will expiate his sins." Ibid., c. 22.

‡ Hist. du Langued., l. xxi., c. 96, p. 203.

§ Guill. de Pod. Laur., c. xviii.,

|| Hist. du Languedoc, xxi. 98.

dominions no one, whosoever he may be, whether noble or man of low estate, shall wear any garment of price, but only sorry black capes. He shall cause to be pulled down and demolished in his dominions to the level of the earth, and without leaving any portion standing, all the castles and places of defence. None of the gentlemen or nobles of that country shall be allowed to live in any town or fortress, but they shall all live in the open country like villeins and peasants. In all his dominions there shall be paid no toll, except those which it was customary to pay and to levy according to ancient usages. Every head of a house shall pay yearly four Toulousan deniers to the legate, or to those whom he shall appoint to levy the same. The Count shall cause to be given up all he shall have received of the revenues of his lands, and all the profits he shall have had from the same. When the Count of Montfort shall ride through his lands and countries, either he or any of his people great or small, none shall demand any thing of him or them for what they shall take, nor shall resist him in any thing whatever. When the Count Raymond shall have done and accomplished every thing hereinbefore stated, he shall go beyond sea to make war against the Turks and the infidels in the Order of St. John, and shall never return thence until the legate shall have ordered him so to do. When he shall have done and accomplished all that is hereinbefore set down, all his lands and lordships shall be restored and given up to him by the legate or the Count de Montfort, when it shall please them."\*

Such a peace was war. Montfort was not yet attacking Toulouse, but his man Folquet, formerly a troubadour and now Bishop of Toulouse, as rabid in fanaticism and vengeance as he had formerly been in pleasure, was working in that city for the crusade, and organising the Catholic party under the name of the White Company.† The Company took up arms, in defiance of the Count, to assist Montfort, who was besieging the castle of Lavaur.‡ This refusal of aid was the first pretext alleged by the latter for besieging Toulouse. He wished to take advantage of the army of crusaders which had just arrived from the Low Countries and from Germany; and which numbered among other great lords belonging to it, the Duke of

\* Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., 1936.

† Praised by Dante.

‡ "After the taking of Lavaur," says the monk of Vaux-Sernay, "Aimery, lord of Montréal and other knights, to the number of eighty, were dragged out of the castle. The noble count immediately ordered that they should every man be hung upon a gallows. But when Aimery, who was the largest man amongst them, was hung, the gallows fell, for in the great hurry they had not been sufficiently secured in the ground. The count, seeing that this would cause a great delay, ordered that the others should have their throats cut, and the pilgrims receiving this order with the greatest avidity, soon massacred them all on the same spot. The lady of the castle, Aimery's sister, and an execrable heretic, was by the count's orders thrown into a well, which was filled up with stones. Then our pilgrims gathered together the innumerable heretics who were in the castle, and burned them alive with extreme joy." Pet. Vall. Sarn., c. 52.

Austria. The priests departed from Toulouse in procession, chanting litanies and devoting the people they abandoned to death. The bishop expressly requested that his flock should be treated like Beziers and Carcassonne.

Henceforth it was manifest that religion had less to do with all this than ambition and vengeance. The monks of Cîteaux, this same year, took the bishoprics of Languedoc to themselves. The abbot had the archbishopric of Narbonne, and, furthermore, assumed the title of duke without decency or shame in Raymond's lifetime.\* Shortly afterwards Montfort, no longer knowing where to find heretics to slay for a new army that joined him, led it into Agenois, and continued the crusade in an orthodox country.†

Thereupon all the lords of the Pyrenees declared openly for Raymond. The counts of Foix, Béarn, and Comminges, aided him in forcing Simon to raise the siege of Toulouse, and the Count of Foix nearly defeated the latter at Castelnaudary; but the more practised troops of Montfort recovered the victory. These petty princes were encouraged by seeing the great sovereigns more or less openly avowing the interest they took in Raymond's cause. Savary de Mauléon, the King of England's seneschal, was at Castelnaudary with the troops of Aragon and Foix.‡ Unfortunately, the King of England durst not act directly. The King of Aragon was obliged to unite all his forces with those of the other princes of Spain, to repulse the terrible invasion of the Almohades, who were advancing to the number of 300,000 or 400,000. We know how gloriously the Spaniards forced, at Las Navas de Tolosa, the chains with which the Mussulmans had endeavoured to fortify themselves. This victory began a new era for Spain. Thenceforth it had no longer to defend Europe against Africa; the strife of races and religions was ended (July 16, 1212).

The remonstrances of the King of Aragon in favour of his brother-in-law seemed then to have some weight; the pope was shaken for the moment.§ The King of France made no secret of the interest he felt for Raymond; but the pope having been confirmed in his first ideas by those who profited by the crusade, the King of Aragon felt the necessity of having recourse to force, and sent a challenge to Simon. The latter, always as humble and prudent as he was strong,

\* Hist. du Langued., l. xxiii., c. 16, p. 223.

† They found, however, seven Vaudois in the castle of Maurillac, "and burned them," says Peter de Vaux-Sernay, "*with unspeakable joy.*" C. 79. At Lavaur, they had already burned "innumerable heretics *with extreme joy.*" Ibid., c. 52.

‡ Chron. Langued., ap. Scr. Fr., 1944. Peter. Vall. Sarn., c. 57. John himself formally declared his opposition to the siege of Marmande, and threatened to attack the crusaders.

§ He reproached Montfort with "laying greedy hands even on those dominions of Raymond which were in nowise infected with heresy, and with having left him little more than Montauban and Toulouse." Don Pedro of Aragon complained that the possessions of his vassals, the counts of Foix, Comminges, and Béarn, were unjustly invaded, and that Montfort had robbed him of his own lands whilst he was fighting against the Saracens. Epist. Innoc. III., 708—16.

first sent and asked the king, was it really true that he had challenged him, and wherein could he, the faithful vassal of the crown of Aragon, have incurred the displeasure of his sovereign; at the same time he held himself in readiness. He had not many men, and almost the whole people was on the side of his adversaries. But Montfort's men were knights heavily armed and almost invulnerable, or else mercenaries of tried courage, and who had grown old in these wars. Don Pedro had abundance of town militia, and some bodies of light cavalry accustomed to skirmish against the Moors. The moral difference between the two armies was still stronger; Montfort's followers had faith in their cause; they had confessed, received absolution, and kissed the relics.\* As for Don Pedro, all historians, and even his own son, represent him to us as occupied with far different thoughts.

"A priest came and said to the Count, 'You have few companions in comparison with your adversaries, among whom is the King of Aragon, very skilful and experienced in war, attended by his knights and a numerous army, and so few men as you have would be unequally matched against the king and such a multitude.' The Count, in reply, took a letter from his purse, and said, 'Read that letter.' The priest found in it that the King of Aragon greeted the wife of a noble of the diocese of Toulouse, telling her that it was for love of her he was about to drive the French from her country, and many fair things besides. When the priest had read the letter, he answered, 'Well, what do you mean by that?' 'What do I mean?' said Montfort, 'that so may God aid me as I little fear a king who sets himself to cross the designs of God for the love of a harlot.' "†

Whatever be the authenticity of these circumstances, Montfort finding himself in presence of the enemy at Muret, near Toulouse, made a feint of declining an engagement and marched away, then falling on them, with the whole weight of his heavy cavalry, he scattered them, and killed, it is said, more than 15,000 of them, with a loss on his own side of not more than eighty-two and a single knight.‡ Many of Montfort's partisans had agreed together to direct their attacks solely against the King of Aragon. One of them at first mistook for the king one of his followers whom he had made wear his arms; but discovering his mistake, he said, "After

\* Guill. de Pod. Laur., c. 21. *Diem instantem Exaltationis sanctæ Crucis bello Crucifixi pugiles elegerunt, et factis confessionibus peccatorum et audito ex more divino officio, cibo salutari altaris refecti, et prandio sobrio confortati, arma sumunt et ad prælium se accingunt.*

† Ibid. "*Quid volo dicere? Sic Deus me adjuvet, quod ego regem non vereor, qui pro una venit contra Deum meretricem.*" *Comment. del Rey en Jaume*, c. 8 (quoted in the *Hist. du Langued.*, iii. 258). He had spent the night with one of his mistresses, and was so weary, that, when he heard mass before the battle, he could not remain standing during the reading of the gospel, and was obliged to sit down."

‡ Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 72. Guill. Pod. Laur., c. 22. Guill. Brito.

all, the king is a better knight." Don Pedro then sprang forward and said, "That's not the king, here he is." Instantly they pierced him with their weapons.

This prince left behind him a long-cherished memory. He was a brilliant troubadour, an inconstant spouse; but who could have had the heart to remember that fault? When Montfort saw him stretched on the earth, and distinguishable by his tall stature, the ferocious general of the Holy Ghost could not suppress a tear.\*

The Church seemed to be triumphant in the south of France, as well as in the Greek empire. There remained its northern enemies, the heretics of Flanders, the excommunicated John, and the anti-Cæsar, Otho.

All intercourse between England and the Holy See had been suspended for five years (1208—1213); the separation seemed already as fully accomplished as in the sixteenth century. Innocent had driven John to extremities, and let loose a new Thomas à Becket against him. In 1208, precisely at the period when the sovereign pontiff was commencing the crusade of the South, he made another, under a less martial form, against the King of England, by raising one of his enemies to the primacy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the Anglican Church, was, moreover, as we have seen, a political personage. He was, in a much higher degree than the king's earls and lieutenants, the chief of Kent, and those southern counties of England which formed its least tractable portion, and that one which remained the most faithful to the old Briton and Saxon spirit. The Primate of England appears to us as a depository of the national liberties, analogous to the *justiza* of Aragon. Nothing was more important for the king, than to have a man of his own to fill such a place; and this he strove to effect through the prelates of his Norman Church. But the monks of the convent of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, always claimed the right of this election as an imprescriptible right of their house, the primitive metropolis of English Christianity. The voice of these poor monks of Kent was the only one that still embodied the whole reclamations of the people, and attested the ancient right of the vanquished.

Innocent took advantage of this conflict; he declared for the monks, and then, when the latter were not agreed among themselves, he annulled the first elections, and without waiting for the king's sanction, which he had demanded, he caused one of John's personal enemies to be elected under his own eyes, by the delegates of the monks of Rome. This was a learned ecclesiastic of Saxon descent, like Becket, as his name, Langton, indicates. He had been a professor, and afterwards chancellor of the university of Paris. Some gallant verses addressed by him to the Virgin Mary have come down to us. John was no sooner informed of the con-

---

\* Petr. Vall. Sarn., c. 72. *Videns regem prostratum, descendit de equo, et super corpus defuncti planctum fecit.*

secration of the archbishop, than he expelled the monks of Canterbury from England, laid hands on their property, and swore that if the pope issued his interdict against him, he would confiscate the property of the whole clergy, and cut off the noses and ears of all the Romans he found in his dominions. The interdict came, and excommunication too; but there was not found a man who would dare to notify the fact to the king. *Effecti sunt quasi canes muti, non audentes latrare.* The fearful news was whispered about, but no one dared to promulgate it openly, nor to conform to it. The Archdeacon Geoffroy having retired from the exchequer, John had him crushed to death under a mass of lead. He exacted hostages from his barons, to prevent their abandoning him, and they durst not refuse to communicate with him. For himself, he boldly took on him the part of the Church's adversary, and rewarded a priest for preaching to the people that the king was God's scourge, and should be endured as the minister of divine wrath. This stubbornness and sense of security on John's part, excited awe; he seemed to take pleasure in his situation. He devoured the wealth of the clergy at his ease, violated noble girls, purchased soldiers, and laughed at every thing. Money he took, as much as he pleased, from priests, the towns, and the Jews; the latter he imprisoned, whenever they refused to produce their gold, and had their teeth pulled out one by one.\* He made sport for five years with the wrath of God. John's oath was: "By God's teeth; *per dentes Dei.*"† In him appeared the last incarnation of that satanic spirit we have remarked in the kings of England; in the frantic violence of William Rufus and Cœur de Lion; in the murder of Becket; in the parricidal wars of that family. "Evil, be thou my Good."‡

He had nothing to fear, so long as France and Europe had their attention wholly engaged with the crusade against the Albigeois; but in proportion as Montfort's success became more decided, John's danger augmented.§ It was plainly felt, that this state of terror, this life without God, in which the priests officiated under pain of

\* Chron. de Mailros, ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 249.—Mat. Paris, p. 160: *Jussit rex tortoribus suis, ut diebus singulis unum ex molaribus excuterent dentibus.... Die octavo Judæus....dedit pecuniam.*

† His father used to swear, "By God's eyes." Epist. Sancti Thomæ, p. 493, &c.

‡ I regret that Shakspeare did not venture to give a second part of King John.

§ The King of England was the personal enemy of the Montforts. The Earl of Leicester, Simon's grandfather, had dared to lay hands on Henry II. Simon's uterine brother, one of the most valiant knights who fought at the battle of Muret, was that William of Barres, a man of prodigious strength, who engaged with Richard Cœur de Lion in Sicily, in presence of the two armies, and subjected him to the humiliation of having found his equal. Simon de Montfort's second son, as we have already said, afterwards continued, in the name of the English commons, his family strife against the sons of John. The latter did not dare to send troops to his brother-in-law Raymond, but he manifested the greatest resentment against such of his barons as joined Montfort. When he went into Guienne, they all quitted the army of the crusaders. Some lords of John's court defended Castelnaudary and Marmande against Montfort.



death, could not endure. When Henry VIII. afterwards withdrew England from its connexion with the pope, the fact was that he constituted himself pope. This was not to be done in the thirteenth century, and John did not attempt it. In 1212, Innocent III., feeling at ease with regard to the South, preached the crusade against John, and charged the King of France with the execution of the apostolic sentence.\* Philip assembled a fleet, and an immense army, and John collected, it is said, 60,000 men at Dover; but in all that multitude there were hardly any on whom he could rely. The pope's legate, who had crossed the straits, made him sensible of his danger; the court of Rome wished to humble John, but not to bestow England on the King of France. He submitted, and did homage to the pope, and undertook to pay him a tribute of 1000 sterling marks of gold.† There was nothing that implied shame in the ceremony of feudal homage. Kings were often vassals to lords of little power for some lands which they held of them in fief; the King of England had always been the King of France's vassal for Normandy or Aquitaine. Henry II. had done homage for England to Alexander III., and Richard to the Emperor. But the times were changed, the barons affected to think their king disgraced by his submission to priests.‡ He himself could hardly conceal his rage. A hermit had predicted, that by Ascension day John would no longer be king; and John, bent on proving that he was so still, had the prophet dragged at the tail of a horse that kicked him to pieces.

Philip Augustus would, perhaps, have invaded England, in defiance of the legate's prohibition, had not the Count of Flanders forsaken him. Flanders and England had early been connected together by commercial relations, the Flemish workmen having need of the English wool. The legate urged Philip to turn the great army he had collected against the Flemings. The weavers of Ghent and Bruges were scarcely in better repute for orthodoxy than the Albigeois of Languedoc.§ Philip followed the advice, invaded Flanders, and committed cruel ravages. Dam was pillaged; Cassel, Ypres, Bruges, and Ghent were forced to pay ransom. The French were besieging the latter town, when they learned that John's fleet was blockading their own. They could only save it from the enemy by burning it with their own hands, and they avenged themselves by setting fire to the towns of Dam and Lille.||

\* Math. Paris, p. 232.

† Rymer, vol. i., part 1, p. 111: *Johannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ.....libere concedimus Deo et SS. Apostolis, etc., ac domino nostro pape Innocentio ejusque catholicis successoribus totum regnum Angliæ, et totum regnum Hiberniæ, etc....illa tanquam feodatus recipientes.....Ecclesia Romana mille marcas sterlingorum percipiat annuatim, etc.*

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 271: "Tu Johannes lugubris memoriæ pro futuris sæculis, ut terra tua, ab antiquo libera, ancillaret, excogitasti, factus de rege liberrimo tributarius, firmarius, et vassallus servitutis."

§ See *supra*.

|| Where, however, French was spoken.

That same winter, John ventured on a desperate effort. His brother-in-law, the Count of Toulouse, had just lost all his hopes by the battle of Muret, and the death of the King of Aragon (September 12th, 1213). The King of England must now have repented of having abandoned to their fate the Albigeois, who would have been his best allies. He sought for others in Spain and in Africa, and applied, it is said, to the Mohammedans, to the chief, even, of the Almohades;\* choosing rather to be damned, and to give himself to the devil than to the Church.

---

\* Math. Paris, p. 169.—“He sent, therefore, in all haste, confidential messengers, that is to say, Thomas Herdinton, and Raoul the son of Nicholas, both knights, and a clerk named Robert of London, to the admiral, to the great King of Africa, Morocco, and Spain, who was vulgarly called Miramumelin, informing him, that he would surrender himself and his kingdom to him, and would hold the same of him, if it pleased him, as a tributary; and, likewise, that he would abandon the Christian law, which he thought to be but an idle thing, and would attach himself faithfully to the law of Mahomet. . . . They gave the admiral the royal chart, and an interpreter who was sent for explained it clearly. After the reading the king closed the book which he had been reading, for he was seated by his reading-desk studying. He was a man of middle stature and age, of quiet deportment, and easy and prudent words. After having deliberated for some time within himself, he said, ‘I was just now reading a book written in Greek by a wise and Christian Greek, named Paul, whose acts and discourses please me much. One thing alone displeases me in him, viz.: that he did not hold fast by the law under which he was born, but went over to another as a fickle deserter; and I say this for your master the King of the English, who born under the pious and holy law of the Christians now burns with desire, inconstant and fickle as he is, to abandon it for another.’ And he added, ‘God, who knows all things, knows that if I had no law I would choose this one above all others, and would ardently embrace it.’ Then he desired to know what manner of man was the King of England, and what was his realm. Heaving a deep sigh, the king replied, ‘Never have I read or heard tell that any king, possessor of so fine a realm submissive and obedient to him, was willing from being independent to become tributary; from free to become a slave; from happy to become wretched. . . .’ Then he inquired, but with contempt, as to his age, his stature, and his bravery. He was told that the King of England was past fifty; that his hair was quite white; that his body was stout; that he was not tall, but rather plump and robust in all his limbs. . . . At last, revolving in his mind all the replies of the envoys, after a short silence the admiral replied indignantly, with a contemptuous grimace: ‘That is not a king, but a kingling, grown imbecile and decrepit, and I care not for him; he is unworthy of my alliance.’ Then looking askance on Thomas and Raoul, he said: ‘Come not again before me, and never let your eyes again see my face.’ As the envoys were retiring in great confusion, the king cast his eyes on Robert the clerk, the third ambassador, who was small and black, had one arm longer than the other, his fingers misshapen, and his two eyes set close together, with, moreover, a Jewish cast of countenance. The king then reflecting that so sorry a personage would not have been chosen for so difficult a negotiation, if he was not upright, intelligent, and shrewd; seeing his crown and tonsure, and judging from thence that he was a clerk, called him to him; because, while the others were speaking, Robert had held his peace and kept aloof. . . . The king asked him whether John possessed any merit, whether he had procreated vigorous children, and whether the generative faculty was strong in him; and he added, that if Robert lied in his replies, he would never again believe any Christian, and above all any clerk. Robert swore by the Christian law that he would reply sincerely to all his questions. He told him, therefore, and assured him, that John was rather a tyrant

Meanwhile, he was buying up another army; his own had again abandoned him in the last campaign. He was sending subsidies to his nephew Otho,\* and stirring up all the princes of Belgium. He crossed the seas in the depth of winter, about February 15th, 1214, and landed at Rochelle, intending to attack Philip on the south, while the Germans and the Flemings were to fall upon him on the north. The moment was well chosen; the Poitevins, already weary of the yoke of France, ranged themselves in multitudes round John's banners. The lords in the north, too, were alarmed at the progress of the king's power; the Count of Boulogne had been despoiled by him of the five counties he possessed; the Count of Flanders in vain demanded restoration of Aire and St. Omer. The last campaign had exasperated to the utmost the hatred borne by the Flemings to the French. The counts of Limbourg, Holland, and Louvain, entered into this league, though the last named was Philip's son-in-law. There was also Hugues de Boves, the most celebrated of the Free Companion leaders; and, lastly, the poor Emperor of Brunswick, who was himself but a mercenary in the service of his uncle, the King of England. It is asserted, that the confederates aimed at nothing less than the partition of France. The Count of Flanders was to have had Paris, and the Count of Boulogne, Peronne and Vermandois. They were

than a king; ruining his people instead of governing them; an oppressor of his own, and the friend of strangers; a lion to his subjects and a lamb to strangers and rebels; who had lost by his supineness the duchy of Normandy and many other lands, and who thirsted, furthermore, to lose or destroy the kingdom of England; insatiable, greedy of money, lavish of his patrimony. 'He has engendered few children, or rather he has engendered none that are vigorous, but such as are quite like their father. He has a wife who is hateful to him, and who hates him; an incestuous woman, a sorceress, an adulteress, and a thousand times convicted of these crimes; in sooth, the king, her husband, has had her paramours strangled on her bed. The king, himself, has dishonoured the wives of many of his grantees and even of his relations; he has polluted his daughters and his marriageable sisters. As for the Christian faith, he is, as you have just heard, vacillating and full of doubt.' The admiral having heard this, no longer felt mere contempt for John, but abhorrence, and cursed him according to his law, and said, 'Why do those miserable English suffer such a man to reign over them? Of a truth they are effeminate and servile wretches.' 'The English,' replied Robert, 'are the most patient of men, until outrages and abuses exceed all measure; but now, like an elephant or a lion that feels itself wounded, and beholds itself all bloody, they are indignant, and desire, somewhat late it is true, to shake off the yoke that oppresses them.' The king reproached the English with their too great patience, and according to the interpreter, who was always present, cowardice is the phrase he used. He sent away Robert loaded with presents of gold and silver, jewellery, and silken stuffs. The other deputies he sent away without saluting them, or honouring them with any present. King John was bitterly afflicted at finding himself thus despised by the king admiral, and thwarted in his projects. Robert acted very liberally towards the king with the gifts of the stranger; accordingly, John honoured him more than the others, and gave him the abbey of St. Albans, though it was not vacant. He related to some of his intimate friends the history of his jewellery and all that the admiral had said to him in secret. Among the hearers was Mathew, who writes and relates this."

\* Math. Paris, p. 158.

to have given the property of the clergy to their soldiery, in imitation of John.\*

The battle of Bouvines, so famous and so national, does not seem to have been a very considerable action. It is probable that each army hardly exceeded 15,000 or 20,000 men.† Philip having sent the greater part of his knights against John, had formed his army, which he led himself, partly of the militia of Picardy. The Belgians suffered Philip to lay waste their lands *royally*‡ for a month, and he was about to march back again without having seen the enemy, when he fell in with them between Lille and Tournay, near the bridge of Bouvines (August 27th, 1214). The details of the battle have been transmitted to us by an eye-witness, Guillaume le Breton, the chaplain of Philip Augustus, who kept behind him during the battle. Unfortunately, his narrative, evidently distorted by flattery, is still more so by the classic servility with which the poetic historian thinks himself bound to model his Philippid on Virgil's *Æneid*. Philip must, by all means, be *Æneas*, and the emperor, Turnus. All that we can regard as certain is, that our forces were at first thrown into disorder, and that the knights made several charges, in one of which the King of France was in peril of his life, having been pulled off his horse by foot-soldiers armed with hooks. The Emperor Otho had his horse wounded by William of Barres, the brother of Simon de Montfort, and was involved and carried away in the rout of his own party. The glory of courage, but not victory, remained with the Brabançon Free Companions; those veteran soldiers, 500 in number, refused to surrender to the French, and chose rather to be killed. The knights held out less obstinately; a great number of them were taken prisoners. Under the heavy armour they wore, a man once unhorsed was almost helpless. Five counts and earls fell into the hands of Philip Augustus, viz. those of Flanders, Boulogne, Salisbury, Tecklembourg, and Dortmund. The first two remained Philip's prisoners for want of ransom. Other prisoners he bestowed on the communal militia, which had taken part in the fight, that they might put them to ransom.

John was not more fortunate in the South than Otho in the North. At first, he obtained rapid successes on the Loire, and took St. Florent, Ancenis, and Angers; but hardly had the two armies met face to face, when a panic terror made them turn their backs at the same moment. John lost more rapidly than he had won; the Aquitanians gave Louis just as good a welcome as they had given John, who thought himself fortunate when the pope obtained a truce for him in consideration of 60,000 marks of silver, and returned into England, beaten, ruined, and without resource. It

\* Math. Paris, p. 715. Otho declared that an archbishop should not have more than twelve horses, a bishop six, and an abbot three. Urpr., 326, ap. Raumer, Hohenstaufen.

† Sismondi, Hist. des Français, p. 356.

‡ Guill. Brito., p. 94.

was a fine opportunity for the barons, and they seized it. In the month of January, 1215, and again on the 15th of June, they made him sign the celebrated document known under the name of *Magna Charta*. Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, ex-professor of the University of Paris, maintained, that the liberties demanded of the king were none other than the old English liberties already recognised by Henry Beauclerc in a similar charta.\* John promised the barons, that he would no longer dispose of their daughters and widows in marriage against their will, nor ruin wards under pretext of feudal guardianship, or *garde noble*. He promised the inhabitants of the towns to respect their franchises, and to permit all freemen to come and go as they pleased; that he would not imprison or despoil any one arbitrarily; that he would not cause the *contenment* of poor people to be seized (tools, utensils, &c.);† that he would not levy the scutage, or war tax, without the consent of the barons' parliament (except in the three cases provided by the feudal laws); and, lastly, that he would no longer cause the goods and the carriages necessary for his household to be seized by his officers. The royal Court of Common Pleas was no longer to follow the king, but was to sit in Westminster under the eye of the people. Lastly, the judges, constables and bailiffs were thenceforth to be persons versed in the science of the laws. This article alone transferred the judicial power to scribes, clerks, legists, and men of lower condition. What the king granted to those immediately under the crown, they, too, were to grant to their subalterns. Thus, for the first time, the aristocracy felt that it could not consolidate its victory over the king, except by stipulating on behalf of all freemen; on that day, the ancient opposition between the victors and the vanquished, between the sons of the Normans and the sons of the Saxons, passed away and disappeared.

When this document was laid before John, he cried out, "They might just as well demand my crown of me."‡ He signed the charter, and then burst into a horrible fit of rage, tearing and gnawing the straw and wood about him, like a wild beast in his cage. As soon as the barons had dispersed, he had it published all over the continent, that the Brabançon, Flemish, Norman, Poitevin, and Gascon adventurers, who desired service, might come to England, and take the lands of his rebel barons.§ He purposed repeating, against the Normans, William's conquest over the Saxons. Multitudes of adventurers presented themselves on this invitation, and the alarmed barons applied to the kings of Scotland and France. The son of

\* Hallam suspects a pious fraud here.

† Hallam, *History of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. 87.

‡ It is stated in *Magna Charta*, that should the king's ministers violate it in any matter, the case should be referred to the council of the twenty-five barons. "Thereupon the latter, with the commonalty of the whole land, shall molest and pursue us in every way, i. e. by the capture of our castles, &c." Thus the first attempt at the establishment of guarantees was the sanctioning of civil war. See *Essais de Guizot*, p. 439-441.

§ Math. Paris, p. 225.

the latter had married Blanche of Castile, John's niece; but this princess, who was not her uncle's immediate heir, could not convey to her husband a right she did not herself possess. The pope, too, interfered. He was of opinion that the Archbishop of Canterbury had pushed matters too far against John, and he forbade the King of France to attack the King of England, the Church's vassal. Young Louis, Philip's son, feigning to act against his father's will,\* passed over into England, in spite of this prohibition, at the head of an army. All the counties of Kent, the archbishop himself, and the city of London, declared for the French. John found himself once more forsaken, alone, and an exile in his own kingdom. He was forced to seek his daily subsistence by pillage, like a leader of Free Companions. In the morning he burned the house where he passed the night. He spent some months in the Isle of Wight, supporting himself by piracy. He carried about with him, however, a sum of money, with which he counted on still purchasing soldiers; but it was lost in crossing a river. He then lost all hope, fell into a fever, and died. This was the worst thing that could happen for the French. John's son, Henry III., was innocent of his father's crimes. Louis soon found all the English rallied against him, and thought himself fortunate to be able to return to France, on condition of renouncing the crown of England.†

Innocent III. had died two months before King John (July 16th, October 19th, 1216), as great and as triumphant as the enemy of the Church was humiliated. And yet that victorious end had been saddened. What was it he wanted? He had put down Otho, and made an emperor of his young Italian, Frederic II. The deaths of the kings of Aragon and England had shown the world what it was to sport with the Church. The heresy of the Albigeois had been drowned in such waves of blood, that hardly could a victim be found for the fagots. What lacked he yet—that great and terrible ruler of the world and of thought?

Only one thing; that immense, infinite thing, the want of which nothing can supply—his own approbation, faith in himself. His confidence in the principle of persecution had not, perhaps, been shaken; but a confused wail of bloodshed reached his ear above the din of his victory; a small, still, awful voice. When they told him that his legate of Citeaux had butchered in his name 20,000 men in Beziers, and that Bishop Foulquet had put 10,000 men to death in Toulouse, was it possible that the sword had never smitten amiss in such wholesale executions? So many towns

\* Math. Paris, p. 236. The Court of Peers was assembled at Melun. Louis said to Philip: "Monseigneur, I am your liegeman for the fiefs you have given me this side the sea; but as for the realm of England it does not belong to you to decide respecting it.....I only ask of you not to put any impediment to my enterprises, for I am determined to fight to the death if need be, to recover my wife's inheritance." The king declared that he would give his son no support.

† According to the English accounts, he even promised to surrender back the conquests of Philip Augustus on his accession.

in ashes; so many children punished for the faults of their parents; so many sins to punish sin! The executioners had been well paid; this one was Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence;\* that one Archbishop of Narbonne; the rest were bishops. And what had the Church, herself, gained? Boundless execration, and the pope, a doubt.

It was, above all, a year before his death, in 1215, when the Count of Toulouse and the Count of Foix, and the other lords of the South, threw themselves at his feet; when he heard their complaints, and saw their tears; then it was that he was sorely troubled in his mind. He wished, it is said, to make reparation, and could not; his agents would not suffer him to make a restitution which would have ruined them and condemned their conduct. It is not with impunity that you immolate humanity to an idea; the cry of blood rings through your own heart, and shakes the idol to which you have sacrificed. That idol fails you in the day of doubt; it totters, fades away, and eludes you. The only certainty it leaves, is that of the crime committed for it.

"When the holy father heard all that the one party and the other had to say to him,† he heaved a deep sigh. He then retired to his cabinet with his council, and the said lords also returned to their lodgings to await the reply which the holy father should please to make them.

"When the holy father had retired, all the prelates of the party of the legate and Count Montfort came to him and told him, and demonstrated to him, that if he restored their lands and lordships to the petitioners, and refused to listen to them, the prelates, no one in the world would ever again interfere in the affairs of the Church, or do any thing for her. When all the prelates had said this, the holy father took a book, and showed them all how that, if they did not restore the said lands and lordships to those from whom they had been taken, it would be doing them a great wrong; for he had found, and still found, Count Ramon very obedient to the Church and to his commands, as well as all the others who were with him. 'For the which reason,' he said, 'I give them leave and licence to recover their lands and lordships of those who unjustly retain them.'

"Then you would have seen the said prelates murmur against the holy father and the princes in such sort, that you would have said,

\* In a charter of the year 1216, Montfort styles himself: *Simon, providentia Dei dux Narbonæ, comes Tolosæ, et marchio Provincie et Carcassonnæ vice comes, et dominus Montis-fortes*. *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, p. 254.

† Chron. Langued., in the *Preuves*, &c. iii. 59—62. I follow M. Guizot's translation with a few modifications, I believe as he does in the high antiquity of this document. Nevertheless, the chronicle is at variance on many important facts with contemporary historians. In this instance, perhaps, it makes the pope too favourable to the Count of Toulouse. See also the Chronicle in verse, published by M. Fauriel in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

they were rather desperate men than otherwise, and the holy father was quite dismayed to find the prelates so much exasperated against him.

“ When the *chantre* of Lyons, who was one of the greatest clerks known in all the world, saw and heard the said prelates murmur in this wise against the holy father and the princes, he rose and spoke against the prelates, setting forth to the holy father that every thing the prelates said, and had said, was nothing else than a tissue of malice and wickedness against the said princes and lords, and against all truth; ‘For,’ said he, ‘thou knowest well, lord pope, as regards Count Ramon, that he has always been obedient to thee, and that it is a verity that he was among the first to put his fortresses into thy hands, or into those of thy legate. He has also been of the first that took the cross; he was at the siege of Carcassonne, against his nephew the Viscount of Beziers, which he did in order to show how obedient he was to thee, although the viscount was his nephew; the which thing, likewise, has caused much outcry. Wherefore, it seemeth to me, my lord, that thou wilt do a great wrong to Count Ramon, if thou dost not restore, and cause to be restored to him, his lands, and thou wilt incur the reproach of God and of the world; and henceforth, my lord, there will not be one living man who will trust in thee, or in thy letters, and who will put faith and credence in them, whereby the whole Church militant may incur defamation and reproach. Wherefore, I tell you, that you, Bishop of Toulouse, are greatly in the wrong, and plainly show by your words that you love not Count Ramon any more than the people whereof you are pastor; for you have kindled such a fire in Toulouse, that it will never be extinguished. You have been the principal cause of the death of more than 10,000 men, and you will cause the death of as many more, since, by your false representations, you show plainly that you persevere in the same wrong doing; and through you, and by your conduct, the court of Rome has been so defamed that the whole world rings with the noise thereof. And it seemeth to me, my lord, that for the covetousness of one single man, so many persons ought not to be destroyed, or plundered of their property.’

“ The holy father pondered then somewhat on the matter, and, when he had pondered, he said, ‘I see plainly, and am aware that great wrong has been done to the lords and princes who have come before me; but, in anywise, I am innocent thereof, and know nothing of it. It was not by my order that these wrongs were done; I am in nowise well pleased with those who have done them; for Count Ramon has always borne himself towards me as one truly obedient, as well as the princes who are with him.’

“ Thereupon, up rose the Archbishop of Narbonne, and, opening his mouth, he set forth to the holy father how that the princes were not guilty of any fault whereby they deserved that they should thus be despoiled, and that the will of the Bishop of Toulouse should be



done, 'who always,' he continued, 'has given us very damnable counsels, and does so still at present. For I swear to you, by the faith I owe to the holy Church, that Count Ramon has always been obedient to thee, holy father, and to the holy Church, as well as all the lords who are with him. And if they revolted against thy legate and Count de Montfort, they were not wrong; for the legate and Count de Montfort have deprived them of all their lands, have slain and massacred their people without number, and the Bishop of Toulouse, here present, is cause of all the evil which is done there. And thou mayest clearly know, my lord, that the words of the said bishop have no semblance of truth; for if things were, as he says and makes believe, Count Ramon, and the lords who accompany him, would not have come before thee as they have done, and as thou seest.'

"When the archbishop had spoken there came a great clerk, named Master Theodise, and he set forth to the holy father quite the contrary of that which the Archbishop of Narbonne had said to him. 'Thou knowest well, my lord,' he said, 'and art aware of the very great pains the Count de Montfort and the legate have taken night and day, to the great danger of their persons, to reduce and change the country of the princes of whom mention has been made; the which country was all full of heretics. Likewise, my lord, thou knowest well that now the Count de Montfort and thy legate have swept away and destroyed the said heretics and taken the country into their own hands; the which they have done with great pains and labour, as every one may clearly see; and now that these men come to thee, thou canst do nothing, nor deal rigorously against thy legate. The Count de Montfort has good right and good cause to take their lands, and if thou should'st take them from him now, thou wouldst do him great wrong, for day and night the Count de Montfort labours for the Church and for its rights, as thou hast been told.'

"The holy father having heard each of the two parties, replied to Master Theodise and those of his company, that he knew full well the very contrary of what they said, for that he had been well informed that the legate destroyed the good and the righteous, and left the wicked unpunished; and great were the complaints that every day reached him from all parts against the legate and the Count de Montfort. All those who held to the party of the legate and Count de Montfort assembled and came before the holy father, beseeching him that he would vouchsafe to leave to the Count de Montfort, since he had conquered them, the counties of Bigorre, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Agen, Quercy, Albigeois, Foix, and Comminges. 'And should it be, my lord,' they said, 'that thou desirest to take from him the said countries and lands, we vow and promise that we will all aid and assist him against all opponents.'

"When they had thus spoken, the holy father replied, that neither for them, nor for any thing that they had said, would he do any

thing of what they desired, and that no man in the world should be despoiled by him. For, that supposing the thing were as they said, and that Count Ramon had done all that was said and set forth, he ought not for that to lose his lands and his heritage. For God has said with His own mouth, that the father should not pay for the iniquity of the son, nor the son for that of the father, and there is no man who dares maintain the contrary. Again, he was well informed that the Count de Montfort had wrongfully and without cause put the Viscount de Beziers to death, in order to have his lands. 'For, as I am aware,' he said, 'the Viscount de Beziers never contributed to this heresy; and I should much like to know, since you so strongly take part with the Count de Montfort, where is the man among you who will charge and inculpate the viscount, and tell me wherefore the Count de Montfort has thus put him to death, and ravaged his land, and taken it from him in this sort?' When the holy father had thus spoken, all the prelates assured him that by fair means or by force, right or wrong, the Count de Montfort should keep the lands and lordships, for they would aid him to defend himself against all opponents, seeing that he had well and loyally conquered the said lands and lordships.

"The Bishop of Osmâ seeing this, said to the holy father: 'My lord, heed not their threats, for I tell you of a truth that the Bishop of Toulouse is a great braggard, and their threats will not prevent the son of Count Ramon from recovering his lands from the Count de Montfort. He will find aid and assistance to that end, for he is the nephew of the King of France, and, also, of the King of England, and of other great lords and princes; wherefore he will be well able to defend his right although he be young.'

"The holy father replied: 'My lords, be not uneasy for the child, for if the Count de Montfort keeps back from him his lands and lordships, I will give him others, wherewith he will reconquer Toulouse, Agen, and also Beaucaire. I will give him to have and to hold in full possession, the county of Venaissin, which belonged to the emperor, and if he has for him God and the Church, and does no wrong to any one in the world, he will have enough of lands and lordships.' The Count Ramon came then to the holy father, with all the princes and lords, to have a reply respecting their affairs, and the petition which each of them had made to the holy father. The Count Ramon set forth how that they had remained a long while waiting a reply upon their affair, and on the petition which each had laid before him. The holy father said then to Count Ramon, that for the moment he could do nothing for them, but that he should go his ways and leave him his son, and when Count Ramon had heard the reply of the holy father, he took leave of him and left him his son; and the holy father gave him his benediction. Count Ramon quitted Rome with a part of his people, and left the rest with his son. And among others the Count of Foix remained there, to sue for his land and see if he could recover it. And Count

Ramon went straightway to Viterbo, to wait for his son and the others who were with him, as we have said.

"All this being done, the Count of Foix repaired to the holy father to know if the lands were to return to him or not. And when the holy father saw the Count de Foix, he gave him back his lands and lordships, and vouchsafed him letters, as was necessary on such an occasion; whereat the Count of Foix was greatly rejoiced and greatly thanked the holy father, who gave him his benediction and absolution of all things up to the day present. When the affair of the Count de Foix was ended, he departed from Rome, went straight to Viterbo to Count Ramon, and related to him the whole affair; how he had had his absolution, and how the holy father had likewise given him back his land and lordship. He showed him his letters, whereat Count Ramon was greatly rejoiced, and so they departed from Viterbo and went straight to Genoa, where they waited for the son of Count Ramon.

"Now history says, that after all this, and when the son of Count Ramon had sojourned in Rome for the space of forty days, he repaired one day to the holy father with his barons and the lords who were in his company. When he was arrived, after salutation made by the child to the holy father, as he well knew how to do, for the child was sage and well-nurtured, he asked leave of the holy father to depart, since he could not have any other reply; and when the holy father had heard all the child desired to say to him, he took him by the hand, made him sit down by his side, and began to say to him; 'Hearken, my son, to what I have to say to thee; if thou dost what I say, thou wilt never fail in any thing.

"First, love God and serve him, and take nothing that belongs to another; thine own defend, if any one seeks to take it from thee; doing which, thou wilt have much lands and lordships. And to the end that thou mayst not remain without lands and lordships, I give thee the county of Venaissin, with all its appurtenances, Provence and Bocaire, to serve for thy maintenance, until the holy Church shall have assembled its council; then thou mayst return to this side of the mountains to have right and justice done thee touching thy demand against the Count de Montfort.'

"The child thanked the holy father for what he had given him, and said to him, 'My lord, if I can recover my land from the Count de Montfort and those who retain it, I entreat thee, my lord, not to take it amiss, and not to be angry against me.' The holy father replied to him, 'Whatever thou doest, God permits thee to begin well, and end better.'

These wishes of a powerless old man were not to be realised. It was neither the Raymonds nor the Montforts that became possessed of the patrimony of the Count of Toulouse; the lawful heir recovered it only to lose it speedily. The usurper with all his courage and prodigious vigour of soul was vanquished in his heart, when a stone shot from the walls of Toulouse delivered him from the burden of

life (1218).<sup>\*</sup> His son, Amaury de Montfort, ceded to the King of France his rights over Languedoc. All the South, with the exception of some free towns, threw themselves into the hands of Philip Augustus.<sup>†</sup> In 1212 the legate himself and the bishops of the South entreated him on their knees to accept Montfort's homage.<sup>‡</sup> The fact is, the victors knew not what to do with their conquest, and doubted they should be able to maintain it. The 430 fiefs which Simon de Montfort had granted to be governed according to the laws and customs of Paris, might be snatched from the new possessors, if they did not make sure of a potent protector. The beaten party, who had on many occasions seen the King of France opposed to the pope, hoped for a little more equity and mildness at his hands.

If we cast a glance over the condition of Europe at this period, we shall discover in every state a weakness and an inconsistency both in principles and in circumstances, which tended to the advantage of the King of France.

Before the horrible war which brought about the catastrophe of the South, Don Pedro and Raymond V. had been opposed to the

<sup>\*</sup> Guill. de Rod. Laur., c. xxx. "The count was heartsick and weary, ruined by so many expenses, and exhausted, and could scarcely endure the continual goading of the legate for his indifference and supineness. Accordingly, he prayed the Lord, it is said, to put an end to his woes by the repose of death. On the eve of St. John the Baptist, a stone shot by a mangonel struck him on the head, and he expired on the spot."

<sup>†</sup> Raymond VII. writes to Philip Augustus (July, 1222): *Ad vos, domine, sicut ad meum unicum et principale recurro refugium.....humiliter vos deprecans et exorans quatenus mei misereri velitis.* Preuves, &c., iii. 275.

<sup>‡</sup> (Dec. 1222.) Cum.....Amalricus supplicaverat nobis ut dignemini juxta beneplacitum vestrum terram accipere vobis et hæredibus vestris in perpetuum, quam tenuit vel tenere debuit, ipse, vel pater suus in partibus Albigenisibus et sibi vicinis, gaudemur super hoc, desiderantes ecclesiam et terram illam sub umbra vestri nominis gubernari, et rogantes affectuose quantum possumus, quatenus celsæ majestatis vestræ regia potestas, intuitu regis regum et pro honore sanctæ matris ecclesiæ ac regni vestri, terram prædictam ad oblationem et resignationem dicti comitis recipiatis; et invenietis nos et cæteros prælatos paratos vires nostras effundere in hoc negotio pro vobis, et expendere quidquid ecclesia in partibus illis habet, vel est habitura. Preuves, &c., iii. 276.—(1223) Dum dudum et diu soli sederemus in Biterris civitate, singulis momentis mortem expectantes, optataque nobis fuit in desiderio, vita nobis existente in supplicium, hostibus fidei et pacis undique gladios suos in capita nostra exerentibus, ecce, rex reverende intravit kal. Maii cursor ad nos, qui.....nuntiavit nobis verbum bonum, verbum consolationis, et totius miseræ nostræ allevationis, quod videlicet placet celsitudinis vestræ magnificentiæ, convocatis prælati et baronibus regni vestri apud Melodunum, ad tractandum super remedio et succursu terræ, quæ facta est in horrendam desolationem et in sibilum sempiternum, nisi Dominus ministerio regiæ dextræ vestræ citius succurrat, super quo, tanto mœrore sealidi, tanta lugubratione defecti respirantes, gratias primum, elevatis oculis ac manibus in cælum, referimus altissimo, in cujus manu corda regum consistunt, scientes hoc divinitus vobis esse inspiratum, etc.....Flexis itaque genibus, reverendissime Rex, lacrymis in torrentem deductis, et singultibus lacerati, regiæ supplicamus majestati quatenus vobis inspiratæ gratiæ Dei non deesse velitis.....quod universalis imminet subversio in regno vestro, nisi vos occurratis et succurratis, etc. Preuves, &c., iii. 278.

municipal liberties of Toulouse and Aragon. The King of Aragon had desired to be crowned by the hands of the pope, and to do him homage in order that he might be the less dependent on his own people. Raymond V., Count of Toulouse, had himself solicited the kings of France and England to make a crusade against the religious and political liberties of the city of Toulouse; representing the feudal principle, he would fain have annulled the municipal principle that thwarted his power. The King of England continued against Canterbury and against his barons the struggle begun by Henry II. Lastly, the Emperor Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, a scion of a family wholly Guelph, the enemy of the emperors, but English by his mother's side, and brought up in England at the courts of his uncles Richard and John, took more after his mother than his father, and turned from the Guelphs to the Ghibellines; whilst the Ghibelline house of the princes of Suabia was raised up again by the popes, by Innocent III., the guardian of young Frederic II. Otho, abandoned both by Guelphs and Ghibellines, was shut up in his Brunswick dominions, and received his uncle John's pay for fighting against the Church and against Philip Augustus, who defeated him at Bouvines. Such was the enormous contradiction pervading the condition of Europe. The sovereigns were against municipal liberties, and for religious liberties; the Emperor was a Guelph, and the pope a Ghibelline. The pope, whilst he attacked kings on religious grounds, supported them against their subjects on political questions; he consecrated the King of Aragon, annulled Magna Charta, and censured the Archbishop of Canterbury, just as Alexander III. had abandoned Becket. The pope thus renounced his old part of defender of political and religious liberties; the King of France, on the contrary, at this period sanctioned a multitude of communal charters. He took part in the crusade of the South, but only just as much as was necessary to authenticate his faith. He, alone, in Europe occupied a strong and simple position; he, alone, could look forward confidently to the future.

## CHAPTER VIII.

First Half of the Thirteenth Century—Mysticism—Louis IX.—Sanctity of the King of France.

THAT great conflict which we have portrayed in the preceding chapter, ended, apparently, in favour of the pope; he was everywhere triumphant,—over the Emperor, King John, the Albigeois heretics, and the schismatic Greeks. England and Naples were become two fiefs of the Holy See, and the tragical death of the King of Aragon was a great lesson to all kings. Nevertheless, so little did these various successes add to the pope's strength, that we shall find him in the middle of the thirteenth century forsaken by a great part of Europe, and, like a pauper, begging for French protection in Lyons. We shall see him in the beginning of the following century insulted, beaten, and buffeted by his great friend the King of France, and obliged, at last, to come and put himself under his hand at Avignon. We shall find that it was for the benefit of France, that both victors and vanquished succumbed, both the enemies of the Church and the Church herself.

How are we to account for this precipitous decline from Innocent III. to Boniface VIII., such a fall after such a victory? The reason of it is, in the first place, that the victory was more apparent than real; steel is powerless against thought; it is rather the very nature of that obstinately vivacious plant to grow, and germinate, and flourish beneath the steel. How much more so if the blade be in the hand that ought the least to employ it; if it is the pious hand of the priest that wields it; if the lamb bites and rends; if the father assassinates his children! The character of sanctity, thus lost by the Church, will presently devolve upon a layman, a king, the King of France; the nations will transfer their reverence to a lay priesthood, to royalty. The pious Louis IX. thus unconsciously deals the Church a fearful blow.

The very remedies are become evils. A pope has vanquished independent mysticism, only by himself opening great schools of mysticism. I allude to the mendicant orders. This was combating the evil by the evil itself; it was undertaking that task, which is, above all others, difficult and contradictory, to attempt to regulate inspiration; to determine illumination; to give shape and method to delirium. Liberty is not to be thus played with; it is a two-edged sword, which wounds the hand of him who thinks to grasp and make it an instrument.

The orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis, on which the pope

endeavoured to rest the falling Church, had a common mission, that of preaching. The first age of the monasteries was passed away, the age of labour and culture in which the Benedictines had reclaimed the soil of the wilderness and the mind of the barbarians. The age of the preachers of the crusade, of the monks of Cîteaux and Clairvaux, had ended with the crusade. It was a moral crusade of which the Church had need; one in which she should summon men, not to the Jerusalem of Judæa, but to the Jerusalem of charity, union, simplicity, and obedience. The safety and welfare of Christianity were assuredly involved in the unity of the Church. It had been saved in the days of Gregory VII. by the monks, the auxiliaries of the papacy; but sedentary and recluse monks ceased to be of much service when the heretics were going about diffusing their doctrines throughout the world. Against such preachers, the Church had her *preachers*; this is the special name of the order of St. Dominick. When the world came less frequently to her, she went to the world. These missionaries drew from that fountain at which Christianity assuages its thirst whenever it faints and is weary, the fountain of grace.\* There sprang from it two orders, those of St. Dominick and of St. Francis. The source being reopened, there was enough for all the world. All flocked to it; the laity were admitted to it. The third order of St. Dominick and of St. Francis received a multitude of men who could not quit the world, and who sought to harmonise mundane duties with monastic perfection. St. Louis and his mother belonged to the third order of St. Francis.

Such was the common influence of the two orders. Nevertheless, they had each its distinct character under this general resemblance. That of St. Dominick founded by an austere spirit, by a Spanish gentleman, under the sanguinary inspiration of Cîteaux, in the midst of the crusade of Languedoc, soon halted in the career of mysticism, and had neither the impetuosity, nor the devious impulses of the order of St. Francis. It was the principal auxiliary of the popes until the foundation of the order of the Jesuits. The Dominicans were charged with the task of regulating and repressing; to them belonged the Inquisition, and the teaching of theology in the precincts of the pontifical palace itself.† Whilst the Franciscans were running about in the wild turbulence of inspiration, falling, and rising from obedience to liberty, from heresy to orthodoxy, setting the world in a glow, and agitating it with the transports of mystic love, the gloomy spirit of St. Dominick shut itself up in the sacred palace of the Lateran, and beneath the granite arches of the Escurial.‡

The order of St. Francis took an easier course; it plunged head-

\* The universities had forsaken St. Augustine for Aristotle (Bulæus, ii. 269), the Mendicants went back to St. Augustine.

† Honorius III. approved of the rule of St. Dominick in 1216, and created in its favour the office of Master of the Sacred Palace.

‡ Founded by Philip II.

long into love, the love of God; and exclaimed, like Luther in after times: Away with the law; grace for ever! The founder of this vagabond order was a merchant or pedlar of Assise. Though an Italian, he was called *François*, because, in fact, he could speak little else than French. "In his early youth," says his biographer, "he was a man of vanity, a buffoon, a jester, a singer, light, prodigal, bold."—The description he gives of his person is as follows, "A round head, small forehead, dull black eyes, straight eyebrows; the nose straight and delicate; the ears small, and as it were, erect; his tongue sharp and ardent, his voice strong and sweet; close white even teeth, thin lips, thin beard, slender neck, short arms, long fingers, long nails, meagre legs, small feet, little or no flesh."\* His age was five-and-twenty when a vision converted him. Thereupon he mounts his horse, goes and sells his goods at Foligno, carries the price to an old priest, and on his refusal to accept it, throws the money out of the window. He wishes at least to remain with the priest, but his father pursues him; he makes his escape, and lives for a month in a hole; his father catches him again, and beats him, and the people pelt him with stones. His friends compel him to make a legal renunciation of all his property in presence of the bishop. He does so with the greatest possible delight, and gives all his clothes to his father, without retaining even a pair of drawers, and the bishop takes off his own cloak and throws it over him.†

The wide world is now before him; he traverses the forests hymning the praises of the Creator; robbers stop him and ask him who he is, "I am the herald," he replies, "who proclaim the great king." They throw him into a hole full of snow. This is a fresh delight for the saint. He scrambles out and pursues his way; the birds sing with him; he preaches to them and they listen, "Birds, my brethren," he says, "much reason have you to extol the Creator, who gave you wings and feathers, and all you need." Then, satisfied with their docility, he gives them his benediction and allows them to fly away.‡ In this manner he exhorted all creatures to praise and thank God; he loved and sympathised with them. He saved the hunted hare when he could, and sold his cloak to redeem a lamb from the slaughter. Even lifeless nature he embraced in his boundless charity, corn-fields, vineyards, wood, stones. He had a brother's feeling for all, and he invited them all to divine love. §

\* Acta SS. Octobris, t. ii., Vita S. Francisci a Thoma Cellano, p. 685, 706. (Thomas de Cellano was his disciple, and twice wrote his life by order of Gregory IX.)

† Th. Cellan., p. 687—688: Nec femoralia retinens, totus coram omnibus denudatur. Episcopus . . . pallio quo indutus erat, contextit eum.

‡ Ibid., p. 699: "Fratres mei aves, multum debetis laudare creatorem," etc. One day when the twittering of swallows interrupted him in his preaching, he requested them to hold their peace: Sorores meæ hirundines, etc. They immediately complied. Ibid.

§ Ibid., p. 705: Segetes, vineas, lapides et silvas, et omnia speciosa campo-



By and by a poor idiot of Assise attached himself to him, and then a rich merchant left all and followed him. These first Franciscans, and those who joined them, began by practising extravagant austerities similar to those of the fakirs of India; hanging themselves from cords, and loading themselves with iron chains and wooden clogs.\* Then, when they had somewhat appeased their thirst for suffering, St. Francis long pondered within himself which of the two was better, prayer or preaching.† He never would have come to a solution of the doubt had he not thought of consulting St. Clare and Brother Silvester, who both decided in favour of preaching. Thenceforth, he hesitated no longer, but girt his loins with a rope and set out for Rome. "Such were his transports," says his biographer, "when he appeared before the pope, that he could hardly keep his feet still, but every limb was in motion as though he were dancing."‡ The statesmen of the court of Rome gave him an ill reception at first; but, on reflection, the pope accorded him his sanction. The sole favour that he requested was, that he might preach, beg, and possess nothing in the world, saving the poor church of St. Mary of the Angels in the little field of the *Portiuncula*, which he rebuilt with the alms bestowed on him.§ This being done, he portioned out the world among his companions, retaining Egypt for himself, where he expected martyrdom; but all his efforts were in vain, the sultan persisted in sending him away.

Such was the progress made by the new order, that in 1219 St. Francis numbered 5000 Franciscans in Italy, and there were members of the order all over the world. These headlong apostles of grace ran about in every direction barefoot, enacting all the mysteries in their sermons, captivating women and children, laughing at Christmas, weeping on Good Friday, and developing without reserve all the dramatic elements of Christianity. The system of grace, which makes man but a puppet in the hands of God, dispenses him from all considerations of his personal dignity. It is for him an act of love to humble himself, to make himself nothing; to expose the shameful points of his nature. In so doing he seems to exalt God so much the more; flagrant self-degradation becomes a pious luxury, a sort of devotional sensuality; the enthusiast delights to sacrifice his pride and his sense of decency to the beloved object.

It was a great joy to St. Francis to do penance in the streets for having broken the fast and eaten a morsel of fowl from necessity. He had himself dragged about stark naked and whipped with cords, while the flagellators cried out, "Look at the glutton that crammed

---

rum.....terramque et ignem, aërem in ventum ad divinum monebat amorem, etc.....Omnes creaturas *fratres* nomine nuncupabat; *frater cinis, soror masea, etc.*

\* Th. Cellan., p. 695: Aliquis suspensus funibus.

† Vita S. Franc. a S. Bonaventura, p. 774.

‡ Ibid.

§ Th. Cellan., p. 699.

himself with chicken unknown to you."\* At Christmas he prepared himself a stable to preach in, like that in which the Saviour was born; there was the ox, and the ass, and the hay; and, that nothing might be wanting to the completeness of the scene, he himself bleated like a sheep, pronouncing the word *Bethlehem*, and when he came to utter the sweet name of Jesus he licked his lips as if he had been eating honey.†

These mad histrionic displays, these insane peregrinations over Europe, which could only be compared to those of Bacchanals, or to the pantomimes of the priests of Cybele, gave occasion, as may be supposed, to many excesses; nor were they even exempt from the sanguinary character that had marked the orgiastic representations of antiquity. The all-potent dramatic genius that prompted St. Francis to the complete imitation of the Saviour was not content with re-enacting the scenes of his life and his birth, but the Passion, too, was to be imitated. In his latter years St. Francis was carried through the streets on a car with the blood flowing from his side, and with *stigmata* in imitation of those of the Lord.‡

This ardent mysticism was eagerly embraced by women, and in return they had a large share in the distribution of the gifts of grace. St. Clara of Assise began the *Clarisses*.§ The dogma of the Immaculate Conception became more and more popular;|| this was the principal point in religion, the favourite thesis maintained by theologians, the cherished and sacred creed for which the Franciscans, the Virgin's knights, broke many a lance. A sensual devotion took hold on Christendom; the whole world was presented

\* Th. Cellan., p. 696. "Videte glutonem, qui impinguatus est carnibus galinarum, quas, vobis ignorantibus, manducavit!"

† Ibid., p. 706—707: More balantis ovis *Bethleem* dicens.....et labia sua, cum Jesum nominaret, quasi lingebat lingua.—The hay in the stable worked miracles, and cured sick animals. Ibid.

‡ See also Bartholomew of Pisa, *Liber conformitatum B. Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi*: ed. 1501, fol. 227, sqq. The author begins by establishing the possibility of the transformation of the loving subject into the beloved object, of St. Francis into Jesus Christ. Then he imagines an allegorical tree divided into ten branches, each bearing for fruit four conformities; to wit, two attributes of Jesus Christ, and two resemblances of St. Francis.

§ This order received a special code of rules from St. Francis in 1224. Agnes of Bohemia established it in Germany.—Et multæ filiæ ducum, comitum, baronum et aliorum nobilium de Alamania, mundum deserentes, exemplo beatæ Claræ et Agnetis, sponso celesti sunt junctæ. *Liber Conformitatum* (ed. 1501), fol. 85.

|| The church of Lyons instituted it in 1134. St. Bernard wrote a long letter, chiding it for this innovation (epist. 174). It was approved of by Alain de Lille and by Petrus Cellensis. (L. vi., epist. 23; ix. 9, 10.) The council of Oxford condemned it in 1222. The Dominicans took part with St. Bernard, the university with the church of Lyons. Bulæus, *Univ. Hist. Paris*, ii. 138; iv. 618, 964. See Duns Scotus, *Sententiarum Liber iii.*, dist. 3, qu. i., and dist. 18, qu. i. He disputed, it is said, in favour of the Immaculate Conception, against 200 Dominicans, and brought the university to decide: "Ne ad ullos gradus scholasticos admitteretur ullus, qui prius non juraret se defensurum B. Virginem a noxa originaria." Wadding, *Ann. Minorum*, ann. 1394. Bulæus, iv., p. 71.

to St. Dominick in the Virgin's hood, as India beheld it in the mouth of Krishna, or in Brahma reposing in the lotus flower. "The Virgin opened her hood before her servant Dominick, who was all in tears, and behold the hood was of such immense capacity, that it contained and sweetly embraced the whole celestial country."\*

We have already remarked, when speaking of Heloise, Eleanor of Guienne, and the courts of love, that in the twelfth century woman assumed on earth a place proportioned to the novel importance she had acquired in the celestial hierarchy. In the thirteenth century we find her seated, at least as mother and regent, on many of the thrones of the West. Blanche of Castile governs in the name of her infant son, as the Countess of Champagne does for young Thibault, and the Countess of Flanders for her captive husband. Isabella of La Marche also exercises the greatest influence over her son, Henry III., King of England; Joan of Flanders was not satisfied with power alone, but would have its honours and its virile insignia also. At the coronation of St. Louis she laid claim to the right of the Count of Flanders to carry a naked sword, the sword of France.†

Before we explain how it was that a woman governed France and broke the feudal force in the name of a child, we must recollect how much every circumstance of the times favoured the progress of the royal power. Royalty had but to let things take their course, and to swim with the stream. The death of Philip Augustus had

\* Acta SS. Theodor. de Appoldea, p. 583. Totam cœlestem patriam amplexando dulciter continebat. Pierre Damiani said, that "God himself had been inflamed with love for the Virgin." He exclaims in one of his sermons (Sermo xi., de Annunt. B. Mar. p. 171): "O venter diffusior cœlis, terris amplior, capacior elementis!" etc.—In a sermon by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, we find these verses:

"Bele Aliz matin leva,  
Sun cors vesti et para,  
Ens un vergier s'en entrs,  
Cinq fleurettes y truva;  
Un chapelet fit en a  
De bele rose flurie.  
Pur Deu trahez vus en là  
Vus ki ne amez mie."

He makes a mystical application of each verse to the mother of the Saviour, and cries out enthusiastically:

"Ceste est la belle Aliz,  
Ceste est la flur  
Ceste est le lis."

(ROQUEFORT, Poésies du XIIe, et du XIIIe Siècle.)

To the Franciscan St. Bonaventure have been attributed the *Psalterium Minus*, and the *Psalt. Majus B. Mariæ Virginis*. The latter is a sort of serious parody, in which each verse is applied to the Virgin. Psalm i.:....*Universas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis!*

† By a curious coincidence a woman succeeded, in 1250, for the first time to a sultan (Chegger Eddour to Almoadan). The name of a woman had never before been engraved on coin, or pronounced in the public prayers. The Caliph of Bagdad inveighed against the scandal of this innovation. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, iv. 357.

made no change in this state of things (1223). His son Louis, surnamed, it seems ironically, Louis the Lion, played the part of a conqueror, for all he was weak and sickly. He failed in England, it is true, but he took Poitou from the English. In Flanders, he upheld the Countess Joan, doing her the service of keeping her husband a prisoner in the tower of the Louvre. This Joan was the daughter of Baldwin, the first Emperor of Constantinople, who was supposed to have been killed by the Bulgarians. But one day, behold, he reappears in Flanders; his daughter refuses to recognise him, but the people welcome him, and she is obliged to fly to Louis VIII., who escorts her back with an army. The old man could not reply to certain questions, and twenty years of hard captivity might very possibly have impaired his memory. He was regarded as an imposter, and the countess had him put to death. The whole people regarded her as a parricide.

Thus was Flanders subjected to French influence, and the same was soon the case with Languedoc. Louis VIII. was invited thither by the Church against the Albigeois, who were reappearing under Raymond VII.\* Again, a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the South were eager to end at any terms, through the intervention of France, that war of tigers which had been so long waged among them. Louis had given proof of his mildness and loyalty at the siege of Marmande, where he in vain exerted himself to save the besieged. Twenty-five lords and seventeen archbishops and bishops declared that they counselled the king to take on himself the affair of the Albigeois.† Louis VIII. accordingly set out at the head of all northern France; the horsemen alone of the army amounted to 50,000. Great was the alarm in the South; a multitude of lords and towns hastened to send envoys to the king and to offer their homage. The republics of Provence, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, expected, however, that the torrent would pass them by. Avignon offered a free passage outside her walls, but at the same time she entered into an arrangement with the Count of Toulouse to destroy all fodder at the approach of the French cavalry. This town was in strict league with Raymond, and had remained twelve years under excommunication for his sake. The Podestas of Avignon took the title of bayles, or lieutenants of the Count of Toulouse. Louis VIII. insisted on passing through the town itself, and on this being refused he besieged it. The remonstrances of Frederic II. on behalf of this imperial town were not listened to; it was forced to pay ransom, give hostages, and pull down its walls. Every Frenchman and Fleming found in the town was butchered by the besiegers. A great part of Languedoc was dismayed; Nîmes, Albi, and Carcassonne surrendered, and Louis

\* See the letter of the Bishops of the South to Louis VIII., *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, p. 289, and the letters of Honorius III., *ap. Scr. Fr.*, xix. 699—723.

† *Hist. du Languedoc*, l. xxiv. p. 350, and *Preuves*, p. 299—300.

VIII. established seneschals in the latter town and in Beaucaire. He seemed likely to accomplish the conquest of the whole South in this campaign; but the siege of Avignon had been a fatal delay. The hot season occasioned a deadly epidemic in his army; he, himself, was on his deathbed when the Duke of Bretagne, and the counts of Lusignan, Marche, Angoulême, and Champagne, agreed to withdraw. They all repented of having aided towards the successes of the king, and the Count of Champagne, the queen's lover (such, at least, is the tradition), was accused of having poisoned Louis, who died shortly after his departure (1226).

The regency and the guardianship of young Louis IX. should have belonged, according to feudal law, to his uncle, Philip le Hurepel (the Coarse), Count of Boulogne. The pope's legate and the Count of Champagne, both of whom were said to share the favours of the queen-mother, Blanche of Castile, secured her the regency. It was a great novelty to see a woman commanding so many men; it was a glaring departure from the military and barbarous system which had prevailed until then, and an entrance on the pacific course of modern times. The Church lent its aid towards this consummation. Besides the legate, the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishop of Beauvais attested with alacrity, that the late king had named his widow regent on his deathbed. His will, which has come down to us, makes no mention of this;\* besides, it is doubtful that he would have entrusted the realm to a Spanish woman, to the niece of King John, to a woman whom the Count of Champagne had made, it was said, the subject of his poetic gallantries. This count, at first the king's enemy, like the other great lords, was, nevertheless, the most potent supporter of the monarchy after the death of Louis VIII.; he loved his widow, they say, and besides this, Champagne loved France. The great manufacturing towns of Troyes, Barre-sur-Seine, &c., would naturally sympathise with the pacific and regular power of the king, more than with the military turbulence of the lords. The party of the king was the party of peace, of order, of the safety of the highways. Every man that travelled, whether merchant or pilgrim, was to a certainty on the king's side. This, furthermore, accounts for the furious hatred of the great lords to Champagne, which had early abandoned their league. The jealousy felt by feudalism against industrialism, which had much to do with the wars between Flanders and Languedoc, was certainly no stranger to the fearful ravages which the lords committed in Champagne during the minority of St. Louis.†

The head of the feudal league was not Philip, the young king's uncle, nor the counts of Marche and Lusignan, the father-in-law and

\* Archives du Royaume, J, carton 401, Letter and Deposition of the Archbishop of Sens, and of the Bishop of Beauvais.—J, carton 403, Will of Louis VIII.

† Alberic., p. 541: *Communis burgensium et rusticorum facit (Campanie comes), in quibus magis confidebat quam in militibus suis.*

brother of the King of England, but Pierre Mauclerc, Duke of Bretagne, a descendant from a son of Louis le Gros. Bretagne, depending on Normandy, and, consequently, on England as well as on France, fluctuated between the two crowns. The duke was, moreover, the fittest man to take advantage of such a position. Educated in the schools of Paris, a great dialectician, destined at first to the priesthood, but by predilection a legist, a knight, and the enemy of the priests, he was, in consequence, surnamed *Mauclerc*.

This remarkable man, certainly the foremost of his times, undertook many things at once, and more than he could accomplish. In France, he undertook to humble the monarchy; in Bretagne, to make himself absolute, in defiance of the priests and the lords. He won the affection of the peasants, granted them rights of pasture, of usage of dead wood, and exemptions from toll.\* He had likewise on his side, the lords of the interior of the country, especially those of French Bretagne (Avaugour, Vitré, Fougères, Châteaubriant, Dol, Châteaugiron); but he strove to despoil those of the coasts (Léon, Rohan, Le Faou, &c.), with whom he disputed the precious right of *bris* (strandage), which gave them the property of all shipwrecked vessels. He strove, also, against the Church. Accused of simony before the barons, he employed against the priests the knowledge of the canon law he had derived from themselves. He showed an inflexible and barbarous spirit in this strife; when a curé refused to inter the body of one who had died excommunicated, he ordered that the curé himself should be buried with the body.†

This intestine struggle hardly allowed of Mauclerc's acting vigorously against France; to that end he ought, at least, to have been well supported by England. But the Poitevins who governed and robbed young Henry III., did not leave him any money wherewith to carry on an honourable war. He intended to cross the sea, in 1226, but a revolt kept him back. Mauclerc expected him again in 1229; but the favourite of Henry III. was corrupted by the regent, and nothing was ready. She had, furthermore, the address to prevent the Count of Champagne from marrying Mauclerc's daughter.‡ The barons, conscious of the weakness of the league, durst not, however strongly their inclinations prompted them thereto, openly disobey the royal child, whose name the regent employed. Being summoned by her, in 1228, to lead their men against Bretagne, they each responded to the summons, accompanied by two knights only.

The feebleness of the northern league enabled Blanche and her counsellor, the legate, to act vigorously against the South. A new

\* D. Morice, *Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne*, i. 1096.

† Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. ii. Mat. Paris, p. 25.

‡ She is said to have written to him thus: "Sir Thibault of Champagne; I have heard that you covenanted and promised to take to wife the daughter of Count Perron of Bretagne, wherefore I rede ye, if ye would not lose what you have in the realm of France, that you do not so—as you prize all you have in the said realm, do not so. The reason why you know well. I have never found any one who wished me worse than he." D. Morice, 158.

crusade was led into Languedoc. This one, at least, seemed justified by the horrible cruelty of Raymond VII., who mutilated all his prisoners.\* Toulouse would have long held out, but the crusaders set themselves methodically to destroy all the vineyards that constituted the wealth of the country.† The natives, who had resisted as long as resistance cost only blood, now compelled their count to yield. He was forced to raze the walls of his town, to receive a French garrison, and sanction the establishment of the Inquisition there, to confirm France in the possession of Lower Languedoc, and to promise Toulouse, after his death, as a dowry to his daughter Joan, whom one of the king's brothers was to marry.‡ As for Upper Provence, he gave it to the Church; this is the origin of the right of the popes over the county of Avignon. He himself repaired to Paris, humbled himself, submitted to discipline in the church of Notre Dame, and became a prisoner for six weeks in the castle of the Louvre.§ That castle, in which six counts had been imprisoned after the affair of Bouvines, whence the Count of Flanders had but just made his exit, and where the former Count of Boulogne killed himself in despair, had become the *château*, the *maison de plaisance*, in which the great barons took up their abode, each in his turn.

The regent then ventured to defy the Count of Bretagne, and summoned him to appear before the peers. The tribunal of the Twelve Peers, formed in accordance with the mystic number of the twelve apostles, and the poetic traditions of the Carlovingian romances, was not a fixed and regular institution. Nothing could be more convenient for the kings. On this occasion the peers were, the Archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Chartres and Paris, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Nevers, Blois, Chartres, Montfort, and Vendôme, the lords of Coucy and Montmorency, and many other barons and knights.

Their sentence would have been of no great effect, had Mauclerc been better supported by the English and the barons; the latter treated separately with the regent. All the rancour of the lords, who were forced to yield to Blanche, reverted on the Count of Champagne; he was obliged to take refuge in Paris, and was not allowed to return to his dominions, except on condition of promising to take the cross in expiation of the death of Louis VIII. This was tantamount to avowing himself guilty.

The whole movement which had perturbed Northern France, swept on towards the South and the East. The two opposed leaders, Thibault and Mauclerc, were kept aloof by new circum-

\* Math. Paris, p. 294.

† Guill. de Pod. Laur., ap. Scr. Fr., xiv. 218.

‡ See the Articles of the Treaty, inserted in vol. iii. of the *Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, p. 329, sqq., and in vol. xix. of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 219, sqq.

§ Guill. de Pod. Laur., ap. Scr. Fr., xix. 224.

stances, and left the realm at peace. Thibault had become King of Navarre, by the death of his wife's father, and he sold Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Châteaudun, to the regent. A countless nobility followed him. The King of Aragon, who at the same period was beginning his crusade against Majorca and Valencia, likewise led with him many knights, especially a great number of Provençal and Languedocian *fauvits*; these were the proscribed of the Albigenian war. Shortly afterwards, Pierre Mauclerc, who was Count of Bretagne only in right of his wife, abdicated the county in favour of his son, and was nominated by Pope Gregory IX., general-in-chief of the new crusade of the East.

Such was the favourable situation of the realm at the epoch of the majority of St. Louis (1236). The monarchy had lost nothing since the days of Philip Augustus. Let us here pause for a moment, and recapitulate the progress made by the royal authority, and by the central power, from the time of the accession of the grandfather of St. Louis.

Philip Augustus had, in reality, established the foundations of the realm, by uniting Normandy to Picardy. He had, in some sort, founded Paris by giving it its cathedral, its market hall, its paved streets, hospitals, aqueducts, a new inclosure, and new armorial bearings; above all, by authorising and supporting its university. He had given a permanent basis to the royal jurisdiction, in inaugurating the assembly of peers by a popular and humane act, the condemnation of John and the punishment of the murder of Arthur. The great feudal powers were dwindling away; Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc, were subjected to the royal influence. The king had made himself a great party in the nobility; he had created a democracy in the aristocracy, if I may so speak; I allude to the younger sons, in whose favour he established the principle, that they should no longer be dependent on their elder brothers.

Louis IX., the sovereign into whose hands this great heritage devolved, was twenty-one years of age in 1236. His majority was declared; but, in reality, he still remained for a long while dependent on his mother, the haughty Spaniard who had governed the realm for ten years. The better parts of Louis were not of that kind which early display themselves; the chief of them was an exquisite sense and anxious love of duty; and for a long while, duty appeared to him identical with his mother's will. A Spaniard by his mother's side,\* a Fleming through his grandmother Isabella, the young prince imbibed with his milk an ardent piety,

---

\* He was related through his mother to Alphonso X., King of Castile. The latter had promised him aid towards the crusade, but he died in 1252, and St. Louis was "much grieved thereat." Math. Paris, p. 565.—"On his return," says Villani, "he had money struck, in which some see hand-cuffs in memory of his captivity; others see the towers of Castile." A fact which supports the latter opinion is, that the brothers of St. Louis, Charles and Alphonse, displayed the towers of Castile in their armorial bearings. Michaud, iv. 445.



which seems to have been foreign to most of his predecessors; and scarcely less so to his successors.

This man, who brought into the world such a craving desire to believe, happened precisely on the midst of the great crisis in which all creeds were shaken. What were become of those fine images of order, the Holy See, and the Holy Empire, of which the middle ages had dreamed? The war between the Empire and the papacy had attained the last degree of violence, and the two parties inspired almost equal abhorrence.

On the one side was the emperor, surrounded by his Bolognese legists and Arab doctors; a sanguinary *bel esprit*, who made verses like a *jongleur* of the South, and buried his enemies under masses of lead.\* He had Saracen body guards, a Saracen university, and Arab concubines; the Sultan of Egypt was his best friend.† He was the author, it was said, of that horrible book that was so much talked of, *De tribus Impostoribus*; Of the three Impostors, Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus. Many persons suspected that Frederic might very possibly be anti-Christ.

The pope scarcely inspired more confidence than the emperor; the one lacked faith, but the other charity. However men wished and longed still to revere the successor of the apostles, they found

\* So Dante states (*Infern.*). Raynaldi represents Eccelino as the lieutenant of Conrad and counsellor of Frederick II. Michaud, iv. 456.

† Extracts from Arab historians by Reinaud, *Bibl. des Croisades*, iv. 417, sqq. "The Emir Fakr Eddin, says Yafei had greatly insinuated himself into the emperor's confidence. They held frequent conversations on philosophy, and their opinions seemed to coincide on many points. This close intimacy gave great scandal to the Christians. 'I would not have insisted so much,' he said to Fakr Eddin, 'on having Jerusalem restored to me, had I not been afraid of losing all credit in the West. My object was not to deliver the Holy City, or any thing of the kind; I wanted to preserve the esteem of the Franks.'—"The emperor was red-faced and bald; he was short-sighted; had he been a slave no one would have given 200 drachms for him. His discourse showed plainly enough that he did not believe in Christianity. When he spoke of it it was to turn it into derision, &c. A muezzin recited in his presence a verse of the Koran which denies the divinity of Jesus Christ. The sultan wished to punish the man, but Frederic opposed this."—In the margin of the Arab text of Makrisi, there are some isolated words which seem to signify, that in his heart Frederic despised his religion, and that he would have manifested his real sentiments, had he not been afraid of exciting his subjects to revolt. He was angry with a priest who had entered a mosque with a gospel in his hand, and swore that he would severely punish every Christian who should enter it without special permission.—We have already seen the amicable terms on which Richard stood with Saladin and Malek Adhel.—When John of Brienne was besieged in his camp in 1221, he was loaded with proofs of good will by the sultan. "Thenceforth," says an Arab author (Makrisi), "there was established between them a sincere and lasting connexion, and as long as they lived they ceased not to send each other presents, and to keep up a commerce of amity." In a war against the Kharismians, the Christians of Syria put themselves, so to speak, under the orders of the Infidels. Christians were seen marching with their crosses displayed; the priest mingled in their ranks, bestowed benedictions, and offered the Mussulmans their chalices to drink out of. *Ibid.*, 445; on the authority of Ibn Giouzi, an eye-witness.

it hard to recognise him under that steel cuirass he had put on since the crusade against the Albigeois. It seemed that thirst for murder had become the very genius of the priest; those men of peace demanded only death and destruction, and appalling words issued from their lips. They addressed themselves to all peoples, to all princes; they adopted, by turns, the language of menace and of complaint; they soothed, chided, entreated, wept. What was it they desired with such passionate ardour? The deliverance of Jerusalem? By no means. The amelioration of the Christians, the conversion of the Gentiles? No such thing. What then? Blood. They seemed to burn with the horrible thirst of blood, from the moment they had tasted that of the Albigeois.

It was the destiny of the young and innocent Louis IX. to succeed to the heritage of the Albigeois, and of many other enemies of the Church. It was for him that John, condemned unheard, had lost Normandy, and his son Henry, Poitou; it was for him that Montfort had butchered 20,000 men in Béziers, and Foulquet 10,000 in Toulouse. Those who had perished were, it is true, heretics, misbelievers, enemies of God; but, after all, there was truly a great number slain, and a melancholy scent of blood clung to those magnificent spoils. This, no doubt, was what caused the uneasiness and indecision of St. Louis; he had great need of believing, and of clinging to the Church, to justify in his own heart his father and his grandfather, who had accepted such gifts. It was a critical position for a timorous soul; he could not make restitution without dishonouring his father and incensing France; and, on the other hand, he could not keep what he had got, without sanctioning all that had been done, without identifying himself with all the excesses, with all the violences of the Church.

The only object towards which a soul like his could still turn, was the crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem; there, doubtless, was the enterprise in which that great power, whether well or ill acquired, of which he found himself master, ought to be exercised and expiated. On that side there was, at least, the chance of a holy death.

Never had a crusade been more necessary and more legitimate; aggressive until then, it was now about to become defensive. Some great and terrible event was expected throughout all the East; it was like the noise of the great waters before the deluge; like the sound of the bursting floodgates, the first murmur of the cataracts of heaven. The Mongols had begun their march from the North, and were gradually pouring down through all Asia. Those pastors, hurrying nations along with them, and driving mankind before them with their flocks, seemed determined to sweep from the face of the earth every town, every edifice, every trace of cultivation, and to turn the globe into a desert, an unobstructed prairie, where they might thenceforth wander without encountering an obstacle. They deliberated whether or not they should thus treat all

Northern China; whether they should not restore that empire, by the burning of a hundred cities, and the slaughter of many millions of men, to the primitive beauty of the wildernesses of the young world. Where they could not destroy the cities without great toil, they compensated themselves by at least massacring the inhabitants. Witness those pyramids of heads which they erected in the plain of Bagdad.\*

All the sects, all the religions into which Asia was divided, had equal reason to fear these barbarians, and no chance of arresting their progress. The Sunnis and the Shiyas, the Caliph of Bagdad and the Caliph of Cairo, the Assassins and the Christians of the Holy Land, all awaited the Judgment. Every dispute was about to be ended, every hatred to be extinguished; the Mongols took the consummation on themselves. From thence, doubtless, they would pass into Europe and settle the quarrels between the pope and the emperor, the King of England and the King of France, and then they would have no more to do but to give their horses oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome, † and the reign of anti-Christ would begin.

They were advancing slowly and irresistibly, like God's vengeance, and they were, already, everywhere present by the dismay they inspired. In the year 1238 the men of Friesland and Denmark durst not quit their trembling wives to go a-fishing for herrings, as usual, on the coasts of England. ‡ In Syria they looked every mo-

---

\* Tamerlane, after having destroyed Damascus to the very foundations, had money struck bearing an Arab word, the meaning of which was *DESTRUCTION*. This word indicated by its numeric value the year 803 of the Hejira, the epoch of the taking of Damascus. Reinaud, *Description des Mon. Mussulmans*, &c., i. 89, Chardin, iv. 292. Another chronogram of Tamerlane's corresponding to the year 773 of the Hejira, likewise signifies destruction. See d'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orientale*.

† An expression attributed in the 15th century to Bajazet, the Sultan of the Turks.

‡ "They had ravaged and depopulated the great Hungary," says Matthew Paris, "and had sent ambassadors with threatening letters to all peoples. Their general declared himself sent by the Most High God to quell the nations that had rebelled against him. The heads of these barbarians are large and disproportioned to their bodies; they feed on raw meat, and even on human flesh. They are incomparable archers; they carry with them leather barks with which they cross all rivers; their tongue is unknown to all the nations with which we have any acquaintance. They are rich in flocks of sheep, oxen, and horses so swift, that they perform in one day the march of three. They are well armed in front, but are unarmed behind, that they may never be tempted to fly. They give the title of khan to their chief, whose ferocity is extreme. Inhabiting the boreal plain, the banks of the Caspian Seas, and those adjoining them, they are named Tartars from the river Tar. Their number is so great, that they seem to threaten destruction to the human race. Though other invasions on the part of the Tartars have been already experienced, the terror felt was greater this year, because they seemed more ferocious than usual. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Gothland and Friesland did not come this year, according to custom, to the coasts of England to load their vessels with herrings; herrings were, in consequence, so abundant in England, that they were sold for almost nothing. Even in places remote from the sea, forty or fifty excellent herrings

ment for the appearance of the big, yellow heads, and the little horses with their sweeping manes. The whole East was mutually reconciled; the Mohammedan princes, among others the Old Man of the Mountain, had sent a suppliant embassy to the King of France, and one of the ambassadors passed over into England.

The Latin Emperor of Constantinople, too, laid before St. Louis his danger, destitution, and wretchedness. That poor emperor had been forced to enter into an alliance with the Comans, and to swear friendship to them, laying his hand on a dead dog. He was reduced so low as to have no fuel to warm himself by but the beams of his palace. When the empress afterwards came once more to implore the pity of St. Louis, Joinville was obliged to give her a gown before he could present her. The emperor offered St. Louis to sell him an inestimable treasure very cheap, the real crown of thorns that had circled the Saviour's head. The only thing that embarrassed the King of France, was that this trading in relics had very much the air of a case of simony; but, at all events, it was not forbidden to make a present to the man who bestowed such a gift on France. The present consisted of 160,000 livres, and in addition to this St. Louis gave the proceeds of a confiscation inflicted on the Jews, which he scrupled himself to make use of. He went barefoot as far as Vincennes to receive the holy relics, and afterwards founded for them the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.

The crusade of 1235 was not of a nature to re-establish the affairs of the East. The Champagnese King of Navarre, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Count de Montfort, were beaten; the brother of the King of England had no other glory than that of ransoming the prisoners. Mauclerc, alone, won something in the enterprise. Meanwhile, the young King of France could not yet quit his realm and repair these disasters. The Count of Toulouse, whose daughter had married Alphonse of Poitiers, the king's brother, wished to try one more effort to keep his dominions at least, if he could not keep his children. He had entered into alliance with the kings of England, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon; he wished to marry either Margaret of La Marche, the uterine sister of Henry III., or Bea-

---

were sold for a small piece of money. A Saracen messenger, potent and illustrious by his birth, who had come on a solemn embassy to the King of France, principally on the part of the Old Man of the Mountain, announced these events in the name of all the Orientals, and solicited assistance from the Westerns to quell the fury of the Tartars. He sent one of the companions of his embassy to the King of England to lay the same facts before him, and to tell him, that if the Mussulmans could not sustain the shock of these enemies, there would be nothing to hinder the latter from overrunning all the West. The Bishop of Winchester, who was present at this audience (he was the favourite of Henry III.), and who had already assumed the cross, first spoke jestingly, 'Let us leave these dogs,' he said, 'to devour each other, that they may perish the sooner; then when we come on the enemies of Christ who shall have been left alive, we shall slaughter them the more easily, and purge the face of the earth of them; then will the whole world be subjected to the Catholic Church, and there will be but one fold and one shepherd.'" Math. Paris, iii. 318.

trice of Provence. By this latter marriage he would have united Provence to Languedoc, disinherited his daughter in favour of the children Beatrice would have borne him, and reunited the whole South. This great project was frustrated by over-haste. The inquisitors were massacred in Avignon in 1242, and young Trencavel, the lawful heir to Nîmes, Béziers, and Carcassonne, ventured again to show himself. The confederates acted one after the other; Raymond had been put down when the English took up arms; their campaign in France was pitiable. Henry III. had counted on his father-in-law, the Count of La Marche, and the other lords who had called in his aid. When they met and reckoned up their numbers, then began reproaches and altercations. The French were still advancing, and they would have turned the English army and taken it in the rear at the bridge of Taillebourg on the Charente, if Henry had not obtained a truce through the intercession of his brother Richard, whom Louis revered as the hero of the last crusade, the man who had ransomed and restored to Europe so many Christians.\* Henry took advantage of this respite to decamp and retire to Saintes. Louis followed him up closely, a fierce engagement took place in the vineyards,† and the King of England finally fled into the city, and from thence to Bordeaux (1242).

An epidemic, under which both the king and the army suffered, prevented him from following up his successes; but the battle of Taillebourg was not the less a mortal blow to his enemies and to feudalism in general. The Count of Toulouse obtained pardon only as the cousin of the mother of St. Louis; his vassal, the Count of Foix, declared his desire to depend immediately on the king.‡ The Count of La Marche and his wife, the haughty Isabella of Lusignan, the widow of John and mother of Henry III., were obliged to yield. When that count was doing homage to the king's brother, Alphonse, the new Count of Poitiers, a knight stepped forth, declared himself mortally offended by him, and demanded to fight him in presence of his suzerain.§ Alphonse harshly insisted that the old man should give the young one satisfaction. The result of the combat admitted of no doubt, and already Isabella apprehending her own death after that of her husband, had taken refuge in the convent of Fontévrault. St. Louis interfered, and would not permit the unequal fight. Such, however, was the humiliation of the Count of La Marche, that his enemy, who had sworn to let his hair grow till he had avenged his

\* Math. Paris, p. 400. Et vocabant eum multi redemptorem suum, quia per compositionem pacis eos in terra sancta liberaverat... Et hoc impetravit, tum quia favorabilis persona Francis fuit, pro nobilium dicta liberatione in terra sancta, tum quia fuit domini regis Francorum consanguineus, tum quia fuit dies Dominica.—Philip Augustus never engaged in battle on Sunday.

† Ibid. Inter vineas in arctis viarum.

Hist. du Languedoc, xxxv. 435.

§ Mat. Paris, p. 409. More Francorum, chirotecam suam ei porrexit, exigens sibi exhiberi in duello justitiæ plenitudinem, secundum legem Francorum antiquitus.

outraged honour, had it solemnly cut off in presence of all the barons, declaring himself amply satisfied.\*

On this occasion, as on all others, Louis displayed the moderation of a saint and of a statesman. A baron having been unwilling to yield until he had obtained the sanction of his lord the King of England, Louis applauded him, and gave him back his castle without any other guarantee than his oath.† But in order to preserve those who had fiefs from him and from Henry from the temptation of perjury, he told them in the language of the Gospel, that a man could not serve two masters, and he allowed them to make their choice freely.‡ He would have been glad, in order to put an end to all cause for war, to obtain from Henry the express cession of Normandy; on those terms he would have restored Poitou.

Such was the prudence and moderation of the king. He imposed no other conditions on Raymond than those of the treaty of Paris, which he had signed fourteen years before. §

Meanwhile, the catastrophe so much dreaded took place in the East. A wing of the prodigious army of the Mongols had advanced to Bagdad (1258); another was entering Russia, Poland, and Hungary. || The Karismians, precursors of the Mongols, had invaded the Holy Land, and had achieved a bloody victory at Gaza (1244), notwithstanding the union of the Christians and the Mussulmans. Five hundred templars fell in the engagement; that is to say, all the knights of the order who were then in the Holy Land. After this the Mongols entered Jerusalem, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants. The wily and cruel barbarians set up crosses on the walls in every direction, and the too credulous inhabitants returned and were massacred. ¶

St. Louis was confined to his bed and almost dying when this sad news reached Europe. He was so ill that his life was despaired of, and one of the ladies who watched by him was about to throw a cloth over his face, believing that he had expired.\*\* As soon as he recovered a little, to the great amazement of those about him, he had the red cross put on his bed and on his garments. His mother would as willingly have seen him dead. He promised, weak and dying as he was, to go so far across the seas to shed his own blood and that of his followers in that useless war which had been waging for more than a century. His mother, and the priests themselves, urged

\* Joinville (edit. 1761), p. 24.

† Mat. Paris, p. 402: "Tu solus fideliter te gessisti"..... Statim accepto ab eo juramento fidelitatis, ipsum ei custodiendum confidenter liberavit.

‡ Ibid., p. 416. Rex Francorum Parisiis convocatos omnes ultramarinos qui terras habuerunt in Anglia, sic est affatus: Quicumque in regno meo conversatur, habens terras in Anglia, cum nequeat quis competenter duobus dominis servire, vel penitus mihi vel regi Angliæ inseparabiliter adhæreat.

§ Hist. du Languedoc, xxv. 437.

|| Mat. Paris, p. 438.

¶ Ibid., 420. Signa christianorum qui subito fugam inierant, super propugnacula murorum civitatis in propatulo elevarunt.

\*\* Joinville, p. 24.

him to renounce his design; he was inflexible. The idea which was thought so fatal to him, was to all appearance what saved him; he hoped, he wished to live, and he did live. As soon as he was convalescent he called his mother and the Bishop of Paris, and said to them, "Since you think I was not perfectly in my right mind when I pronounced my vows, here is my cross which I pluck from my shoulders; I give it back to you. But at present," he continued, "you cannot deny that I am in the full enjoyment of all my faculties; give me back my cross then, for He who knows all things, knows, too, that no food shall enter my lips until I have been again marked with His sign." "It is the finger of God," cried all the bystanders. "Let us no longer oppose his will," and from that day forth no one contradicted the king's design.

The only obstacle that remained to be overcome, sad and unnatural as was the fact, was the pope. Innocent IV. filled Europe with his rancour against Frederic II. Expelled from Italy, he assembled a great council against him at Lyons.\* That imperial city, however, had a leaning towards France, on the territory of which country stood its suburb beyond the Rhone. St. Louis, who had ineffectually offered his mediation, consented, not without repugnance, to receive the pope. All the monks of Cîteaux had to throw themselves at the king's feet to entreat him to do so, and he let the pope wait a fortnight to know his determination.† Innocent, in the violence of his passion, did every thing in his power to thwart the crusade against the East, wishing to turn the arms of the King of France against the emperor, or against the King of England, who had for a moment departed from his servility towards the holy see. Already, in 1239, he had offered the imperial crown to St. Louis for his brother Robert of Artois. In 1245, he offered him the crown of England. Strange spectacle! A pope leaving nothing untried to impede the deliverance of Jerusalem, and offering every thing to a crusader to induce him to violate his vow.‡

Louis had no thought of aggrandising himself, and was much more intent on legitimatising the acquisitions of his fathers. He strove unsuccessfully to effect a reconciliation with England by a partial restitution. He even questioned the bishops of Normandy to satisfy himself as to the right he might have to the possession of that province.§ He indemnified the Viscount Trencavel, the heir of Nîmes and Béziers, with a sum of money, and took him on the crusade along with all the *faidits*, or outlaws, of the Albigensian war, all those who

\* Mat. Paris, 443—447, sqq. "Let us first crush the dragon," he said, "and then we shall soon crush these vipers of kinglings." *Dixit in ira cundia magna, voce susurra, oculos obliquando et nares corrugando: Expedit ut componamus cum principe vestro; contrito enim vel pacificato dracone, cito serpenticuli concubantur.* † Ibid., 432.

‡ The English barons durst not go to the Holy Land, for they feared the snares of the court of Rome (*Muscipulas Romanæ curiæ formidantes*). Mat. Paris, ap. Michaud, iv. 261.

§ Mat. Paris, p. 642.

had been deprived of their patrimony\* to make way for the companions of Montfort. Thus, he made the holy war an expiation, and an universal reconciliation.

It was not a mere war, a mere expedition that St. Louis projected, but the establishment of a great colony in Egypt. It was then thought, not without apparent reason, that in order to conquer and retain the Holy Land, it was necessary to have Egypt as a *point-d'appui*. He took with him, therefore, a great quantity of agricultural instruments and tools of every kind.† In order to facilitate regular communications, he wished to have a port of his own on the Mediterranean, and as those of Provence belonged to his brother, Charles of Anjou, he had that of Aigues-Mortes constructed.

He steered first for Cyprus, where immense stores and munitions were provided for him.‡ He made a long halt either to wait for his brother Alphonse, who was bringing up the reserve, or, perhaps, to familiarise himself with that new world. He was amused there by the ambassadors of the princes of Asia, who came to observe the great King of the Franks. The Christians came first, from Constantinople, Armenia, and Syria; then the Mussulmans, and among others, the envoys of that Old Man of the Mountain of whom so many tales were told.§ The Mongols even presented themselves.|| St. Louis, who imagined from their hatred to the other Mohammedans that they were favourable to Christianity, entered into a league with them against the two popes of Islamism, the caliphs of Bagdad and Cairo.

Meanwhile, the Asiatics recovered from their first alarm, and grew more familiar with the idea of the great invasion of the Franks. The latter, living in abundance, became enervated under the seduction of a corrupting climate. Prostitutes came and pitched their tents round the very tent of the king and his chaste queen, Margaret, who had accompanied him.¶

\* Hist. du Languedoc, xxv. 457.

† Ligones, tridentes, trahas, vomeres, aratra, etc. Mat. Paris.

‡ Joinville, ed. 1761, folio, p. 29: "And when one looked on them it seemed as though they were mountains; for the long rain to which the corn had been exposed had made it sprout, so that nothing was to be seen but the green blades."

§ He sent to the king to demand exemption from the tribute he paid to the hospitalers and the templars. "Behind the amiral was a comely bachelor, who held in his fist three knives, with the blade of one entering the handle of the other; to the end, that had the amiral been refused he should have presented the three knives to the king to defy him. Behind him who held the three knives was another holding a *bouqueroen* (a piece of cotton cloth), twisted round his arm, which he should also have presented to the king, to bury him withal, had he refused the request of the Old Man of the Mountain." . . . "When the old man rode he had a crier before him, armed with a Danish axe, with a long handle all covered with silver, and stuck all over with knives, who cried out: 'Turn away from before him who carries the death of kings in his hands.'" Joinville, pp. 95—97.

|| M. de Rémusat (Memoire sur les Tartares) does not agree with de Guignes in regarding the Mongul ambassadors as impostors.

¶ Joinville, p. 37: "The common people took to light women, whence it



At last, he determined to set out for Egypt. He had to choose between Damietta and Alexandria; a squall having driven him towards the former city,\* he was in haste to attack it, and he himself leaped into the water sword in hand. The light troops of the Saracens that were drawn up along the shore, attempted one or two charges; but seeing the Franks were not to be shaken, they fled with all speed. The town of Damietta, which was strong enough to have resisted, surrendered in the first panic. Master of such a strong place, the king ought to have made haste to seize Alexandria or Cairo; but the same faith which inspired the crusade caused the human means which would have secured its success to be neglected. Besides this, the king, who was a feudal sovereign, was doubtless not sufficiently master of his people to tear them away from the pillage of a rich city. It was here just as in Cyprus, the men would not let themselves be led away, until they were tired of their own excesses. Besides, there was an excuse for the delay; Alphonse and the reserve still hung back. Mauclerc, Count of Bretagne, already experienced in the wars of the East, wished that Alexandria should be first secured; but the king insisted on attacking Cairo. The army, therefore, had to entangle itself in that region intersected with canals, and to pursue that route which had been so fatal to John of Brienne. The march was singularly tedious; the Christians, instead of throwing bridges across the canals, made a dam through each. Accordingly, it cost them a month's time to traverse the ten leagues that lie between Damietta and Mansourah.† To reach this latter town, they set about making a dam which was to resist the course of the Nile, and afford them a passage. Meanwhile, they suffered horribly from the Greek fire cast among them by the Saracens, which burned them without remedy, incased as they were in their armour.‡ Thus they remained fifty days, at the end of

---

came to pass that the king dismissed a great many of his suite when we came back from prison. I asked him why he had done this, and he told me that he found out for certain, that those he had dismissed kept their bordels within a small stone's throw round his pavilion, and that in the time of the greatest distress in which the host had ever been."—"The barons who ought to have husbanded their means, to employ the same fitly in time and place, took to giving great dinners and extravagant viands."

\* It is probable that St. Louis would have effected his descent at the same point as Bonaparte (half a league from Alexandria) if the storm he encountered at quitting Limisso, and contrary winds, perhaps, had not driven him towards Damietta. The Arab authors say, that the Sultan of Cairo having received information respecting the intentions of St. Louis, sent troops to Alexandria, as well as to Damietta, to oppose his landing. Michaud, iv. 236.

† Joinville, p. 40. Bonaparte thought that if St. Louis had manœuvred as the French did in 1798, he might, after setting out from Damietta on the 8th of June, have arrived on the 12th at Mansourah, and on the 26th at Cairo. See *Memoires de Montholon*.

‡ "Every time our holy king heard that they cast Greek fire upon us, he put on his clothes in bed, and held up his hands to the Lord, and said with tears: 'Lord God, save my people.'" Joinville, p. 45.

which they learned that they might have spared themselves so much toil and trouble: a Bedouin showed them a ford (February 8th.)

The vanguard, led by Robert of Artois, crossed with some difficulty. The templars who were with him, urged him to wait till his brother came up with him, but the impetuous young man called them cowards, and dashed forwards headlong into the town, the gates of which were open. He let his horse be led by a brave knight who was deaf, and who bawled with all his might: "On! on! charge them!"\* The templars durst not remain behind; all entered; all perished. The Mamelukes, recovering from their astonishment, barricaded the streets with pieces of wood, and slew the assailants from the windows.

The king, who as yet knew nothing of what had happened, crossed the river, met the Saracens, and fought gallantly. "There, where I was on foot with my knights," says Joinville, "being wounded, came the king with all his array, with great noise and din of shawms and trumpets, and he halted on a raised causeway. But never saw I armed man so comely, for he rose above all his men by the head and shoulders, with a golden helm on his head, and a sword of Almayne in his hand." That evening he was told of the death of the Count of Artois, and the king replied, "Adored be God for whatever He sent him," and then the big tears fell from his eyes.† Some one came and asked him news of his brother; "All I know," said he, "is, that he is in Paradise."‡

The Mamelukes returning to the charge from all quarters, the French defended their intrenchments till the end of the day. The Count of Anjou, who was foremost on the road to Cairo, was on foot among his knights; he was attacked simultaneously by two troops of Saracens, the one on foot, the other mounted. Showers of Greek fire were poured down on him, and he was already regarded as lost; but the king, dashing forth through the ranks of the Mussulmans, saved him. His horse's mane was all covered with Greek fire. The Count of Poitiers was for a moment a prisoner with the Saracens, but he had the good luck to be rescued by the butchers, sutlers, and the women of the army. The Sire de Briançon could only keep his ground with the help of the Duke of Burgundy's machines, which shot across the river. Guy de Mauvoisin, all covered with Greek fire, with difficulty escaped the flames. The battalions of the Count of Flanders, of the barons from beyond sea, commanded by Gui d'Ibelin, and of Gauthier de Chatillon, almost always maintained their advantage over the enemy. The latter, at last, sounded a retreat, and Louis gave thanks to God in the midst of the whole army for the assistance he had received from Him. It was, in fact, a miracle to

\* Joinville, p. 58.—Idem, p. 47. "The good Count de Soissons said to me laughingly: 'Seneschal, let us leave these dogs to howl, for by God's coif we shall talk yet of this day in ladies' chambers.'"

† Joinville, p. 64.

‡ Id., p. 65.

have been able to defend with men on foot, and almost all wounded, a camp attacked by a formidable cavalry.\*

He ought to have seen clearly, that success was impossible, and have hastened to return to Damietta, but he could not make up his mind to do so. Doubtless, the great number of wounded in the camp rendered the thing difficult, but the invalids were increasing in number every day. The army, encamped on the pestilent soil of Egypt, and fed chiefly with the fish of the Nile that devoured so many carcases, had contracted strange and hideous maladies. Their gums swelled and rotted from their jaws, and it was necessary to cut them away to enable them to swallow. Nothing was to be heard through the whole camp but cries of anguish, like those of women in travail, and every day augmented the number of the dead. One day during the epidemic, Joinville, who was hearing mass in his sick bed, was obliged to raise himself up and support his fainting almoner; "thus supported, he finished his sacrament, sang the whole mass through, and never sang more."

The bodies of the dead were horrible to see; every one feared to touch them, or to give them burial. In vain the king, full of reverence for the martyrs, set the example, and assisted to bury them with his own hands; so many corpses left exposed increased the sickness every day, and a retreat was unavoidable to save what remained; a melancholy, uncertain retreat of a diminished, weakened, discouraged army. The king, who was at last attacked with the malady like the rest, might have secured his own safety, but he would never forsake his people.† All but dying as he was, he undertook to execute his retreat by land, whilst the sick were embarked on the Nile. Such was his weakness, that they were soon obliged to carry him to a small house, and lay him on the lap of a *townswoman (bourgeoise) of Paris*, who was found in it.

The Christians were soon stopped by the Saracens, who followed them by land and waited for them in the river. An immense massacre began; they declared in vain that they were willing to surrender. The Saracens feared nothing so much as the great number of the prisoners; they therefore made them enter into an enclosure; and asked them if they would renounce Christ; a great number consented, among others, all Joinville's boatmen.

\* Sismondi, vii. 428.

† Joinville. An Arab historian says also: "The King of France might have escaped out of the hands of the Egyptians either on horseback or in a boat, but that generous prince would never abandon his troops." Aboul Mabassen, ap. Michaud, iv. 317. In returning from Cyprus St. Louis's vessel ran foul of a rock, and three fathoms of the keel were carried away. The king was advised to quit it. To this the king replied: "My lords, I see that if I quit this vessel it will be abandoned, and I see that there are in it 800 persons and more; and as each of them loves his own life as much as I do mine, none of them would dare to remain in it, but would fain remain in Cyprus; wherefore, if it please God, I will not put so many persons in peril, but will remain where I am to save my people." Joinville, p. 3.

The king, however, and the prisoners of note, had been reserved; the sultan would not set them free unless they would surrender Jerusalem. They objected, that that city belonged to the Emperor of Germany, and they offered Damietta with 400,000 byzants of gold. The sultan had given his consent, when the Mamelukes, to whom he owed his victory, revolted, and slew him at the foot of the galleries in which the French were detained. The danger was great for the latter; the murderers actually made their way to the king. The very man who had torn out the sultan's heart, went up to the king, with his hand all bloody, and said to him, "What wilt thou give me for having slain thy enemy, who would have put thee to death had he lived?" and the king answered him never a word. "There came a full thirty of them with drawn swords and Danish axes in their hands into our gallery," continues Joinville, "I asked Monseigneur Baudoin d'Ibelin, who knew the Saracen tongue, what these men said, and he told me they said, they were come to cut off our heads. There were a great many confessing themselves to a brother of the Trinity belonging to the Count William of Flanders; but as for me I could never recollect any sin I had committed. So I thought the more I should defend myself or the more I struggled the worse it would fare with me. And then I crossed myself, and knelt down at the feet of one of them who had a carpenter's Danish axe, and said: 'Thus died St. Agnes.' Messire Gui d'Ibelin, Constable of Cyprus, knelt down beside me, and I said to him: 'I absolve you with such power as God has given me.' But when I got up from the spot, I never remembered a word of what he had said to me."\*

Margaret had been three days acquainted with her husband's captivity, when she was delivered of a son named John, whom she sur-named Tristan. She made an old knight, aged eighty, sleep at the foot of her bed for her protection. Shortly before she was delivered, she knelt before him, and requested a boon of him. The knight accorded it to her by oath, and she said, "I request of you, by the faith you have plighted me, that if the Saracens take this town, you will cut off my head before they take me," and the knight replied, "Be full sure that I will do it willingly; for I had thought within myself, that I would slay you sooner than they should take you."†

Nothing was wanting to complete the misfortune and humiliation of St. Louis. The Arabs made songs on his defeat,‡ and more than

\* Joinville, p. 75. The king was told that the amirals (emirs) had deliberated to make him Soudan of Babylon. . . . "And he told me that he would not have refused. And know that the design fell to the ground for no other reason than because they said that the king was the firmest Christian that could be found; and they alleged this example thereof, that when they were departing from the lodging he took down his cross, and signed his whole body therewith; and they said that if they made him soudan he would kill them all or they should become Christians."

† Idem, p. 84.

‡ According to M. Rifaut, the song made on that occasion continues to be sung to this day. Reinaud, *Extracts d'historians Arabes* (Bibl. des Croisades, ix. 475).

one Christian people lighted bonfires in their joy on the occasion.\* He remained, however, a year in the Holy Land to aid in its defence in case the Mamelukes followed up their victory beyond Egypt. He repaired the walls of the towns, and fortified Cæsarea, Jaffa, Sidon, and St. Jean d'Acre, and did not depart from that sad country until the barons of the Holy land had themselves assured him, that his stay there could no longer be of service to them. Besides, he had received news, which made it a duty for him to return in all haste to France. His mother was dead†—an immense affliction for a son like him, who for so long a time had thought only through her, and who had left her against her will for that disastrous expedition, in which he was to leave on an infidel land, one of his brothers, so many loyal servants, and the bones of so many martyrs. The sight of France itself could not console him, "If I alone endured the shame and the sorrow," he said to a bishop, "if my sins had not turned to the prejudice of the universal Church, I should be resigned. But, alas! all Christendom is fallen into shame and confusion through me.‡"

The state in which he found Europe was not calculated to comfort him; the disasters which he deplored, were yet the smallest portion of the woes of the Church; a much more alarming evil was that extraordinary inquietude which was observed in all minds. The mysticism diffused through the people by the crusades, had already borne its most alarming fruit, hatred of law,§ wild enthusiasm for political and religious liberty. That demagogic character of mysticism which was to be clearly displayed in the *jacqueries* of the following centuries, particularly in the revolt of the peasants of Swabia, in 1525, and of the Anabaptists, in 1538, showed itself, already, in the insurrection of the *Pastoureaux*,|| which broke

\* According to Villani, Florence, in which Ghibellines had away, held public rejoicings for the disasters of the crusaders. Michaud, iv. 373.

† Joinville, p. 126. "News reached the king at Sayette that his mother was dead. So great was his mourning that for two days no one could speak to him. After that space of time he sent a valet of his chamber for me, and when I entered his chamber, where he was quite alone, he stretched out his arms and said, 'Ah! Seneschal! I have lost my mother.'—When St. Louis was in treaty with the sultan for his ransom, he told him that if he would name a reasonable sum, he would send word to his mother to pay it. "And they said, 'How is it that you will not tell us that you will do these things?' And the king replied that he knew not if the queen would be willing to do so, for that she was his dame." Joinville, p. 73.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 601. Oculis in terram defixis, cum summa tristitia et crebris suspiriis imaginabatur captionem suam, et per eam christianitatis generalem confusionem.—Si solus opprobrium et paterer adversitatem et non redundarent peccata mea in ecclesiam universalem, æquanimiter sustinerem. Sed heu mihi! tota Christianitas per me induit confusionem.—They chanted a mass of the Holy Ghost to tranquillise him, and he was somewhat comforted.

§ Perish the law, live grace! Luther.

|| Mat. Paris, p. 550, sqq.—Upon the first rising of the people of Sens, the rebels created for themselves a clergy, bishops, a pope, and cardinals. Continuator of Nangis, 1315.—The *pastoureaux* had also a sort of ecclesiastical tribunal. Ibid., 1320.—The Flemings put themselves under an organised system of ranks, and this it was that enabled them so long to maintain their obstinate resistance.

out during the absence of St. Louis. They were the most wretched inhabitants of the rural districts; shepherds especially, who, hearing that the king was a prisoner, caught up weapons, flocked together, formed a great army, and declared that they would go and deliver him.\* Perhaps this was a mere pretext; perhaps the opinion which the poor people had already formed of Louis had given them a vast and vague hope of relief and deliverance. One thing, at least, is certain, that these shepherds everywhere proved themselves the foes of the priests, and massacred them. They conferred the sacraments with their own hands; they recognised for leader an unknown man, whom they called the Grand Master of Hungary,† and they traversed with impunity, Paris, Orleans, and a great portion of France. But, at length, their bands were dissipated and destroyed.‡

St. Louis, on his return, seemed for a long while to shun every thought of foreign ambition. He shut himself up with scrupulous care within the limits of his duty as a Christian, comprehending all the virtues of royalty in the practices of devotion, and imputing to himself as a sin every public disorder; he shrank from no sacrifices to satisfy his timorous and susceptible conscience. In spite of his brothers, his children, his barons, and his subjects, he gave back to the King of England, Perigord, Limousin, Agenois, and what he possessed in Quercy and Saintonge, on condition that Henry would renounce his rights over Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou (1259). The ceded provinces never forgave him, and when he was canonised they refused to celebrate his fête.

This excessive conscientiousness would have deprived France of all outward action, but that France was not yet in the king's hand. The king shrank, and retired within himself; France was pouring herself out abroad.

On the one hand, England, governed by Poitevins, by Frenchmen of the South, freed herself from them, by the aid of a Frenchman of the North, Simon de Montfort, Count of Leicester, the second son of the famous Montfort, leader of the crusade against the Albigeois. On the other hand, the Provençals under Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, conquered the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and consummated the ruin of the house of Swabia in Italy.

Henry III. of England had paid the penalty for John's faults; his

---

Great Chron. of Flanders, xivth century.—The most famous routiers took the title of archpriests. Froissart, vol. i., ch. 177.—The Jacques themselves formed a monarchy. Ibid., ch. 184.—The Maillotins were classed by tens, fifties, and hundreds. Ibid., ch. 182—3—4. Juven. des Ursins, ann. 1382, and Anon. de St. Denis, Hist. de Charles VI. Monteil, t. i, p. 286.

\* Mat. Paris, p. 550. Multiplicati sunt vehementer, adeo ut ad centum millia et plures recensiti, signa sibi facerent militaria, et in signo eorum agnus vexilliter figurabatur.

† He pretended to hold in his hand a letter from the Virgin Mary, summoning the shepherds to the Holy Land; and to gain credence for this fable he kept his hand constantly shut. Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Dispersi sunt, et quasi canes rabidi passim detruncati.

father had bequeathed him humiliation and ruin. He had been unable to find relief, except by casting himself without reserve into the hands of the Church; otherwise, the French would have taken England from him, as they had already taken Normandy. The pope used and abused his advantage, giving all the benefices of England to Italians, not excepting even those which the Norman barons had founded for ecclesiastics of their families. The barons did not submit patiently to this tyranny of the Church, and wreaked their resentment on the king, whom they accused of weakness. Hemmed in between these two parties, and enduring all the blows they struck, in whom could the king confide? In none other than our French of the South; in the Poitevins especially, his mother's countrymen.

These men of the South, brought up in the maxims of the Roman law, were favourable to the monarchical power, and naturally hostile to the barons. It was the period when St. Louis was patronising the traditions of the imperial law, and was introducing the spirit of Justinian, right or wrong, into the feudal law. Frederic II. was labouring to make the same doctrines prevalent in Germany. These two attempts had different results; they contributed to the elevation of the monarchy in France, and they ruined it in England and in Germany.

To impose the spirit of the South on England there would have needed standing armies, mercenary troops, and much money. Henry III. knew not where to procure any; the little he got was snatched up by the intriguers that surrounded him. Furthermore, we must not forget an important thing; viz., the disproportion that then necessarily existed between wants and resources. Wants were already great; an administrative order was beginning to establish itself, and attempts were made at standing armies. The resources at hand were feeble, or none; the productive powers of industry, which feed the immense consumption of the fisc in modern times, had hardly begun to develop themselves. It was still the age of privilege; the barons, the clergy, the whole world had such or such a right to allege why they should pay nothing. Since the granting of Magna Charta, especially, a multitude of lucrative abuses having been suppressed, the English government seemed to have become nothing more than a means of starving the king.\*

Magna Charta having raised insurrection into a principle, and established a precedent for anarchy, a second crisis was necessary to make things settle down into a regular order, and to introduce between the king, the pope, and the baronage, a new element, the people; which gradually harmonised them together. To have a revolution you must have a man. In this case the man was Simon de Montfort. That son of the conqueror of Languedoc was destined to wage against the Poitevin ministers of Henry III. the hereditary

---

\* This is the opinion of Hallam himself.

feud of his family against the men of the South. Margaret of Provence, the wife of St. Louis, hated these Montforts\* who had done so much mischief to her country. Simon thought he should gain nothing by remaining in the court of France, and he went over to England. The Montforts, counts of Leicester, belonged to both countries. King Henry lavished favours on Simon; bestowed his sister on him, and sent him into Guienne to put down the troubles in that country. Simon conducted himself there with so much harshness that it was necessary to recall him. Thereupon he turned against the king. That king had never been more puissant in appearance or more feeble in reality. He fancied that he could buy up the spoils of the house of Swabia piece by piece. His brother Richard of Cornwall, had just acquired the title of emperor for ready money, and the pope had granted that of King of Naples to his son. Meanwhile, all England was full of troubles; no other remedy had been thought of for the papal tyranny than to assassinate the pope's couriers and agents, and an association had been formed to that end.† In 1258, a parliament was assembled in Oxford; this is the first occasion in which the assemblies took that title.‡ In that parliament the king again swore to Magna Charta, and put himself under the guardianship of four-and-twenty barons. After six years' war the two parties invoked the arbitrament of St. Louis. The pious king, actuated alike by the precepts of the Bible and the Roman law, decided that *men should obey the powers*, and annulled the statutes of Oxford, which had been already broken by the pope. King Henry was to recover possession of all his power, saving the charters and laudable customs of the realm of England anterior to the statutes of Oxford (1264).

The confederates took this decree of the umpire only as a signal for war. Simon de Montfort had recourse to an extreme measure; he engaged the interests of the towns in the war by introducing their representatives into the parliament. What a strange destiny had that family! In the twelfth century one of Montfort's ancestors counselled Louis le Gros, after the battle of Brenneville, to arm the communal militia. His father, the exterminator of the Albigeois, had destroyed the municipalities of the South of France. He, him-

\* Nangis, ad. ann. 1239.

† At its head was Sir Robert Thwinge, a knight of Yorkshire, who by a papal provision had been deprived of his nomination to a living in the gift of his family. His associates, though they were never more than eighty individuals, contrived by the secrecy and celerity of their motions to impress the public with an idea that they amounted to a much greater number. They murdered the papal couriers, wrote menacing letters to the foreign ecclesiastics and their stewards, &c. After the lapse of eight months the king at last interposed his authority, and Thwinge proceeded to Rome, pleaded his cause successfully, and returned with a bull authorising him to nominate to the living he claimed, &c. Lingard, iii. 107.

‡ Guizot, *Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 458.



self, called the commons of England to a participation in political rights, at the same time endeavouring to give a religious colouring to his project, and to convert the war he meditated into a crusade.\*

However conscientious and impartial was the decision of St. Louis, it seems yet to have been a rash one; the future was to rejudge that judgment. This was the first time he broke through that reserve he had till then imposed on himself. Doubtless, at this period the influence of the clergy on the one hand, and that of the legists on the other, impelled him towards ideas of the absolute rights of royalty. The great and sudden power to which France had shot up during the discords and prostration of England and of the Empire, was a temptation. It led Louis gradually to forsake the part of a pacific mediator, which he had formerly been content to play between the pope and the emperor. The illustrious and ill-fated house of Swabia was beaten down; the pope was setting up its spoils to auction. He offered them to any who would bid for them, the King of England, or the King of France. Louis refused at first, for himself, but he allowed his brother Charles to accept. Thereby he brought another realm into his house; but, likewise, the weight of a realm on his conscience. The Church, it is true, answered for every thing. Conrad, the son of the great Frederic II., and Manfred were, it is said, impious men, enemies of the pope, and rather Mohammedan than Christian princes.† But, after all, was this cause enough to justify their being despoiled of their inheritance; and, if Manfred was guilty, what had the son of Conrad done? poor little Corradino, the last scion of so many emperors! He was scarcely three years old.

This brother of St. Louis, this Charles of Anjou, of whom his admirer Villani has left so fearful a portrait; this *black man who slept little*, ‡ was a demon of temptation for St. Louis. He had married Beatrice the youngest of the four daughters of the Count of Provence; the three elder sisters were queens, § and made Beatrice

\* On the eve of the battle of Lewes, he ordered every soldier to fasten a white cross on his breast and his shoulder, and spend the evening in acts of religion.

† Like their father they committed even the administration of justice to Saracens.

‡ "This Charles was sage and prudent in council, a *prer* in arms, austere and much feared by all the kings of the world; magnanimous, and of high thoughts that made him equal to the greatest enterprises; unshakable in adversity; firm and true to all his promises; speaking little and acting much; hardly ever laughing; decent as a monk; a zealous Catholic; keen and stern to render justice; fierce in his looks. His figure was tall and sinewy; his complexion inclining to olive; his nose very large. He seemed more formed than any other lord for royal majesty; he slept scarcely at all; he was prodigal to his knights, but greedy to acquire, from whencesoever he could, lands, lordships, and money to furnish out his enterprises. He never took pleasure in mimes, troubadours, or men of court." Giov. Villani, vii. 1, ap. Sismondi, *Republiques Italiennes*, iii. 329.

§ Wives of the kings of France and of England, and of the Emperor Richard of Cornwall.

sit on a stool at their feet. Beatrice still more exasperated the violent and covetous soul of her husband; she, too, was bent on having a throne for herself cost what it might. Provence, as well as the heiress of Provence, naturally desired some consolation for the odious marriage that subjected it to the French. If the vessels of subjugated Marseilles carried the flag of France, at least they would have that flag triumph on the seas and humble those of the Italians.

I cannot relate the downfall of the great and unfortunate house of Swabia, without reviewing its destinies, which are none other than the struggle between the popedom and the Empire. Let me be excused for this digression. This family perished; it is the last time we shall have to speak of them.

The house of Franconia and Swabia, from Henry IV. to Frederic Barbarossa, from the latter to Frederic II. and to Corradino, in whom it was to become extinct, presented, amidst a host of violent and tyrannical acts, a character which will not suffer us to remain indifferent to its fate. That character is the heroism of private affections. It was a trait common to the whole Ghibelline party, this attachment of man to man; never, in their greatest disasters, did they lack friends ready to fight and to die freely for them. They deserved this by their magnanimity; it was to Godefroy de Bouillon, to the son of the hereditary foes of his family, that Henry IV. committed the flag of the Empire; and we know how Godefroy repaid that admirable confidence. Young Corradino had his Pylades in young Frederic of Austria; heroic children, whom the victor did not separate in their deaths. Their native land itself, which the Ghibellines of Italy so often troubled, was dear to them even when they immolated it. Dante has placed Farinata Degli Uberti, the chief of the Ghibellines of Florence, in hell; but from the manner in which he speaks of him, there is no noble heart but would desire a place by the side of such a man on his fiery bed. "Alas!" says the heroic shade, "I was not alone in the battle in which we vanquished Florence; but in the council, in which the victor proposed to destroy it, I spoke alone, and saved it."\*

A very different spirit seems to have prevailed among the Guelfs. These men were true Italians, friends to the Church as long as she was the friend of liberty, gloomy levellers, devoted to hard, unfeeling reasoning, and ready to immolate the human race to an idea. In order to judge this party, we must observe it, whether in the eternal tempest which was the life of Genoa, or in the successive stages of purgation by which Florence descended, as through the circles of another Dante's hell, from the Ghibellines to the Guelfs, from the white Guelfs to the black Guelfs, and then from the

---

\* Dante, *Inferno*, c. x.

Ma fu 'io sol colà dove sofferto  
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,  
Colui che la difesi a viso aperto.

latter, under the reign of terror of the *Guelf Society*, until she reached the bottom of that demagogic abyss in which a woolcomber was for a moment gonfaloniere of the Republic. When she had reached that depth, she besought, as a remedy, the very evil for which she had abhorred the Ghibellines; viz., tyranny; first violent tyranny, and then mild, when the feelings that invoked it had softened down.

That harsh Guelf spirit, which spared not even Dante, which made its way both by the alliance of the Church and that of France, hoped to attain its end by the proscription of the nobles. Their castles were razed beyond the walls of the towns, and within them their strong houses were seized. They were brought so low, those noble men, those heroes, the Uberti of Florence, the Doria of Genoa, that, in the latter city, nobility was imposed as a degradation; and when they would recompense a noble, they raised him to the dignity of a plebeian. When things were brought to this pass, the merchants were satisfied, and thought themselves strong; they lorded it over the rural districts in their turn, as the citizens of the ancient cities had done. But, after all, what did they substitute for nobility, for the military principle which they destroyed? Hired soldiers, who deceived them, plundered them, and became their masters, till both were overwhelmed by the invasion of the stranger.

Such was, in two words, the history of the real Italian party, the Guelf party. As for the Ghibelline, or German party, it perished or changed its form, from the time it ceased to be German and feudal. It underwent a hideous metamorphosis, became a pure tyranny, and renewed through Eccelino and Galeas Visconti all that antiquity had related or invented of a Phalaris and an Agathocles.

The acquisition of the kingdom of Naples, which in appearance exalted the house of Swabia so high, was precisely what ruined it. That house undertook to form a mixture of the most heterogeneous elements; to blend together the Germans, the Italians, and the Saracens. It led the latter up to the gates of the Church, and held the papacy in a state of blockade by its Mohammedan colonies of Luceria and Nocera.\* Then was to begin a duel to the death. Again, Germany was no better contented with a thoroughly Sicilian prince, who wished to make the Roman law paramount in Germany; that is to say, to effect the levelling of the ancient Empire. The law of inheritance alone, by equalising the share of all brothers, would have divided and brought down all the great houses. The Swabian dynasty was hated in Germany, as Italian; and in Italy, as German or Arab; all men forsook it. Frederic II. saw his father-in-law, John de Brienne, seize the opportunity, when he was absent in the Holy Land, to deprive him of Naples. His own son Henry, whom he had designated as his heir, renewed against him the revolt

---

\* 1223—1247. Nocera was surnamed *Nocera de' Pagani*. Sismondi, *Republiques Italiennes*, ii. 440.

of Henry V. against his father; whilst his other son, the handsome Enzo, was buried for ever in the prisons of Bologna.\* Lastly, his chancellor, his dearest friend, Peter de Vineis, attempted to poison him.† After this last blow, nothing remained for him but to veil his head, like Cæsar, upon the Ides of March. Frederic abjured all ambition, and asked leave to resign every thing, and retire to the Holy Land;‡ he wished, at least, to die in peace. The pope would not permit him.

Then the old lion plunged into cruelty. At the siege of Parma, he had four of his prisoners decapitated every day.§ He protected the horrible Eccelino, and gave him the lieutenancy of the Empire; and all through Italy, mutilated men and women were seen begging their bread, and relating the vindictive cruelties of the imperial vicar.||

Frederic died *re infecta*, and the pope shouted for joy.¶ His

\* On the death of Corradino he attempted to make his escape in a hogshead, but a lock of his hair betrayed him; "Ha! there is no man, but King Enzo, who can have such beautiful yellow hair." There is extant a letter from Frederic to the Bolognese, reminding them of the inconstancy of fortune, demanding back his son, and threatening them with the whole weight of his anger. Petri de Vineis, l. ii., c. 34.

† Mat. Paris, ap. Sismondi, Repub. Ital., iii. 77.

‡ Ibid., 80.

§ Ibid., 86.

|| See Rolandinus, de factis in marchia Tarvisina; Monachus Patavinus. Sismondi, Rep. Ital., iii. 109 sqq., 208.

¶ "Frederic," says Villani (l. vi., c. 1.), "was a man of great merit and rare talents. He owed his wisdom as much to study as to his natural prudence. Versed in all things, he spoke the Latin tongue, our vulgar tongue (Italian), German, French, Greek, and Arabic. Abounding in virtues, he was generous, and to his gifts he superadded courtesy; a valiant and sage warrior, he was also much feared. But he was dissolute in his pleasures, he had a great number of concubines, according to the custom of the Saracens, and was served by Mamelukes. He gave himself up to all the pleasures of the senses, and led an epicurean life, not considering that there is any other life to come after this; and this was the chief reason for which he became the enemy of the Holy Church."

"Frederic," says Nicholas de Jamsilla (Hist. Conradi et Manfredi, t. viii., p. 495), "was a man of great heart, but wisdom, which was not less great in him, tempered his magnanimity so that impetuous passion never determined his actions, but he always proceeded with the maturity of reason. He was zealous for philosophy; he cultivated it himself and diffused it through his dominions. Before the happy times of his reign there were few or no men of letters in Sicily; but the emperor opened schools for the liberal arts and for all the sciences, in his kingdom, invited professors from different parts of the world, and gave them liberal rewards. He was not content with granting them a salary, but took from his own treasury funds wherewith to pension the poorest scholars, so that in all classes men might not be barred by indigence from the study of philosophy. He himself gave a proof of his literary talents, which he had directed specially towards natural history, in writing a book on the nature and the rearing of birds, wherein we may see how much progress the emperor had made in philosophy. He loved justice and respected it so much, that it was free to any man to plead against the emperor without the monarch's rank giving him any favour in the eyes of the judges, and without any advocate hesitating to take on himself the cause of his humblest subjects. But notwithstanding this love of justice he sometimes tempered its rigour by his clemency." (It is to be remarked that Villani was a Guelf and Jamsilla a Ghibelline.)

son Conrad, too, appeared in Italy only to die.\* The Empire then passed away from that house; the brother of the King of England, and the King of Castile, both believed themselves emperors. Conrad's son, little Corradino, was not of an age to maintain his rights against any one; but the kingdom of Naples devolved on the bastard Manfred, the true son of Frederic II., brilliant, intelligent, debauched, impious like his father, a man distinct from all others, whom no one loved or hated by halves. He gloried in being a bastard, like many a pagan hero and god.† All his reliance was on the Saracens, who preserved for him the fortresses and treasures of his father. He hardly trusted any others. He called 9000 men of them from Sicily; and, in his last battle, it was at their head he charged the enemy.‡

It is asserted, that Charles of Anjou owed his victory to the disloyal order he gave his men to *strike at the horses*;§ this was a violation of all the laws of chivalry. After all, this proceeding was hardly necessary; the French *gendarmes* had too much advantage over an army composed chiefly of light troops. When Manfred saw his men routed, he wished to die, and he fastened on his helmet, but it fell twice. "*Hoc est signum Dei*," he said, rushed into the midst of the French, and there found his death. Charles of Anjou would have refused burial to the corpse of the poor excommunicated prince; but the French themselves brought every man a stone, and reared a tomb for him.||

\* In the spring of 1254. He was but twenty-six years of age. Janséna, viii. 507; Sismondi, Rep. Ital., iii. 143.

† The following is the portrait given of him by contemporaries, Matth. Spinelli, Ricordon, Summonte, Colonneio, &c. He was gifted with great courage, loved the arts, was generous, and had much urbanity. He was well made and of a handsome face, but he led a dissolute life. He dishonoured his sister, the wife of the Count de Caserte; he feared neither God nor the saints. He consorted with the Saracens, whom he made use of to tyrannise over the clergy, and he devoted himself to the superstitious astrology of the Arabs. He bragged of his illegitimate birth, and said, that great men usually sprang from forbidden unions. Michaud, v. 43.

‡ In his flight, in 1254, he found refuge nowhere but in Luceria, the Saracens of which place welcomed him with transports of delight. Before the battle, Manfred sent ambassadors to negotiate; Charles replied, "Go tell the Sultan of Nocera, that I desire nothing but battle, and that this very day I will send him to hell or he shall send me to heaven." Sismondi Republ. Ital., iii. 153, 347.

§ Ibid., 348. See also Descr. Victor. obt. per. Carol. ap. Duchesne, v. 846.

|| The popes had his remains disinterred, and flung upon the confines of the kingdom of Naples and the Campagna di Roma.—Dante, Purgatorio, c. iii.

Biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto....

Poi sorridendo disse: Io son Manfredi...

Se 'l pastor di Cosenza ch' alla caccia

Di me fu messo per Clemente, allora

Avesse in Dio ben letta questa faccia,

L' ossa del corpo mio sariano ancora

In cò del ponte presso a Benevento,

Sotto la guardia della grave mora.

Or le bagna la pioggia e muove 'l vento.

This easy victory had not the effect of softening the mind of the fierce conqueror of Naples. He sent through the whole country a swarm of greedy agents, who, like locusts, devoured up fruit and tree, and almost the land itself.\* Things reached such a pass, that the pope himself, who had brought this scourge on the country, repented, and addressed remonstrances to Charles of Anjou. All Italy rang with complaints, and they were echoed beyond the Alps. The whole Ghibelline party of Naples, Tuscany, and especially Pisa, implored the aid of young Corradino. The mother of the heroic boy long held him back, dreading to see him venture so young into that fatal Italy, where all his family had found a grave; but when he was fifteen, it was no longer possible to keep him back. His young friend Frederick of Austria, despoiled like him of his heritage,† joined his fortunes, and they crossed the Alps with a numerous chivalry. Scarcely had they arrived in Lombardy, when the Duke of Bavaria was seized with alarm, and left the young son of the emperor to continue his perilous journey with only 3000 or 4000 men-at-arms. When they passed before Rome, the pope, who was told the news, said merely: "Let these victims go their way."‡

Meanwhile the little troop had swollen; besides the Ghibellines of Italy some noble Spanish refugees in Rome took part with Corradino, as in a duel they would have drawn their swords for the weaker side. A glowing zeal possessed this army; when they saw that of Charles of Anjou beyond the Tagliacozzo, they boldly crossed the river, and drove before them all that fell in their way. They thought the victory won, when Charles, who by the advice of an old and cunning knight, had retired behind a hill with his best men-at-arms, burst upon the fatigued and dispersed victors. The Spaniards alone rallied and were cut to pieces.

Corradino was taken, the legitimate heir, the last scion of that formidable race; it was a sore temptation for the ferocious victor. He persuaded himself doubtless, by a false interpretation of the Roman law, that a vanquished enemy might be treated as guilty of lese majesty; and, besides, was not the enemy of the Church out of the pale of all law? It is alleged that the pope confirmed him in this way of thinking, and wrote to him "*Vita Corradini mors Caroli*."§ Charles nominated judges, from among his own creatures to try his prisoner; but the thing was so unparalleled that among those judges

\* To all the offices that existed in the old administration Charles superadded all the corresponding offices he knew of in France, so that the number of functionaries was more than doubled. Sismondi, iii. 357, from Malespina, iii. 16.

† Sismondi, Rep. Ital., iii. 371.

‡ Ptolemæi Luc., Hist. Eccles., xxii. 36. Raynaldi, Section 20, p. 261. Sismondi, iii. 380.

§ Giannone, xix. 4. Sismondi sees reason to reject this tradition. Many writers allege that the pope bitterly upbraided Charles for the death of Corradino. Sismondi, Schmidt, and most modern historians who have spoken of Corradino, have too much neglected to make use of Joannes Vitoduranus. We will return to this subject elsewhere.

themselves some were found to defend Corradino, and others held their peace. One alone pronounced sentence of condemnation, and took upon him to read the sentence on the scaffold; it was not with impunity. Charles of Anjou's own son-in-law, Robert of Flanders, rushed upon the scaffold and smote the judge dead with his sword, saying, "It is not for thee, wretch, to condemn to death so noble and gentle a lord."

The unhappy boy was, nevertheless, decapitated with his inseparable friend Frederic of Austria. He let no sound of lamentation escape him; "Oh! mother," he exclaimed, "what sorrow does this hour bring on thee," and then he threw his glove among the crowd. It was caught up, they say, and faithfully carried to Corradino's sister and his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon. The Sicilian Vespers are well known.

One word more, a last one touching the house of Swabia. A daughter of that house remained, who had been married to the Duke of Saxony when all Europe was at the feet of Frederic II. When her family fell, when the popes pursued throughout all the world what remained of that *race of vipers*,\* the Saxon repented of having taken for wife the daughter of the emperor. He beat her brutally; he did more; he wounded her to the heart by placing by her side, in her own castle and at her table, a vile concubine to whom he wished to force her to pay homage. The unfortunate wife, well assured that he would soon desire her blood, resolved to fly. A faithful servant of her house brought her a boat on the Elbe to the foot of the castle rock; she was to descend by a rope at the peril of her life. It was not the peril that made her pause, but she was leaving a babe behind her. At the moment she was about to depart, she wished to see her child once more, and embrace it as it slept in its cradle. It was a moment of agony—in the transport of a mother's grief she did not kiss the child, she bit it. The child lived; he is known in history by the name of Frederic the *Bitten*. He was his father's most implacable enemy.

How far St. Louis had a share in the barbarous victory of Charles of Anjou, it is difficult to determine. It was to him the pope had applied to obtain vengeance on the house of Swabia, "as to his defender, his right arm."† No doubt he at least sanctioned his brother's enterprise. The last and most sincere representative of the middle ages would blindly embrace its religious violence. This war of Sicily was, again, a crusade. To make war on the Hohenstaufen, the allies of the Arabs, was once again to combat the infidels. It was a pious deed to snatch from the house of Swabia that Southern Italy which it delivered over to the Arabs of Sicily; to close Europe against Africa, Christendom against Mohammedanism. Add to this that the principle of the middle ages, already attacked

\* De vipereo semine Frederici secundi.

† Tanquam ad defensionis suæ dextram. Nangis, ap. Preuves des libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, i. 6.

on all sides, was becoming more acrid and violent in the souls that remained true to it. No one likes to die, and systems no more than individuals. That old world which felt its life escaping from it, gathered itself together and grew more fierce; beginning to have doubts of itself, it was the more cruel towards those who doubted. The mildest souls felt unconsciously actuated by a necessary impulse to strengthen themselves in their faith by intolerance.

To believe and to smite; carefully to shun all reasoning and discussion; to close the eyes in order to annul the light; to fight gropingly: such was the childish bent of the middle ages, the common principle of the religious persecutions and the crusades. This feeling diminished in a remarkable degree in the thirteenth century; the abhorrence for the Saracens had lessened,\* discouragement and lassitude had supervened. Europe felt confusedly that she had little hold on that massive Asia. Two centuries had afforded ample time to learn thoroughly the nature of those frightful wars. The crusaders who, on the warrant of our chivalric poems, had gone in quest of empires of Trebisonde, Jericho paradises, and Jerusalem of emerald and sapphire, had found but rugged valleys, a cavalry of vultures, keen Damascus steel, arid deserts, and thirst under the scanty shade of the palm. The crusade had been that fallacious fruit of the Dead Sea banks, which was an orange to the eye and in the mouth but ashes. Europe directed her looks less and less towards the East; enough, it was thought, had been done; the Holy Land was neglected, and when it was lost, the loss was charged on God. "God, then, has sworn," said a troubadour, "to leave no Christian alive, and to make a mosque of St. Mary's of Jerusalem; and since his son, who ought to withstand this, finds it good, it would be folly to withstand it. God sleeps whilst Mohammed displays his power. I would there were no longer question of crusades against the Saracens, since God protects them against the Christians."†

Meanwhile, Syria was drenched in blood. After the Mongols, and against them, arrived the Mamelukes of Egypt, that fierce soldiery, recruited from slaves and nourished on murders, wrested from the Christians the last places they then possessed in Syria; Cæsarea, Arzuf, Saphed, Yaffa, Belfort, and, lastly, the great Antioch, fell one after the other.‡ There were, I know not how many men

\* St. Louis showed great mildness towards the Saracens. "He enriched many Saracens whom he caused to be baptized, and united them in marriage with Christian women.....When he was beyond sea he commanded his people not to kill the women or children of the Saracens, but to take them alive that they might be baptized. Likewise he commanded that as much as possible the Saracen men should not be slain, but taken and kept in prison. And sometimes there were stolen silver spoons and the like from his court, and yet the blessed king bore this meekly, and gave the thieves some money and sent them over sea. This he did to many. He was always very full of compassion to others." *Le Confesseur*, pp. 302, 368.

† *Le Chevalier du Temple*, ap. Raynouard, *Choix des poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 131.

‡ Marin. Sanuto, *Secreta fidel. crucis*, l. iii., p. xii., c. 4—9.



slaughtered for refusing to renounce their faith. Many were flayed alive; in Antioch alone 17,000 were put to the sword, and 100,000 sold into slavery.\*

This terrible news excited wailing and mourning in Europe, but prompted no man to action. St. Louis alone felt the wound in his heart; he said nothing, but he wrote to the pope that he was going to take the cross. Clement IV., who was an able man, and more a jurist than a priest, endeavoured to dissuade him;† he seemed to look on the crusade from our modern point of view, and to comprehend that this last enterprise would again be unproductive. But it was impossible that the man of the middle ages, their true son, their last offspring, should forsake the service of God, deny his fathers, the heroes of the crusades, and leave the bones of the martyrs exposed to the winds without making an attempt to bury them. He could not have remained quietly seated in his palace at Vincennes whilst the Mameluke was butchering Christians, or slaying their souls by wresting their faith from them. St. Louis heard from the Sainte-Chapelle the groans of the dying, and the shrieks of Christian virgins in Palestine. God, denied in Asia, cursed in Europe for the triumphs of the infidels; all this lay heavy on the soul of the pious prince. Besides, it was but reluctantly he had returned from the Holy Land; the recollections he had brought home thence were too poignant, the desolation of Egypt, the marvellous woes of the desert, the opportunity for martyrdom lost: these were subjects of affliction and regret for his Christian soul.

On the 25th of May, 1267, having convoked his barons to the great hall of the Louvre, he entered among them holding in his hands the holy crown of thorns. Weak as he was and suffering in his health in consequence of his austerities, he took the cross, made his three sons take it, and no one durst do otherwise.‡ His brothers, Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou, soon followed his example, as did the King of Navarre, Count of Champagne, and the counts of Artois and Flanders, the son of the Count of Bretagne, a multitude of lords, then the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and the two sons of the King of England. St. Louis strove to entice all his neighbours to the crusade, offered himself as arbiter of their differences, and helped to equip them. He gave 70,000 livres,

\* Marin. Sanuto, *Secreta fidel. crucis*, l. iii., p. xii., c. 9. *Usque xvii. millia personarum interfecta sunt, et ultra centum millia captivata sunt: et facta est civitas tam famosa quasi solitudo deserti.*

† Gaufred. de Bell. loc., *vita et convers.* S. Lud. c. 37, ap. Duchesne, v. 461. Clement., *epist.*, 269.

‡ At the monastery of Roianmont, where he aided the monks to build, he compelled his brothers to do the same. "The blessed king took the handbarrow loaded with stones, and walked first with it, a monk carrying it behind... And forasmuch as his brothers would sometimes talk, and about, and make sport, the blessed king said to them: 'The monks keep silence, and so too must we.' And as the brothers of the blessed king loaded their barrows heavily, and were fain to rest half way, when they came to the wall he said to them: 'The monks do not rest, nor must you.'" *Le Confesseur*, p. 334.

tournois, to the sons of the King of England. At the same time to attach the South to him, he for the first time summoned the representatives of the bourgeois to the assemblies of the *sénéchaussées* of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire. This was the beginning of the Estates of Languedoc.

So unpopular was the crusade, that Joinville, the seneschal of Champagne, would not join it, notwithstanding his attachment to the saintly king. His words on this subject may be adduced as expressing the thoughts of the times.

"It came to pass, as God was pleased, that I was sleeping at matins, and I was avised as asleep, that I saw the king before an altar on his knees, and I was avised, that several prelates in their vestments clothed him in a red chasuble of serge of Rheims." Joinville's chaplain explained to him, that this dream signified, that the king would take the cross; and that the serge of Rheims signified, that the crusade would be "of little exploit." "I heard that all those committed mortal sin, who advised him to the expedition."—"Of his voyage to Thumes (Tunis) I will say nothing, for I was not there, thanks be to God."\*

The king's great army slowly assembeld, discouraged beforehand, and setting reluctantly out on its march, wasted two months in the unwholesome environs of Aigues-Mortes. No one knew yet what direction it was to take. There was much alarm in Egypt, the Pellusiatic mouth of the Nile was stopped, and has ever since remained closed.† The Greek emperor, who feared the ambition of Charles of Anjou, sent to offer an union of the two Churches.

At length, the army embarked on board Genoese vessels. The Pisans, Ghibellines, and enemies of Genoa, feared for Sardinia, and closed their ports. St. Louis had great difficulty in obtaining permission to land his invalids, who were already very numerous. The army had been more than twenty days at sea; it was impossible at this slow rate of progress to reach Egypt or the Holy Land; the king was therefore persuaded to steer for Tunis. This coincided with the interests of Charles of Anjou, the sovereign of Sicily. He made his brother believe, that Egypt derived great succours from Tunis,‡ and perhaps he imagined, in his ignorance, that it was easy to pass from the one to the other. He thought, too, that the appearance of the Christian army would determine the Soudan of Tunis to become converted. That country was in amicable relations with Castile and France. Not long before, St. Louis, when causing a converted Jew to be baptised at St. Denis, wished that the ambassadors of Tunis should be present at the ceremony; and after it he said to them, "Tell your master, that so much do I desire the salvation of his soul, that I would fain be in the prisons of the Saracens for the remainder

\* Joinville, p. 153—4.

† Michaud, iv. 439.

‡ Moreover the pirates of Tunis did much mischief to the Christian vessels. Marin. Sanuto, iii., p. xii., c. 10. Guill. Nangis, *Annales du règne de St. Louis* (ed. 1761), p. 27.

of my life and never behold the light of day, if for that price I could make your king and his people Christians like this man."<sup>\*</sup>

A pacific expedition which should merely intimidate the King of Tunis, and induce him to become a convert was not what suited the Genoese in whose vessels St. Louis had made his passage. Most of the crusaders preferred violence; it was said, that Tunis was a rich town, the pillage of which might indemnify them for their dangerous expedition. The Genoese, regardless of the voice of St. Louis, began hostilities by seizing the vessels they found before Carthage. The landing took place without obstacle. The Moors only showed themselves to provoke the Christians, and make them waste their strength in fruitless pursuits. After spending some weary days on the burning shore, the Christians advanced towards the castle of Carthage. All that remained of the great rival of Rome was a fort guarded by 200 soldiers, and the Saracens who had retreated into the vaults or subterranean chambers were butchered or suffocated by smoke and flames. The king found the ruins full of corpses, which he had removed, that he might take up his quarters there with his followers.<sup>†</sup> He had to wait at Carthage for his brother, Charles of Anjou, before marching on Tunis. The greater part of the army remained under the African sun, tormented by the thick dust swept from the desert by the winds, and surrounded by the sweltering remains of the dead. The Moors prowled all around, continually cutting off some stragglers. There were no trees, no vegetable food; for water there was nothing but fetid marshes and cisterns full of disgusting insects. In eight days the plague had broken out. The counts of Vendôme, Marche and Viane, Gaultier de Nemours, Marshal of France; the sires de Montmorency, Piennes, Brissac, Saint-Briçon, and d'Apremont were already dead. The legate soon followed them. The survivors being no longer able to bury them, they were thrown into the canal, till they covered the whole surface of the water. Meanwhile, the king and his sons were attacked by the malady; the youngest died in his vessel, and it was not till eight days afterwards that the confessor of St. Louis took on him to acquaint him with the mournful event. The deceased was the most beloved of his children, and his death announced to a dying father was, to the latter, one tie less to earth, a call from God, a temptation to die. Accordingly, without perturbation or regret, he accomplished that last work of a Christian life, making the responses to the litanies and the psalms, dictating a noble and affecting instruction for his son, and receiving even the ambassadors of the Greeks, who came to entreat his intervention in their favour with his brother Charles of Anjou, whose ambition menaced them. He spoke to them with kindness, and promised to exert himself with zeal, if he lived, to keep them in peace; but the next day he himself entered into the peace of God.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Gaufréd. de Bello. loc., Vita S. Lud. ap. Duchesne, v. 462.

<sup>†</sup> Joinville, p. 156.

<sup>‡</sup> Sismondi, viii. 189.

That last night of his life he desired them to raise him from his bed and lay him on ashes; and so he died, with his arms constantly folded in the form of a cross. "And on Monday the blessed king stretched his folded hands towards heaven, and said, 'Good Lord God, have mercy on this people that here remaineth, and lead it into its country, that it fall not into the hand of its enemies, and that it be not constrained to renounce thy holy name!'"

"In the night before he deceased, whilst he was reposing, he sighed, and said in a low voice, 'O! Jerusalem! O! Jerusalem!'"\*

The crusade of St. Louis was the last crusade. The middle ages had given out their ideal, their flower and their fruit, they were then to die. With Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Louis, begin the modern times. The middle ages are buffeted in the person of Boniface VIII.; the crusades burned in the persons of the templars.

They will talk for many a day yet of crusades; that word will be often repeated; it is a sonorous word, very effective for raising tithes and taxes. But the grandees and the popes know well among themselves what they are to think of it.† Some time after (1327) we find the Venetian Sanuto proposing a commercial crusade to the pope; "It was not enough," he said, "to invade Egypt, it ought to be ruined." The means he proposed, was to throw open again the route through Persia to the Indian trade, so that merchandise might no longer pass through Alexandria and Damietta.‡ Thus early do we see a foretokening of the modern spirit; commerce, not religion, is about to become the incentive to distant expeditions.

That the Christian age of the world had its last expression in a king of France, was a grand thing for the monarchy and the dynasty; this was what rendered the successors of St. Louis so bold against the clergy. The monarchy had acquired in the eyes of nations the authority of religion, and the idea of sanctity. The

\* Petri de Condeto. epist. ap. Spicilegium (fol. ed.), iii. 667.

† Petrarch relates (Bâle, p. 421) that once they deliberated in Rome as to the leader that should be appointed to a crusade. Don Sancho, son of Alphonso, King of Castile, was chosen. He came to Rome, and was admitted into the Consistory where the election was to take place. As he was ignorant of Latin, he made one of his courtiers accompany him to act as interpreter. Don Sancho having been proclaimed King of Egypt, every one applauded the choice. At the noise of the applauses, the king asked his interpreter what was the matter? "The pope," says the interpreter, "has created you King of Egypt." "One must not be ungrateful," replied Don Sancho, "stand up and proclaim the holy father Caliph of Bagdad." Michaud, v. 129.

‡ Marini Sanuti *secreta fidelium crucis* (ed. Bongars Hanan, 1611). The first book is occupied with an exposition of this project; the second discusses the means to be employed for the execution of the crusade; the third contains a history of the establishments and expeditions made in and to the East. Sanuto subjoined to his work charts of the Mediterranean and maps of the Holy Land and of Egypt. The pope highly applauded the project; all the Christian princes approved of it and did not pursue it. Sanuto applied to the Emperor of Constantinople, and spent his life in thus preaching the crusade.

true king, just and pious, an equitable judge of the people had been found. What might have been the influence exercised over the conscientious determinations of that pure and candid soul by the jurists, by the modest and crafty counsellors who by and by made themselves so well known, was what no one could yet estimate. We ourselves will not attempt to do so in this place; this great subject must be presented in its connexion with the anterior and subsequent epochs of our legislation. We shall discuss it further on.

The interest of the monarchy being, in those days, none other than that of order, the pious king found himself continually led to sacrifice the feudal rights, which, for conscience sake, and in his disinterestedness, he would fain have respected. Whatever his able counsellors dictated to him for the aggrandisement of the royal power, that he pronounced for the sake of justice. The subtle thoughts of the jurists were accepted and promulgated through the simplicity of a saint. Their decisions assumed the authority of God's judgment, by passing through so pure a mouth.

"Many a time it came to pass, that in summer he went and sat himself down in the wood of Vincennes, after his mass, and leaned his back against a tree, and made us sit around him, and all those who had any matter came and spoke to him, without troubling either usher or any other. And then he asked them with his own lips: 'Is there no one here who has any cause in hand?'—and those arose who cause had. And then he said: 'Be silent, all of you, and you shall have delivery one after the other.' And then he called Monseigneur Pierre de Fontaines and Monseigneur Geoffroy de Villette, and said to one of them: 'Deliver me this cause;' and when he saw any thing to amend in the speech of those who spoke for another, he himself amended it with his own mouth. I saw him once in summer, when he came to the garden of Paris to deliver judgment, clad in a coat of camlet, with a surcoat of *tyretine* without sleeves, a neckcloth of black *cedal* round his neck, his hair combed very fair and without a coif, and a bonnet of white *pease* on his head; and he had a carpet spread for us to sit around him, and all the people who had aught to bring before him, were around him standing up. And then he gave them delivery, in the manner I have told you before of the wood of Vincennes."<sup>\*</sup>

In 1256 or 1257, he pronounced a sentence against the Lord of Vesnon, by which he condemned him to indemnify a merchant who had been robbed in open day on a road in his lordship. The lords were obliged to have the roads guarded from sunrise to sunset.†

Enguerrand de Coucy having caused three young men, who were hunting in his woods, to be hanged, the king had him arrested and tried. All the great vassals remonstrated, and backed his demand

\* Joinville, p. 13.

† Hénault, t. i.—We find a similar edict published by the Count of Artois in 1287. Bouchel, p. 243.

for wager of battle. The king said, that "in matters concerning the poor, the churches, or persons on whom men ought to have pity, wager of battle ought not to be allowed; for none would be easily found who would be willing to fight for such manner of persons, against the barons of the realm."

"When the barons," he said to John of Bretagne, "who held of you merely, without any middle men, came before us with complaints against yourselves, and offered to prove their assertion in certain cases by battle against you, then you replied before us, that you ought not to deal by way of battle, but by inquest in such matter. And you said, too, *that battle is not process of right.*"\* Jean Thourot, who had earnestly taken in hand the defence of Enguerrand de Coucy, ejaculated ironically: "Had I been the king, I would have hanged up all the barons; for a first step once made, the second comes easy enough." The king, who heard this expression, called him back: "How is this, Jean? You say that I ought to hang up my barons. Certes, I will not hang them, but I will chastise them if they misbehave."

Some gentlemen, who had for cousin a *bad man who would not be chastened*, solicited of Simon de Nielle, their lord, who had high justice in his domain, permission to kill him, lest he should be taken by the ministers of justice and hanged, to the disgrace of his family. Simon refused, but consulted the king on the matter. The king would not consent to the proposal, "For he wished that all justice should be done on all malefactors throughout his whole realm, openly and before the people, and that no justice should be done in secret."†

A man having laid his complaint before St. Louis, against his brother, Charles of Anjou, who wished to force the man to sell him a property he held in Charles' county, the king had his brother called before the council; "and the blessed king commanded that the man's possessions should be restored to him, and that thenceforth, no let or hindrance should be caused him in the possession, since he would not sell or exchange it."‡

Let us add two remarkable facts, which equally prove, that while submitting readily to the advice of priests or jurists, that admirable soul preserved a lofty sense of equity, which, in dubious circumstances, made him sacrifice the letter to the spirit.

Regnault de Trie once brought St. Louis a letter, by which the king had bestowed the county of Dammartin on the heirs of the Countess of Boulogne. The seal was broken, and only the legs of the king's image remained. All St. Louis' counsellors told him he was not bound to fulfil his promise; but he replied: "My lords, look at

\* Life of St. Louis by Queen Margaret's confessor (ed. 1761, p. 379—380). Among other penalties which St. Louis inflicted on Enguerrand, he took from him all high justice in matters of woods and chases, and the right of imprisoning or putting to death.

† Le Confesseur, p. 383.

‡ Ibid, p. 381.

the seal, which I used before I went beyond sea; it is plain to be seen, that the impression on the broken seal is like that of the entire seal; wherefore, I durst not in good conscience withhold the said county."

One Good Friday, whilst St. Louis was reading the Psalter, the relations of a gentleman confined in the Châtelet, came to entreat his pardon, saying, that the day was a day of grace. The king laid his finger on the verse before him: "*Beati qui custodiunt iudicium, et justitiam faciunt in omni tempore*"; then sending for the provost of Paris, he went on with his reading. The provost informed him that the prisoner's crimes were enormous, whereupon he commanded that officer forthwith to take the criminal to the gibbet.\*

This elevation of mind, which set equity above law, St. Louis owed, doubtless, in a great measure, to the Franciscans and Dominicans by whom he was surrounded. In knotty questions, he consulted St. Thomas.† He sent mendicant friars to inspect the provinces, in imitation of the *Missi Domini* of Charlemagne.‡ That mystical Church rendered him strong against the episcopal and papal Church, and gave him courage to resist the pope in favour of the bishops, as well as the latter themselves. The prelates of the realm assembled one day, and the Bishop of Auxerre said in their name to St. Louis: "Sire, these lords here present, archbishops and bishops, have bid me tell you that Christendom is perishing in your hands." The king crossed himself, and said: "But tell me how this is so?" "Sire," he responded, "it is because excommunications take such little hold on men now-a-days, that they will even die excommunicated, sooner than seek absolution and make amends to the Church. Therefore, we beseech you, sire, in the name of God, and

\* *Ægidii de Musis Chronic.*, ap. *Art de vérifier les dates*, vi. 8.

† *Guill. de Thoco. Vit. S. Thom. Aquin. De rege Franciæ S. Ludovico dicitur quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctoris requirebat consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerat esse certum.....Cum primo Parisiis de aliquibus arduis et necessariis in crastino deberet habere consilium, de sero mandabat prædicto Doctori ut illa nocte super dubio imminenti casus mente intenderet, ut quod esset utile respondendum in crastino, cogitaret.*

‡ *Mat. Paris, ad. ann. 1247, p. 493.*—He bequeathed to them by his will (1269) his books and large sums of money, and instituted a council, consisting of the Bishop of Paris, the chancellor, the prior of the Dominicans, and the guardian of the Franciscans, who were to nominate to vacant benefices. *Buleus*, iii. 1269.—After the first crusade he had always two confessors, one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan. *Gaufréd. de Bell. loc. ap. Duchesne, v. 451.*—Queen Margaret's confessor relates that he thought of becoming a Dominican, and that it was with difficulty his wife prevented his doing so.—He took care to send the pope the book by *Guillaume de St. Amour*. The pope thanked him for it, and begged him to continue his protection to the monks. *Buleus*, iii. 313.—From a letter addressed to the pope by some professors of the university, in which they refuse to admit the mendicants among them, it appears that St. Louis had granted them guards: "*Quoniam ipsi, de mandato domini regis, paratam semper habeant ad nutum suum multitudinem armatorum, unde etiam solennitates magistrorum suorum nuper sine nobis cum armatis plurimis celebrare cœperunt.*" *Ibid.*, 290.

for that so you ought to do, that you command your provosts and bailiffs, that by seizure of their goods they constrain all those who remain excommunicated a year and a day to sue for absolution." To this the king replied, that "he would readily so command as regarded all those who should clearly appear to be in the wrong." . . . . And the king said, that "he would not do it otherwise; for it would be against God and against reason were he to compel folks to sue for absolution when the clergy did them wrong."\*

France, so long devoted to the ecclesiastical power, assumed a freer tone in the thirteenth century; from being the ally of the pope and the Guelfs against the emperor, it became Ghibelline in feeling; but always with this very important difference, that it was by means of legal forms it carried on its opposition, which was not the less formidable for all that. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the seigneurs vigorously supported Philip Augustus against the pope and the bishops. In 1225, they declared that they would quit their lands, or take up arms, if the king did not take measures against the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power; the Church, in fact, always acquiring, and never letting go any thing it had once secured, would have absorbed every thing in the long run. In 1246, the famous Pierre Mauclerc formed, with the Duc de Bourgogne and the counts d'Angoulême and de St. Pol, a league which was joined by a great part of the noblesse. The terms of this act are of extraordinary energy; the hand of the lawyers is visible in it; we could fancy we were already reading the words of Guillaume de Nogaret.†

\* Joinville, p. 14.

† "Seeing that the superstition of the clergy (forgetting that it was by war and bloodshed, under Charlemagne and others, that the realm of France was converted from the error of the Gentiles to the Catholic faith), so absorbs the jurisdiction of the secular princes, that these sons of serfs judge after their law freemen and the sons of freemen, although, according to the law of the first conquerors, it is themselves rather that we ought to judge. . . . We, all grantees of the realm, considering attentively that it was not by the written law, nor by the arrogance of the clergy, but by the sweat of warriors, that the realm was conquered. . . . do resolve that no one, clergy or lay, shall henceforth force any one before the ordinary or delegated judge, except for heresy, marriage, or usury, under penalty to the infractor of loss of all his property, and mutilation of a limb; we have sent our mandatories to this effect, in order that our jurisdiction may revive and be free at last from molestation, and that these men enriched by our spoils, may be reduced to the condition of the primitive Church, that they may live in contemplation, whilst we, as befits us, will perform the active part of life, and that they may let us see those miracles which have been so long unknown to our age." *Trésor des Ch.*, Champagne, iv., No. 84, and ap. *Preuves des libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*, i. 29.

1247.—League of Pierre de Dreux Mauclerc with his son Duke John, the Count of Angoulême, and the Count of St. Pol, and many other lords, against the clergy.

"To all those who shall see these letters, we all, whose seals are pendent from this present writing, make known, that we by the faith of our bodies have pledged ourselves, and are bounden, we and our heirs, always to aid one another and all those of our land and of other lands who will be of this company, to pursue, and



St. Louis co-operated, in all simplicity of heart, in this struggle of the lawyers and the lords against the priests, which was to turn to his own advantage;\* and with the same good faith he took part in that maintained by the lawyers against the lords. He recognised, in the suzerain, the right of withdrawing a landed domain bestowed on the Church. A year before his death he published the famous *pragmatica*, the basis of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

Plunged, at this period, in mysticism, he had, doubtless, so much the less reluctance to put himself so formally in opposition to the ecclesiastical authority. The disasters of the crusade, the abounding scandals of the times, the doubts that started up on all sides, made him recoil so much the more deeply into the inward life of meditation. His fond and pious soul, wounded abroad in all its affections, shrank back and dwelt within itself. Reading and contemplation became the whole business of his life. He applied himself to the Scriptures and to the fathers, especially St. Augustine. He had manuscripts copied,† and made himself a library; a feeble beginning, out of which arose the *Bibliothèque Royale*. He had pious books read to him during meals, and at bedtime,‡ and could not satiate his soul with orisons and prayers. Often he remained so long prostrate, that when he rose, says the historian, he was seized with dizziness, and whispered his chamberlains: "Where am I?" He was afraid of being overheard by his knights.§

But prayer could not satisfy the appetite of his soul. "The blessed king wonderfully desired the grace of tears, and lamented to his confessor that tears failed him, and he said firmly, humbly, and privately, that when he said these words in the litany: 'Lord we beseech thee grant us a fountain of tears,' the holy king said devoutly:

---

quire and defend our rights and theirs in good faith against the clergy. And for that it would be an onerous thing to assemble us all for this work, we have elected, by common consent and grant of us all, the Duc de Bourgogne, the Count Perron de Bretagne, the Count d'Angouleme, and the Count de Saint Pol: . . . and if any of this company should be excommunicated through wrong done by the clergy, as known by these four, he shall not let go his right or his quarrel, notwithstanding excommunication or any thing else they may do to him," &c. *Preuves des libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*, i. 99. See also pp. 95, 97, 98.

\* In 1240, the pope having manifested an intention of breaking the truces concluded between him and Frederick II., St. Louis, in order to hinder him, stopped the subsidies he had caused to be levied from the clergy of France by his legate. *Mat. Paris* (ed. 1644), p. 366.—In 1247, the pope sent preaching and minor friars into France to borrow money from the clergy, promising to repay it all faithfully. "Quod cum regi Francorum innotuisset, suspectum habens Romanæ Curie avaritiam, prohibuit: ne quis Prelatus regni sui sub pena amissionis omnium bonorum suorum, taliter terram suam depauperaret." *Ibid.*, p. 485.

† "He liked better to have manuscripts copied than to receive them as gifts from the convents, in order that he might multiply books." *Gaufréd. de Bel. loc. ap. Duchesne*, v. 457.

‡ *Vie de St. Louis, par le Confesseur*, &c., p. 322.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

‘O Lord, I dare not request a fountain of tears, but little drops of tears suffice me to bedew the dryness of my heart.’ . . . And sometimes he owned to his confessor privately, that sometimes the Lord granted him tears in prayer: which, when he felt them run softly down his face and enter his mouth, seemed savoury and very sweet, not to his heart only, but to his mouth.”\*

These pious tears, these mystic ecstasies, these mysteries of divine love, all this is in the wonderful little church of St. Louis, the Sainte Chapelle, a thoroughly mystic church, perfectly Arab in architecture, which he had built after his return from the crusade by Eudes de Montreuil, who had accompanied him. There is a world of religion and poetry, a whole Christian East in the frail and precious paintings of those windows which are too much neglected, and which the wind will some day carry away. But the Sainte Chapelle itself was not sufficiently retired, nor even Vincennes with all the depth of its woods in those days. He needed the Thebaid of Fontainebleau, its stony deserts, its stern and penitent nature, and its echoing rocks full of apparitions and legends. There he built a hermitage, the walls of which served for a basis for that strange labyrinth, that gloomy palace of voluptuousness, crime, and caprice, in which still triumphs the Italian fancy of the Valois.

Saint Louis reared the Sainte Chapelle as a receptacle for the holy crown of thorns brought from Constantinople, and which he himself took out of its shrine, on high holidays, and exhibited to the people, unconsciously accustoming the people to see their king dispense with the aid of priests. Thus David himself took the showbread from the table. They still point out on the south side of the little church a narrow cell, which is supposed to have been St. Louis's oratory.

In his lifetime, the contemporaries of St. Louis suspected in their simplicity that *he was already a saint*, and more saintly than the priests. “Whilst he lived a word might be said of him, which is said of St. Hilary: ‘O, most perfect layman, whose life priests even desire to imitate!’ For many priests and prelates desired to be like the blessed king in his virtues and his morals; for it is even thought that he was a saint in his lifetime.”†

Whilst St. Louis was burying the dead, “there were present in full dress the Archbishop of Sur and the Bishop of Damietta and their clergy, who read the service for the dead; but they stopped their noses by reason of the stink; but never was the good King Loys seen to stop his nose, so firmly and devoutly did he go through the task.”‡

Joinville relates, that a great number of Armenian pilgrims proceeding to Jerusalem, came and asked him to show them *the saint king*.

\* Vie de St. Louis, par le Confesseur, &c., p. 324.

† Le Confesseur, p. 371. He caused the service of God to be performed so solemnly and so leisurely, that he wearied almost all others by the length of the office. Ibid., 312.

‡ Guill. de Nangis, Annales, p. 225.

"I went to the king where he was sitting in a tent leaning against the tent pole, seated on the sand, without carpet or any thing else under him, and I said: 'Sire, there is without a great number of people from Great Hermenie going to Jerusalem, and they pray me, sire, to show them *the saint king*; but I desire not yet to kiss your relics.' And he laughed very cheerily, and bade me go fetch them; so I did. And when they had seen the king, they commended him to God, and the king them."\*

This sanctity appears very touchingly in the last words he wrote for his daughter: "Dear daughter, the measure wherewith we ought to love God is to love Him without measure;"† and in the instruction to his son Philip: "If it befall that any quarrel happening between rich and poor come before thee, support the quarrel of the stranger before thy council; show not that thou lovest much thy quarrel, until thou knowest the truth; for those of thy council might be afraid to speak against thee, and this thou oughtest not to wish. And if thou hearest that thou dost hold any thing wrongfully, either of thy own time or of the time of thy ancestors, restore it instantly, however great the same may be, whether in land, or in money, or in other things."‡—"The love he bore to his people was shown in what he said to his eldest son in a very grievous illness he had at Fontene Bliant. 'Fair son,' he said, 'I pray thee make thyself loved by the people of thy realm; for truly I would rather a Scot came from Scotland and governed the people of the realm well and loyally, than that thou shouldst govern them ill.'"§

Noble and touching words! it is difficult to read them without emotion; but the emotion is mingled with a saddening reflection. That purity and sweetness of soul, that marvellous elevation to which Christianity carried its hero—who will give this back to us? Morality is certainly more enlightened in this our day; but is it stronger? Here is a question that may well disturb the mind of every sincere lover of progress. No one more heartily sympathises than the writer of these lines with the vast advances made by mankind in modern times, and with its glorious hopes. That living dust which the proud ones trampled under foot has assumed a human voice, and has risen to property, intelligence, and the participation of political rights. Who does not thrill with joy in beholding the victory of equality? My only fear is, that in acquiring

\* Joinville, p. 118. (This passage is incomplete in Petitot's edition, t. ii., p. 362.) We cannot refrain from adding to these citations an admirable passage from Queen Margaret's confessor. "The time of increase suitable for enduring fatigue, for working engines, for exercising the body with labours, that day of prime excellent for poor mortals, was not given in vain to St. Louis; but he passed it very saintly, as knowing that the best things fly away and the worst things remain. Just as in a full pitcher: what is purest flows out and what is turbid settles; so, likewise, in the lifetime of man, what is very good is the commencement and the time of youth."—p. 301.

† Le Confesseur, p. 327.

§ Joinville, p. 4, ed. 1761.

‡ Ibid., p. 331.

so just a feeling of his rights, man may perchance have lost something of the feeling of his duties. Our hearts sink within us when we see that whilst all else has made progress, moral strength has not augmented. The notion of free will and moral accountability seems daily to grow more dim. Strange fact! in proportion as the old fatalism of climates and races that pressed of yore on man is diminishing and passing away, there springs up and waxes a sort of fatalism of ideas. That passion should be fatalist, that it should seek to kill freedom, this is conceivable, this is its very nature: but science itself, but art . . . And thou too, my son? This mask of fatalism, turn which way you will, meets you in every direction. The symbolism of Vico and of Herder, the natural pantheism of Schelling, the historical pantheism of Hegel, the history of races and the history of ideas which have shed so much honour on France, differ as they may in all else, are yet agreed in opposition to moral freedom. The artist even, the poet, who is bound to no system, but reflects the idea of his age, has with his bronze pen inscribed on the wall of the old cathedral the ill-omened word: *'Ανάγκη*.

Thus flickers the poor feeble light of moral freedom. Meanwhile, the tempest of opinions and the stormy gusts of passion blow from every quarter. Lonely and forsaken that light burns on, every day, every hour gleaming more faintly; so faintly that there are moments when, like him who lost himself in the catacombs, I seem already to feel the darkness and the chill of night. Can the light fail wholly? Never surely. We have need be well assured of this to keep us from falling into despondency. That light extinguished, great God, save us from living here below!

---

## CHAPTER IX.

Contest between the Mendicant Orders and the University—St. Thomas—Doubts of St. Louis—The Passion as a Principle of Art in the Middle Ages.

THE eternal combat between grace and law was fought once more in the time of St. Louis between the university and the mendicant orders. The history of the university is this: in the twelfth century it comes forth from its cradle, the school of Notre Dame, and contends against the Bishop of Paris; in the thirteenth century it wages war against the mendicant agents of the pope; in the fourteenth against the pope himself. This body formed a rude and robust democracy in which from 15,000 to 20,000 young men of all nations were trained to dialectic exercises; a wild city within the city, which they disturbed by their riotous behaviour and shocked

by their morals.\* Yet this had been for some time the great intellectual arena of the world; it produced in the thirteenth century alone, seven popes † and a host of cardinals and bishops. The most illustrious foreigners, Raymond Lully the Spaniard, and Dante the Italian, came and seated themselves at thirty and forty years of age at the foot of the chair of Duns Scotus. They deemed it an honour to have disputed at Paris; Petrarch was as proud of the crown decreed to him by our university, as with that of the capitol. In the sixteenth century, again, when Ramus was restoring some life to the university previously to the epoch of St. Bartholomew, our schools of the Rue du Fouarre were visited by Torquato Tasso. But the dry argumentation, idle logic, subtle and sterile quibbling ‡ of our artists (the dialecticians of the university assumed that name) were soon to be eclipsed. The real artists in the thirteenth century, orators, comedians, mimes, popular and enthusiastic preachers, were the mendicant friars. These men spoke of love, and in the name of love; they had resumed the text of St. Augustine; "Love and do what you will." The dry logic which had produced such great effect in the time of Abailard, was no longer sufficient; the world, wearied of that rugged path, was more inclined to repose with St. Francis and St. Bonaventure under the mystic shadows of the "Song of Songs," or to dream a new faith and a new gospel with another St. John.

This startling title, "*Introduction to the Eternal Gospel*," § was,

\* Jacob. Vitriac. ap. Buleus, ii. 687: *Mertrices publicæ ubique clericos transeuntes quasi per violentiam pertrahebant. In una autem et eadem domo scholæ erant superius, prostibula inferius.*

† The antipope Anaclet, Innocent II., Celestine II. (Abailard's disciple), Adrian IV., Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III. Buleus, ii. 554.

‡ Pierre le Chantre and other contemporary writers relate the following tale: In 1761, Master Silo, professor of philosophy, prayed one of his disciples who was dying, to return and acquaint him with his condition in the other world. Some days after his death the scholar appeared to him dressed in a cape all covered with theses; "*de sophismatibus descripta et flamma ignis tota confecta.*" He stated that he was come from purgatory, and that that cape weighed more heavily upon him than a tower. "*Et est mihi data ut eam portem pro gloria quam in sophismatibus habui.*" At the same time he let fall a drop of his sweat on the master's hand, which it pierced through and through. Next day Silo said to his scholars:

*Linquo coax ranis, cras corvis, vanaque vanis*

*Ad logicen pergo, quæ mortis non timet ergo;*

and he went and shut himself up in a Cistercian monastery. Buleus, ii. 393.

§ Introductorius ad Evangelium æternum. "*L'Évangile perdurable.*" (Roman de la Rose ap. Buleus iii. 299.) In the registers of the inquisition in Rome, there are twenty-seven condemned propositions, extracted from the book of John of Parma. "*Quod novum Testamentum est evacuandum, sicut vetus est evacuatum.—Quod quantumcumque Deus affligit Judæos in hoc mundo, illos tamen salvabit, quibus beneficiat manentibus in Judaismo, &c.—Quod Evangelium J. C. neminem ducit ad perfectum.—Quod Spiritualis intelligentia novi Testamenti non est commissæ Papæ Romano, sed tantum literalia.—Quod recessus ecclesiæ Græcorum a Romana ecclesia fuit bonus.—Quod populus Græcus magis ambulet secundum spiritum quam populus Latine.—Quod*

actually, put at the head of a book by John of Parma, general of the Franciscans. Already, before his time, the Abbot Joachim de Flores, the master of the mystics, had announced that the end of time was come. John set forth, that just as the Old Testament had given place to the New, so, likewise, had the latter completed its time; that the Gospel was not sufficient to perfection; that it had six years to live, but that then a more durable Gospel was about to begin, a gospel of intelligence and spirit, and, till then, the Church had but the letter.\*

These doctrines, which were common to a great number of Franciscans, were also admitted by several members of the order of St. Dominick; it was then that the university fired up. The most distinguished of its doctors was a man of hard and subtle intellect, a man of Franche-Comté, of the Jura, Guillaume de St. Amour. The portrait of that intrepid champion of the university was long to be seen on a painted window in the Sorbonne.† He published a series of eloquent and clever pamphlets against the mendicants, in which he strove to confound them with the *beghards* and other heretics, whose preachers were likewise vagabonds and mendicants: "*Dis-*

Christus et apostoli ejus non fuerunt perfecti in via contemplativa.—Quod activa vita usque ad tempus abbatis Joachim (him from whom John partly borrowed his doctrines), fructuosa fuit, sed nunc fructuosa non est." Under the new law the monks were to supersede the secular clergy, &c., &c. (Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, iii. 292 sqq.) Amaury de Chartres had already maintained similar doctrines. Guill. de S. Amour, c. 6: Jam transacti sunt anni LV., quod aliqui laborabant ad mutandam Evangelium, quod dicunt fore perfectius, melius et dignius, quod appellant *Evangelium spiritus sancti*, S. *Evangelium æternum*. The pope wrote to the Bishop of Paris to have that book destroyed without noise; but the university, already in dispute with the mendicant orders, had it publicly burned in the precincts of Notre Dame. John of Parma resigned the generalship; his successor, St. Bonaventure, began an inquiry against him, and cast two of his adherents into prison, where one of them passed eighteen years and the other died. See Mat. Paris, ann. 1256; Richerius (ap. d' Achery Specileg. iv.), iv. 37; S. Thom. Aquin., opuse. xix. 24; Nic. Eymericus in Directorio Inquisitionum, P. ii., qu. 9; Echardus, Scr. Domin., i., 202; d'Argentré Collect. Judiciorum, i., 163, &c., &c.

\* Hieron. Cornarus, ap. Eccardi Hist. Med. ævi, ii., 849: Item dicit Evangelium æternum esse spirituale, Evangelium Christi litterale.—Quod tertius status mundi, qui proprius est S. Spiritus, erit sine ænigmatibus et sine figuris..... et veritas duorum Testamentorum sine velamine apparebit.—Quod sicut in principio primi status..... Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob..... et sicut in principio novi.... Zacharias, Johannes Baptista, homo Christus Jesus..... sic in principio tertii, erunt tres similes illorum, scilicet vir indutus lineis (Joachim) et angelus quidam habens falcem acutam (Dominicus) et alius angelus habens signum Dei vivi (Franciscus). Et habebit similiter angelus duodecim,.... sicut Jacob in primo, Christus in secundo.—Quod Evangelium æternum traditum sit et commissum principaliter illi ordini qui integratur et procedit æqualiter ex ordine laicorum et clericorum, quem ordinem appellat Independentium.—Quod novum Testamentum non durabit in virtute sua, nisi per sex annos proxime futuros, scilicet usque ad annum 1260.—Ecclesia Romana litteralis est et non spiritualis.—Quod papa græcus magis ambulat secundum Evangelium quam papa latinus.

† The portrait has been engraved at the head of his works. (Constance, 1632, 4to.)

course on the *Publican and the Pharisee*. *Question concerning the Measure of Alms and the sturdy Beggar*. *Treatise on the Perils predicted to the Church in these latter Times*," &c.\* His strength consists in his knowledge of the Scriptures and the admirable use he makes of it; add to this, the piquant effect of a satire which tells by half touches. Unfortunately, it is too manifest that the author is actuated by other motives than the interests of the Church. There was a literary competition and trade jealousy between the men of the university and the mendicants. The latter had obtained a professor's chair in Paris in 1230; an epoch when the university, offended by the harshness of the regent, retired to Orleans and to Angers.† They had retained that chair, and the university did not show to great advantage in presence of two orders, the sage of which was Albertus Magnus, and the logician St. Thomas.

This great suit was pleaded at Anagni, before the pope. William of St. Amour had for adversaries the Dominican, Albertus Magnus, Archbishop of Mayence, and St. Bonaventure, general of the Franciscans.‡ St. Thomas recorded the whole discussion from memory, and made a book of it. The pope condemned William of St. Amour; but, at the same time, he censured the book of John of Parma; thus smiting equally the reasoners and the mystics, the partisans of the letter, and those of the spirit.§

That middle way, so difficult to keep, in which the Church endeavoured to pursue its course without deviating to the right hand or to the left, was traced by St. Thomas. This is his immense glory. Appearing at the close of the middle ages, as Aristotle at the close of the Greek world, he was the Aristotle of Christianity, and drew up its legislation, endeavouring to make logic and faith agree for the suppression of all heresy. The colossal monument he erected enchanted the admiring world. Albertus Magnus declared, that St. Thomas had established the rule that would endure to the consummation of time.|| This extraordinary man was absorbed by his tre-

---

\* *Concio de publicano et phariseo; De quantitate eleemosynæ, De valido mendicante questiones; Tractatus de periculis novissimorum temporum ex scripturis sumptus*, etc. The last of his works was immediately translated into French verse. "*Quamquam Anagninæ damnatus, nihilominus a petulante juventute in linguam Gallicam, inque rythmos vernaculos translatus est, ut facilius a populo intelligeretur.*" Buleus, iii. 348.—It was reprinted at Rouen in the reign of Louis XIII., but the privy council prohibited its sale by an edict dated July 14, 1633.

† Buleus, iii. 138.

‡ The mendicant orders were very much alarmed. "*Cum prædicto volumini respondere fuisset prædicto doctori (Thomæ), non sine singultu et lacrymis, assignatum, qui de statu ordinis et pugna adversariorum tam gravium dubitabant, Fr. Thomas ipsum volumen accipiens et se fratrum orationibus commendans.....*" Guill. de Thoco, Vit. S. Thomæ, ap. Acta SS. Martii, i.

§ He condemned Guillaume de Saint Amour publicly, and John of Parma with less éclat. Buleus, iii. 329.

|| *Processus de S. Thom. Aquin. ap. Acta SS. Martii, i. 714: Concludit quod Fr. Thomas in scripturis suis imposuit finem omnibus laborantibus usque*

mendous task; nothing else had a place in his life; a life wholly abstract, the only events of which are ideas. At the age of five he took the Scriptures in hand, and never after ceased to meditate them.\* He was from the country of idealism; from the country in which flourished the school of Pythagoras and that of Elea; the country of Bruno and Vico. In the schools, his comrades called him the great dumb ox of Sicily.† He never broke silence but to dictate; and when his bodily eyes were closed in sleep, those of his soul remained open, and he went on dictating still. One day, being at sea, he never perceived a fearful tempest; another time, so intense was his pre-occupation, that he did not let go a lighted candle that was burning his fingers.‡ Struck by the danger of the Church, he pondered over it continually, and even at the table of St. Louis. One day he struck the table a great thump and shouted out, "Here is an invincible argument against the Manicheans!" The king ordered that the argument should be immediately written down.§ In his conflict with Manicheism, St. Thomas was supported by St. Augustine; but on the question of grace, he manifestly dissents from that doctor: he admits of liberty. As theologian of the Church he was bound to uphold the edifice of the hierarchy and of the ecclesiastical government. Now, if liberty be not admitted, man is incapable of obedience; all government is impossible. And yet, to dissent from St. Augustine, was to open a wide gate for whoever would enter as an enemy into the Church. It was through that gate that Luther entered.

Such then is the aspect of the world in the thirteenth century; at the summit the *great mute Ox of Sicily* ruminating on the question. Here, man and liberty; there, God, grace, divine prescience, fatality; On the right hand, observation, which protests the reality of human liberty; on the left, logic pressing on invincibly to fatalism. Observation distinguishes, logic identifies. If the latter be allowed free play, it will resolve man into God, God into nature; it will tie down the world into an indivisible unity, in which liberty, morality, and practical life itself, are lost. Accordingly, the ecclesiastical legislator gathers himself up when on the verge of this downward declivity, and calls his common sense to aid against his own logic. He

---

ad finem sæculi, et quod omnes deinceps frustra laborarent." The Dominicans decided in two chapters held, the one at Paris in 1286, the other at Carcassonne in 1342, "that the brethren would faithfully follow the doctrine of St. Thomas, that if any master, bachelor, or brother swerved from it, he should be *ipso facto* suspended from his functions." Martene, *Thes. anecd.*, iv. 1817. Holstenii *cod. regul.* ed. Brockie, iv. 114.

\* *Acta SS.*, p. 660.

† This phrase is significant for any one who knows the dreamy and monumental faces of the great oxen of southern Italy. Fuit (S. Thomas) magnus in corpore et rectæ staturæ... coloris triticei... magnum habens caput... aliquantulum calvus. Fuit tenerrimæ complexionis in carne. *Acta SS.* p. 672.—Fuit grossus." *Processus de S. Thom.*, *ibid.*

‡ *Acta SS.*, pp. 672, 674.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 673.



halted, that firm genius, on the razor's edge, that separated the two abysses, of which his eye scanned the depth. A solemn ecclesiastical figure, he held the scales, sought to determine the balance, and died in the task. The world that saw him from below, distinguishing, reasoning, calculating in a superior region, knew not all the conflicts that could take place within that abstract existence.

Below that sublime region beat storm and wind; below the Angel there was the Man; morals below metaphysics; St. Louis below St. Thomas. In the former, the thirteenth century has its Passion, a Passion of an exquisite, deep, searching nature, of which the preceding centuries had scarcely had a notion. I speak of the first pangs with which nascent doubts rent men's souls, when the whole harmony of the middle ages was disturbed; when the great edifice in which men had established themselves was beginning to shake; when saints cried out against saints, law clashed with law, and the most docile souls found themselves compelled to judge and examine for themselves. The pious King of France, who desired no more than to submit and believe, was soon compelled to struggle, to doubt, to choose. He was constrained, humble as he was, and distrustful of himself, first of all to resist his mother, then to become umpire between the pope and the emperor, to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom, and to recall to moderation him whom he would fain have been able to take for his rule and his model in holiness. The mendicants afterwards attracted him by their mysticism; he entered the third order of St. Francis, and took part against the university. Nevertheless, the book of John of Parma, which was approved of by a great number of Franciscans, must have caused him considerable distrust. We discover in the *naïve* questions he addressed to Joinville all the uneasiness that shook him; the man whom the saintly king made his confidant, may be taken as the type of the *honest man* of the thirteenth century. It is a curious dialogue this between the loyal and sincere man of the world, and the pious and ingenuous soul, that makes one step forward in doubt, then retreats and persists in faith.

The king made Robert of Sorbonne and Joinville eat at his table. "When the king was in mirth he would say to me: 'Seneschal, now tell me the reasons why *preudomme* (wise man) is better than *béguin* (devout). Then began a talk between me and Master Robert. When we had a long while disputed, he gave his own opinion, and said thus: 'Master Robert, I would fain have the name of *preudomme*, but so that I should be the thing itself, and you might keep all the rest; for *preudomme* is so great and so good a thing that merely to name it fills the mouth.'"

"He called me once and said, 'I dare not speak to you, for the subtlety of your wit, on things concerning God; wherefore I have called these brethren who are here present, and I wish to ask you

---

\* Joinville (ed. 1761), p. 7.

a question:' the question was this: 'Seneschal,' said he, 'what is God?' &c.\*

St. Louis told Joinville that a knight being present at a discussion between monks and Jews, put a question to one of the Jewish doctors, and on his replying, knocked him down with a blow of his stick on the head. "So I tell you," said the king, "that no one, unless he is an excellent clerk, ought to dispute with them; but the layman when he hears the Christian law maligned ought not to defend the same except with his sword, which he ought to thrust into the blasphemer's belly as far as it will go."†

He told Joinville that at the moment of death the devil tries to shake the faith of the departing soul. "Wherefore one ought so to be on his guard against the snare as to say to the enemy when he sends this temptation: 'Begone, thou shalt not tempt me so, but I shall believe firmly all the articles of the faith,' &c.‡

"He used to say that faith was a matter we ought to hold firmly, though we were certain of it only by hearsay."§

He related to Joinville that a doctor in theology once went to visit Bishop William of Paris, and told him with tears that he could not force his heart to believe in the sacrament of the altar. The bishop asked him, whether when the devil sent him that temptation he took pleasure in it. The theologian replied, that it grieved him very much, and he would rather suffer himself to be chopped to pieces than reject the Eucharist. The bishop then consoled him, and assured him he had more merit than one who had no doubts.||

However trivial these indications may appear, they are important, and merit attention. When St. Louis himself was troubled, how many souls must have doubted and suffered in silence! What was most poignantly afflicting in this first decline of faith, was that men hesitated to own it to themselves. In the present day we are habituated and hardened to the torments of doubt; its sting has become blunted. But let us carry ourselves back in imagination to the first moment in which the soul, still living and warm with faith and love, feels the cold steel striking into it; there was sharp pain,

\* Joinville (ed. 1761), p. 6. He then asked Joinville whether he would rather have committed a mortal sin or be a leper. Joinville replied that he would rather have committed thirty mortal sins. "And when the brethren were gone away, he called me to him alone, and said, 'What was that you said to me?' and I repeated it, and he said, 'You spoke heedlessly; for no leprosy, be it ever so foul, is to be compared with being in mortal sin,'" &c.

† Joinville, p. 12. "In the instruction he left to King Philip his son...was the following clause: 'Fai à ton povir les bougres (i. e. *bulgares*, heretics) et les autres mal gens chacier de ton royaume, si que le terre soit de ce bien purgée.'" *Le Confesseur*, p. 305.

‡ Joinville, p. 10.

§ *Ibid.*—G. Villani, xiii. 200. They told him one day that the face of Christ had appeared in a consecrated wafer: "Let those who doubt go see it," said he, "as for me I see it in my heart."

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

but still more was there horror and surprise. Would you know what was the feeling of that ingenious and believing soul, call back to mind the moment when faith failed you first in love, when the first doubt arose in your mind respecting a beloved object.

To set one's life on an idea, to suspend it on an infinite love, and to see that passing away from you; to love, to doubt, to feel oneself hated for that doubt, to feel that the ground is passing from beneath your feet; that you are plunging deep in your impiety into that icy hell where divine love never shines—and then to clutch at the branches that float on the gulf; to strive to believe that one still believes, to fear being afraid, and to doubt one's own doubts.—But if doubt is uncertain, if thought is not sure of thought, does not this open a new region to doubt, a hell beneath hell! This is the temptation of temptations, all others are nothing in comparison with it. This one remained obscure, it was ashamed of itself until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Luther is a great master in this respect; no one had a more horrible experience of these tortures of the soul. "Oh! if St. Paul were living at this day, how I should desire to know of himself what kind of temptation he underwent. It was not the thorn in the flesh, it was not the good Thecla, as the papists dream; Jerome and the other fathers knew nothing of the highest temptations, they only felt puerile ones, those of the flesh, which nevertheless have likewise their vexations. Augustine and Ambrose had their temptation; *they trembled before the sword*. . . . This one is something higher than the despair caused by sins; when it is said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," it is as though he said, "Thou art a foe to me without a cause." Or Job's phrase, "I am righteous and innocent."

Christ himself, of whom Job was a type, knew that anguish of doubt, that night of the soul in which no star appears on the horizon. This is the last term of the Passion, the summit of the cross. Now this is the place where we should endeavour to unfold all that preceded that bourn of sorrow, all that is comprised in the word Passion in its various senses, popular and mystic. In this vast deep lies the soul of the middle ages. The spirit of those ages is comprised in Christianity, and Christianity in the Passion. Literature, art, the various developments of the human mind from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, all rest upon this mystery.

Eternal mystery, which for all it had its ideal in Calvary, not the less continues still. Yes, Christ is still on the cross, and he will not descend from it; the Passion endures and will endure. The world has its own, and so has mankind in its long historical life, and every human heart in the few moments that it beats. To each his cross and his stigmata. Mine date from the day when my soul fell into this miserable body which I use up in writing this; my Passion began with my incarnation. Poor soul! what hadst thou done to bear this load of flesh? A virgin thou wast sent forth, like Eve, into

the garden of seductions, ignorant and impassioned, eager and timid; ready formed for temptation and downfall. To live is in itself one degree in the Passion.

Then this soul condemned to union with matter became voluntarily materialised; it took delight in its punishment, it embraced it, it revelled in it, it began to travel through the mud of the thoroughfares, eating, drinking, and enjoying itself at every door; like those incarnate Gods of India, who, the better to simulate humanity, sully themselves with human pleasures; or, like the prophet condemned to represent by symbolical infamies the infidelity of adulterous Jerusalem to her divine Spouse.

This is the oriental Passion, the immolation of the soul to nature, the suicide of liberty. But liberty is strong lived, she will not die, she rises wrathfully against nature and retorts her threats; she braces up her arms against the Nemean lions and the Lernean hydras; she accomplishes all the labours imposed on her by her step-mother; she subdues and pacifies the world. This is the heroic Passion; this is strength, the beginning of virtue.

It were even well if all ended with this outward struggle; but what if the enemy remain within us, if the soul be vanquished by love, if the strong one find his defeat in himself, if Hercules himself puts on the burning tunic, if the sage Merlin in obedience to his Viviane himself lies down in his grave? This delirium, too, men call Passion. This one is ancient, methinks; ah! tell me when it is to end?

Against this new enemy, Hercules had no other refuge than his blazing pile. Through this last trial, through the purifying flame of lonely abstinences for many a long day passed the heroes of the inward life, the athletes of morality, the solitary Christians, the Richis of India steeped in penance, whose souls, they say, acquire so great a power that the seven worlds would have turned to dust at their frown. But there is something still loftier than to break the seven globes, that is, to live pure in the impurity of the world, to love it, and to die for it.

This mild and calm might, this victorious serenity, provokes nature to rage. The material infinite is confused and mortified when it compares itself with this moral infinite. What can the former do with its brute force, its massive greatness? Set all the kings, all the nations in arms on the one side, and if that is not enough, let all the globes fall: on the other side, place the reed that thinks. This is a strange combat, and one of which God alone were worthy to be a spectator, if God himself were not a combatant.

The mass strikes, shatters, and pulverises; but it is the husk and shell it has shattered. This being destroyed, the spirit flies away, blessing its cruel liberator, illuminates it, and sanctifies it: such is the ideal of the Passion, the divine Passion. The marvel is that this Passion is not wholly passive. It is action by the free consent, by the will of the Patient; it is even the action *par excellence*, the *drama*,

to employ the Greek word. The Passion is, after all, the subject most especially *dramatic*.

Though the Passion be active and voluntary, yet from the fact alone that this will subsists in a body, this soul within an envelope, this God in a man, there is a moment of fear and doubt. Herein consists the tragic, the terrible import of the drama, this is what makes the veil of the temple be rent in twain, and covers the earth with darkness; this is what perturbs me when I read the gospel, and draws tears from my eyes even at this day. That God had doubts of God! that the holy victim cried out: "Father, Father! hast thou forsaken me?"

All the heroic souls that have dared great things for the human race have known this trial; all have approached more or less this ideal of sorrow. In such a moment it was that Brutus exclaimed: "Virtue, thou art but a name!" In such a moment Gregory VII. said: "I have followed righteousness and shunned iniquity. Therefore it is I die in exile."

But to be forsaken by God, to be abandoned to one's self, to one's own strength, to the idea of duty opposed to the shock of the world, this is a colossal greatness. This is to learn the very secret of man's nature, it is to taste the divine bitterness of that fruit of knowledge of which it was said in the beginning of the world: "You will know that you are gods, you will become gods."

Here is the whole mystery of the middle ages, the secret of their exhaustless tears and their profound genius. Precious tears, they have flowed in limpid legends in marvellous poems, and gathering up towards heaven, they have crystallised themselves in gigantic cathedrals that aspired to ascend to the Lord!

Seated on the bank of that great poetic river of the middle ages, I distinguish in it two different streams by the colour of their waters. The epic flood that burst of old from the heart of pagan nature, to sweep on through Greek and Roman heroism, rolls a turbid volume swollen with the mingled waters of the world. Beside it flows in greater purity the Christian stream that sprang from the foot of the cross.

Two poetries, two literatures: the one chivalric, martial, amorous; this one soon becomes aristocratic; the other, always religious and popular.

The first is likewise popular at its birth. It opens with the war against the infidels, with Charlemagne and Roland. That there existed among us at that time and even earlier, poems of Celtic origin, in which the last struggles of the West against the Romans and the Germans were celebrated under the names of Fingal and Ossian, this I can readily believe. But we must not exaggerate the importance of the indigenous principle, of the Celtic element. What is peculiar to France is to have little that is peculiar, to gather to her every thing, appropriate every thing, to be France, and to be the world. Our nationality is most potently attractive; every thing comes to it

whether it will or not; it is of all nationalities, the least exclusively national, the most human. The indigenous bottom has been many times submerged and fecundated by foreign floods. All the poetries of the world have flowed among us in streams and in torrents. Whilst the hills of Wales and Bretagne were distilling the Celtic traditions, like the pattering rain in the green oaks of my Ardennes, the cataract of the Carolingian romances was falling in the Pyrenees. The very mountains of Swabia and Alsacia have sent the *Niebelungen* gushing upon us through Ostrasia. The erudite poetry of Alexander and of Troy, overflowed upon us in spite of the Alps, from the old classic world. And, meanwhile, from the far East, opened by the crusade, the recovered rivers of Paradise were flowing to us in fables, tales, and parables.\*

Europe knew herself for Europe, in waging war with Africa and Asia: thence Homer and Herodotus; thence our Carolingian poems, with the holy wars of Spain, the victory of Charles Martel, and the death of Roland. Literature is, at first, the consciousness of a nationality. The nation is made one, in the person of a man. Roland dies in the solemn passes of those mountains that separate Europe from African Spain. Like the Philenæ deified in Carthage, he hallows the limits of the fatherland by his tomb. Great as the strife, lofty as the heroism it evolved, is the tomb of the hero, his gigantic *tamulus*; it is the Pyrenees themselves. But the hero who dies for Christendom is a Christian hero, a warlike barbarian Christ; like Christ, he is sold with his twelve companions; like Christ, he finds himself deserted, forsaken. From his Pyrenean Calvary, he shouts and peals on that horn, the blast of which is heard from Tour-

\* Not to speak of the old labours of Faucher, Tresson, Sainte Palaie, Legrand d'Aussy, Barbisan, Méon, &c., we will mention those of Becker and Gerres, of Fauriel, Moissin, Quinet, and the last editor of Warton. See also M. P. Paris, *Introduction au roman de Berthe*, adressée à M. de Montmerqué. "Following the romance of *Renard* have appeared under your auspices both our first comic opera (*Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*), and our first drama (*Le Jeu d'Adam le bossu d'Arras*), M. de Roquefort has given us the poems of *Marie de France*, and M. Crapelet the pretty romance of the *Châtelain de Coucy*. M. F. Michel, not content with having published the romance of the *Comte de Poitiers*, and that of *La Violette*, is about to bring to light, with the assistance of a learned orientalist, a poem on *Mahomet*, which will acquaint us with the notions entertained in the West, in the thirteenth century, respecting the religion and the person of the Arab legislator. M. Bourdillon is busy with an edition of the *Chant de Roncevaux*, and M. Robert, known by his work on *La Fontaine*, will soon publish the fine romance of *Partenopex de Blois*. Meanwhile, M. Raynouard is putting the last touches to the *Glossaire des langues vulgaires*, and the Abbé Delarue is superintending the impression of a great work on *Les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères*."—Delarue, *Bardes Armoricains*, p. 64. "How many romances of the Round Table have we not still in Latin? *Nennius*, *Le Paus Gildas*, *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, *La Vie de Merlin*, his *Prophéties*, the romance of the *Chevalier au Lion*, that of *Joseph d'Arimathie*, are not these in all great libraries? Do we not there find, too, in Latin, the romance of Charlemagne, by Turpin, and that of this emperor's journey to Jerusalem, the romances of Oger the Dane, of Amis and Amiljo, of Athis and Porphilias, *alias* of the Siege of Athens, of Alexander, of Dolopathos, &c., &c.? Lastly, have we not a great number of our *fabliaux* in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Pierre Abbonse, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*?"

louse to Saragossa. He peals, and the traitor Ganelon of Mayence, and the heedless Charlemagne, will not hearken to the call. He peals, and Christendom, for which he is dying, persists in giving no response. Then he breaks his sword, and welcomes death. But he will die neither by the Saracen steel nor by his own weapons. He swells the accusing peal till the veins of his neck grow tumid and burst; his noble blood flows fast, and he dies of his indignation at the world's unjust abandonment.

The echoing sound of that grand poetry was destined early to fade away, like the notes of Roland's horn, in proportion as the crusade was withdrawn from the Pyrenees, and transferred to the mountains in the centre of the Peninsula, in proportion as feudal dismemberment cast into oblivion the Christian and imperial unity that still pervades and characterises the Carolingian poems. Chivalric poetry, enamoured of the individual prowess, of the heroic pride, that was the soul of the feudal world, conceived an aversion to royalty, law, and unity. The dissolution of the Empire, the resistance of the lords to the central power, under Charles the Bald and the last Carolingians, was celebrated in Gerard of Roussillon, and in the Four Sons of Aymon, galloping about, four on one steed; a significant plurality. But the ideal is not to be pluralised; it is placed in a single person, *Renaud*—Renaud de *Montauban*,\* the hero in his castle on the mountain; in the plain below are the besiegers, king and people, countless numbers against one, and scarcely assured even by their multitude. The king, that personified people (*homme peuple*), strong in numbers, and representing the idea of numbers, cannot be comprehended by this feudal poetry; it looks upon him as a dastard.† Charlemagne had already cut a sorry

\* A pleonasm. Alban, Alp, signifies *mountain* in the Celtic languages.

† A passage from *Guillaume au Court Nez* (Paris, Introd. de Berte aux Grands Pieds), cited in *Gerard de Nevers*.

Grant fu la cort en la sale à Loon,  
Moult ot as tables oiseax et venoison.  
Qui que manjast la char et le poisson,  
Oncques Guillaume n'en passa le menton :  
Ains menja tourte, et but aigue à foison.  
Quant mengier orent li chevalier baron,  
Les napes otent ecuier et garçon.  
Le quens Guillaume mit le roi à raison :  
—" Qu'as en pensé," dit il, " li fiés Charlon ?  
" Secores moi vers la geste Mahon."  
Dist Loéis : " Nous en consillerons,  
Et le matin savoir le vous ferons  
Ma volonté, se je irai o non."  
Guillaume l'ot, si taint come charbon ;  
Il s'abaissa, si a pres un baston.  
Puis dit au roi : " Vostre fiez vos rendon,  
" N'en tenrai mès vaillant une esperon,  
Ne vostre ami ne serai ne voste hom,  
Et si venrez, o vous voillez o non."

(MS. de *Gerard de Nevers*, No. 7498, thirteenth century, corrected by the oldest text of the MS. of *Guillaume au Cornés*, No. 6995.)

figure in the other cycle, leaving Roland to perish. Here he basely pursues Renaud and Gérard de Roussillon, and prevails over them by craft. He plays the part of the legitimate and unworthy Eurystheus, persecuting Hercules, and compelling him to hard labours.

This apparent contradiction between authority and equity, which in this case is, after all, but hatred of law, and the revolt of the individual against the general system, is ill-sustained by Renaud, Gérard, and the feudal sword. The king, let them say what they will, is more legitimate; he represents a more general, a more divine idea. He cannot be dispossessed, save by an idea still more general. The king will prevail over the baron, and the people over the king. This last idea already appears implicitly in a satiric drama, which has been adopted and translated by every nation, from Asia to France; I mean the dialogue of Solomon and Morolf. Morolf is an *Æsop*, a coarse buffoon, a clown, a *vilain*; but, villain as he is, he puzzles the good King Solomon with his subtleties, and humiliates him on his throne. The latter, endowed to his utmost desire with all good things, handsome, rich, all-powerful, and, above all, learned and wise, finds himself vanquished by this sly clown.\* The weapon wielded by the feudal Renaud against authority, the king, and the written law, is the sword, is force; that of the popular buffoon, far more piercing, is argument and irony.

The king will overcome the baron, not only in power, but in popularity. The epopeæ of the feudal resistance will soon lose all popular character, and confine itself within the limited sphere of aristocracy. Its ray will pale, especially in the South, where feudalism was never more than a hateful importation, and where the municipal system, that vivacious relic of antiquity, always prevailed in the cities.

The one thought common to the two cycles of Roland and Renaud is war, heroism; war external and internal. But the idea of heroism craves its completion; it tends to the infinite. It extends its horizon; the poetic unknown that floats at first on the two frontiers, the Ardennes and the Pyrenees, recedes towards the East, as that of the ancients advanced continually westward with their Hesperia, from Italy to Spain, from Spain to the Atlantis. After the *Iliads* come the *Odysseys*. Poetry goes forth on a quest to re-

---

\* Roquefort, p. 196, note 3. "Le Dit Marcoul et Salomon, No. 7218, et fonds de Notre Dame N., No. 2, has doubtless been made after the title of an old work *Contradictio Salomonis*. This romance, one of the oldest in Europe, appears to have been derived from Greek or rather Asiatic sources: it was translated first into Latin, and afterwards into most of the vernacular tongues. As early as the end of the fifth century, Pope Gelasius placed it among the apocryphal books. William of Tyre speaks of it, but he is mistaken in thinking he can trace it in Josephus's Jewish Antiquities. Furthermore, this romance is extant in German and French verse: it is the *Bertoldo* of the Italians, which has become the most noted of all the versions, because a society of men of letters conceived the idea of continuing it and casting it into stanzas. This attempt, executed in rather a queer manner, has, however, procured us an excellent dictionary of the Italian dialects."



mote lands. What does it seek? The infinite; infinite beauty, infinite conquest. It is then recollected that a Greek and a Roman conquered the world; but the West adopts Alexander and Caesar only on condition of their becoming westerns. The order of chivalry is conferred upon them. Alexander is made a paladin; the Macedonians and the Trojans are ancestors of the French; the Saxons are descended from Caesar's soldiers, the Bretons from Brutus. Poetry, in its divine prescience catches a glimpse of that relationship between the Indo-Germanic peoples, which it has been reserved for the science of our day to demonstrate.

Still the hero is not yet complete. In vain, to effect this consummation, have the middle ages mounted on top of antiquity; in vain, to complete the conquest of the world, has Aristotle, converted into a magician, led the chivalric Alexander through air and ocean.\* The foreign element not sufficing, recourse is had to the old indigenous element, to the Celtic dolmen, to Arthur's tomb.† Arthur reappears, no longer a petty chief of a clan, as barbarous as the Saxons, his vanquishers; no, an Arthur purified by chivalry. He is a very pale figure, it is true, this King of the *preux*, with his queen, Geneviève, and his twelve paladins of the Round Table. What do these personages bring into the world, after that long sleep into which the woman lulled Merlin? They bring love of woman; that is their heroic idea; always woman, always Eve, that deceiving symbol of nature, of pagan sensuality, which promises infinite delight, and brings mourning and tears. Let them roam, then, through the forests, these sad lovers, weak and anxious, turning in their interminable epopœa, as in that circle of Dante's, in which the victims of love are tossed about eternally by the wind.

What was the use of these religious forms, these initiations, the table of twelve, and the love-feasts in imitation of the Last Supper? An effort is made to transfigure all this, to chasten this mundane poetry and bring it to penitence. Beside the profane chivalry that sought woman and glory, another is erected. To this one wars and adventurous courses are allowed; but the object is changed. Arthur

---

\* See the poem of Alexander by Lambert le Court and Alexandre de Paris born in Bernai. The poet alleges that he only gives a translation from the Latin.—There is also a Latin Alexandriad (frequently printed), published in 1180 by a canon of Amiens, Gautier de Châtillon, born in Lille; they used to expound it in the schools in preference to the ancient authors. The verses of the French Alexandriad cited by Legrand d'Aussy (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliot. Royale*) are elegant and sonorous:

*Si long comme il estoit, mesura la campagne....*

*M'espée muert de fain, et ma lance de soi, etc.*

† The principal depository of the Breton traditions of the middle ages is the work of the famous Geoffroy of Monmouth. Respecting this author, and the sources from which he has drawn, see Ellis, *Intr. Metrical Romances*; Turner, *Quart. Review*, January, 1820; Delarue, *Bardes Armoricains*; and above all, the last edition of Warton, with the notes by Douce and Park. See also Ritson's *Criticisms*, some passages from the poems of Marie de France, published by M. de Roquefort, 1820, &c.

and his *preux* are left to it, but on condition that they amend. The new poetry leads them as devout pilgrims to the mysterious temple where the sacred treasure is kept. This treasure is not woman; it is not the profane cup of Dschemschid, of Hyperion, or of Hercules. It is the chaste cup of Joseph and Solomon, the cup in which our Lord celebrated the Last Supper, in which Joseph of Arimathea collected his precious blood. The mere sight of this cup, or Graal, prolongs the life of Titarel for 500 years. The guardians of the cup and of the temple, the Templists, must remain pure. Neither Arthur nor Parceval is worthy to touch it. In consequence of having approached it, the amorous Lancelot remains without sign of life for five and thirty days. The new chivalry of the Graal is conferred by priests; it is a bishop who makes Titarel a knight. This sacerdotal poetry places its ideal so high that it becomes sterile and impotent. In vain it exalts the virtues of the Graal, for this remains solitary; none but the children of Parceval, Lancelot, and Gauvain, can approach it. And when it is proposed at last to realise the true knight, the worthy guardian of the Graal, they are obliged to take one Sir Galahad, a knight perfect in all points, a saint in his lifetime, but very much unknown. This obscure hero, sent for this special purpose into the world, has no great influence.

Such was the impotence of chivalric poetry. Every day waxing more sophistical and subtle, it became the sister of scholastics, a scholastic system of love and of devotion. In the South, where the jongleurs hawked it about in little poems to the courts and castles, it was smothered under the refinements of the outward form, and the encumbrances of the most artificial and laborious versification that was ever known. In the North it fell from the epopee into the romance, from symbol into allegory, that is into vagueness and nothingness. Sunk in decrepitude, it still continued grimacing through the fourteenth century in the paltry imitations of the paltry Roman de la Rose, whilst above it rose gradually the shrill voice of popular derision in the *contes* and *fabliaux*.

Chivalric poetry was doomed. What had it done with humanity during so many centuries? The man whom it had been pleased in its confidence to take simple as he was, ignorant, mute as Parceval, brutal as Roland and Renauld, it had promised to lead by the degrees of chivalric initiation to the dignity of the Christian hero, and it left him weak, despondent, wretched. His gloom went on increasing continually from the cycle of Roland to that of the Graal. It led him a wanderer through the forests in pursuit of giants and monsters, and in quest of woman. Here we have again the expeditions of the Hercules of antiquity, and his weaknesses too. Chivalric poetry did not much develop her hero; she left him in the condition of childhood, like Parceval's inconsiderate mother, who prolonged for her son the imbecility of infancy. Accordingly, he abandons that unkind mother. Gérard de Roussillon forsook chivalry and became a charcoal burner; and Renaud de Montauban

turned mason and carried stones on his back to aid in building the cathedral of Cologne.\*

The knight makes himself man, makes himself of the people, and gives himself to the Church: because in the Church alone in those days was centred the understanding of man, his true life, and his repose. Whilst the foolish virgin of the chivalric epopœa is scampering over hill and dale on the croupe behind Sir Launcelot or Sir Tristan, the wise virgin of the Church keeps her lamp lighted in expectation of the great awakening. Seated by the mysterious cradle, she watches through the Christmas night over the infant people that thrives and waxes among the oxen and the asses; by and by the kings will come and adore it. The Church itself is *people*. They two enact the great drama of the world in the temple, the battle of the soul and of matter, of man and of nature, the sacrifice, the incarnation, the Passion. The chivalric, aristocratic epopœa, was the poetry of love, of human Passion, of the so-called happy of the world. The ecclesiastical drama, otherwise called the ritual, is the poetry of the people, the poetry of those who suffer, of the patients,—the divine Passion.

The Church was then the true home of the people. The man's own house, the miserable hovel to which he returned at evening, was but a temporary shelter. There was but one house, properly speaking, the house of God. It was not in vain the Church had the right of asylum;† it was then the universal asylum; in it the whole body of social life found refuge. There individuals prayed, and the commune held its deliberations; its bell was the tongue of the town. It called men to the labours of the field,‡ to civil business, sometimes to the battles of freedom. In Italy it was in the churches that the sovereign people assembled; it was in St. Mark's the deputies of Europe requested a fleet for the fourth crusade. Commerce was plied round the churches; the pilgrimages were fairs. The wares were blessed, and the animals, as is still the practice in Naples, were brought to receive the benediction which the Church did not refuse; she suffered *these little ones to come unto her*. Not long ago Easter hams were sold in Paris in the precincts of Notre Dame, and every one as he carried them away had his purchase blessed. Formerly

---

\* After having spoken of chivalric poetry I ought to proceed to christian poetry, considered in the legends, &c. But I purpose elsewhere thoroughly investigating this grand subject. Here I will speak only of the poetry of the ritual and of christian art.

† Thus in Paris, Saint Jacques la Boucherie and Sainte Geneviève, &c. The Abbé Lebœuf remarked on the façade of the latter an enormous iron ring, through which those who sought sanctuary used to pass their arms.—The church was also the place where the sick were deposited, especially those who were attacked with the *mal des ardents*.

‡ The silver bell at Rheims rang on the 1st of March, to announce the resumption of field labour. Another bell began to ring in 1498, morning and evening, at the moment of opening and closing the gates of the town and the workshops.

people did still better; they ate in the very church, and the repast was followed by dancing. The Church looked indulgently on these childlike pastimes.

The fact is, that in those days the people and the Church, which was recruited from the ranks of the people, were the same thing, like mother and child. Both were still without distrust or suspicion; the mother desired to be, herself alone, all sufficient to her child, whom she took to her wholly and without reserve.

Pudentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem  
Cæruleum in gremium.

The ritual was an affectionate dialogue between God, the Church, and the people, expressing the same thought. It mingled in tones alternately grave and impassioned, the ancient sacred language with that of popular life. The solemnity of the prayers was dramatically interspersed with pathetic songs, like that dialogue of the Wise and Foolish Virgins which has been handed down to us.\* And sometimes, too, the Church made herself little, she the Great, the Learned, the Eternal, and lisped and stammered with her child. She translated the ineffable for it into puerile legends, such as its capacity still required. She spoke to it and listened to it. The people lifted up its voice, not the fictive people that speaks in the choir, but the real people that came from without, when it entered innumerable, tumultuous, through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with its vast confused voice; a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend,† unfashioned, ignorant, passionate, but docile, imploring initiation, and begging to be allowed to carry Christ on its colossal shoulders. It entered bringing into the church the hideous dragon of sin, and dragging it along, gorged with victual, to cast it at the Saviour's feet beneath the immolating stroke of prayer.‡ Sometimes, too, confessing its own innate brutality, it exposed its wretchedness and infirmity in symbolic extravagances. This is what was called the feast of the idiots, *fatuorum*. § This imitation of pagan orgies, tole-

---

\* Primitive monuments of the romance tongue, published by M. Raynouard in his great work. Since writing the above I have read an important article by my friend Ch. Magnin (*Revue des Deux Mondes*), on this dramatic character of the Church of the middle ages, and several chapters of Mr. Digby's great and fine work, *Mores Catholici*, London, 1832—4.

† I will speak elsewhere of this fine legend.

‡ At Tarascon the *drac*; at Metz the *graouilli*; at Rouen the *gargouille*; at Paris the monster of La Bièvre, &c. See p. 296, note. The *gargouille* is to be seen on the seals of Rouen. *Archives du Royaume*.

§ See Ducange, verb. *kalendæ cervulus*, *abbas cornardorum*: Lobineau, *Hist de Paris*, i. 224; Dutillet. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Fête des Fous*; Flügel, *Geschichte des Groteskekomischen*; Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis historia*; Mellin, *Description d'un diptyque qui renferme un missel de la Fête des Fous*. The legate, Peter of Capua, prohibited, in 1198, the celebration of this feast in the diocese of Paris; but it hardly ceased in France until about the year 1444. We find it again in England in 1530. In 1671, the choir boys of the Sainte Chapelle still claimed to command on Innocent's Day, and occupied the first stalls, with the cope and the cantoral staff. Morand, *Hist. de la Sainte*

rated by Christianity as man's farewell to the sensuality he abjured, was exhibited at the feasts pertaining to the infancy of Christ, the Circumcision, the Kings, the Holy Innocents, and on the days when mankind, saved from the fiend, fell into the intoxication of joy, Christmas and Easter. The clergy themselves took part in these proceedings. Here the canons played ball in the church, there the hateful Lent herring was dragged about with insult and derision.\* Animal nature, as well as human, was admitted to honour. The humble witness of the Saviour's birth, the faithful brute whose breath warmed him in his cradle, that carried him with his mother into Egypt, and bore him triumphant into Jerusalem, had his part in the rejoicing.† Sobriety, patience, firm resignation, these, and I know not how many other Christian virtues, the middle ages, more just than we, distinguished in the ass. Why should they have blushed for him. The Saviour had not blushed for him ‡ . . .

Chapelle, p. 222.—At Bayeux, on Innocent's Day, the choir boys, headed by a little bishop who performed the service, filled the high stalls, and the canons occupied the low ones. Hist. du Diocèse de Bayeux, par Hermant, Curé de Maltot. Chap. Cathédrale de Bayeux.

\* See note, p. 315, for some account of the burlesque feasts partially subsisting in our provinces.

† The feast of the Ass was celebrated at Beauvais, Autun, &c. Rubricæ MSS. festi asinorum, ap. Ducange. "In fine missæ sacerdos versus ad populum vice: Ite, missa est, ter hinhababit; populus vero vice: Deo gratias, ter respondebit: *Hinkam, hinkam, hinkam.*" The following prose was sung:

Orientis partibus  
Adventavit asinus  
Pulcher et fortissimus  
Sarcinis aptissimus.

Hez, sire asnes, car chantez  
Belle bouche rechignez,  
Vous aurez du foin assez  
Et de l'avoine a plantez.

Lentas erat pedibus  
Nisi foret baculus  
Et eum in clunibus  
Pungeret aculeus.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Hic in collibus Sichem  
Jam nutritus sub Ruben,  
Transiit per Jordanem  
Saliit in Bethleem.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Ecce magnis auribus  
Subjugalis filius  
Asinus egregius  
Asinorum dominus.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Saltu vincit hinnulos  
Damas et capreolos,  
Super dromedarios  
Velox Madianeos,  
Hez, sire asnes, etc.

Aurum de Arabia  
Thus et myrrham de Saba  
Tulit in ecclesia  
Virtus asinaria.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Dum trahit vehicula  
Multa cum sarcinula,  
Illius mandibula  
Dura terit pabula.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Cum aristis hordeum  
Comedit et carduum;  
Triticum e palea  
Segregat in area.

Hez, sire asnes, etc.  
Amen dicas Asine (hic genuflectatur)

Jam satur de gramine:  
Amen, amen itera,  
Aspernare vetera.

Hez va! hez va! hez va hez!

Biax, sire asnes, car allez  
Belle bouche car chantez.

(MS. of the Thirteenth Century, ap. Ducange, Glossar.)

‡ Nostri nec pœnitent illas,  
Nec te pœniteat pecoris, divine poëta.—Virg. 10 Eclog.

At a later period, these plain and simple doings degenerated into mockeries, and the Church was obliged to silence the people, to thrust it from her, and keep it at a distance. But in the first centuries of the middle ages what harm was there in all these things? Is not every thing allowable in a child? So little did the Church take offence at these popular dramas, that she represented their boldest points on her walls. At Rouen \* a pig plays the violin, an ass holds a sort of harp at Chartres, † and a bishop a fool's bauble at Essonne. ‡ In other churches we have images of sins and vices sculptured with all the freedom of a pious cynicism. § The intrepid artist has not recoiled from portraying the incest of Lot or the infamies of Sodom. ||

There dwelt in the Church, in those days, a marvellous dramatic genius, bold and hearty, often marked with a touching puerility. No one laughed in Germany when the new parish priest, in the middle of his installation mass, led out his mother by the hand and danced with her. If she was dead, she was saved without difficulty, for *he put his mother's soul under the candlestick*. The love of mother and son, of Mary and Jesus, was for the Church a rich source of pathos. In Messina to this day, on the feast of the Assumption, the Virgin, carried all through the town, seeks for her son, as the Sicilian Ceres of yore sought for Proserpine; at last, just as she is entering the great square, the image of the Saviour is suddenly presented to her; she starts back in surprise, and twelve birds let loose from her bosom, carry to God the effusion of a mother's joy. ¶

At Pentecost, white pigeons were let loose in the church among tongues like fire, flowers fell like rain, and the interior galleries were illuminated. \*\* In other festivals the illumination was on the

\* On the north portal of the cathedral.

† On a counterfort of the old belfry.

‡ On the church of St. Guenault rats are represented gnawing the globe of the world. Millin, Voyage i. 20, and plate iv.—Aristotle does not escape this universal mockery. At Rouen he is represented on all fours with a woman on his back.

§ See the stalls of Notre Dame de Rouen, Notre Dame d'Amiens, St. Guenault d'Essonne, &c. In the church of l'Epine, a little village near Chalons, there are sculptures, very remarkable but no less obscene. St. Bernard writes about 1125 to Guillaume de St. Thierry: "What is the good of these grotesque monsters in painting or carved work, that are placed in the cloisters within sight of people who weep for their sins? What is the use of this beautiful deformity or this deformed beauty? What mean these indecent apes, these furious lions, these monstrous centaurs? Ed. Mabillon, p. 539.

|| This was the subject of a bas relief on the outside of the cathedral of Reims which has been effaced.

¶ J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in modern Italy and Sicily*; London, 1823, p. 158.—How is it that Mr. Blunt sees in this nothing but a ridiculous mummery?

\*\* In the Sainte Chapelle the figure of an angel was seen descending from the vaulted roof, with a silver cruet in its hand, with which it sprinkled water on the hands of the officiating priest. Morand, *Hist. de la Sainte Chapelle*, p. 180.—At Reims, on Dedication day, a lighted taper was placed between each two arches.

outside.\* Let the reader imagine to himself the effect of the lights on those prodigious monuments, when the clergy, circulating through the airy staircases, enlivened the sombre masses with their fantastic processions, passing to and fro along the balustrades and under the denticulated buttresses, with their rich costumes, their candles, and their chaunts; when the light and the voices turned from circle to circle, whilst from below responded the ocean of the people. This was the true drama, the true mystery, the representation of the journey of humanity through the three worlds, that sublime intuition which Dante caught from the transient reality to fix and eternise it in the *Divina Commedia*.

That colossal theatre of the sacred drama has relapsed, after its long gala of the middle ages, into silence and obscurity. The weak voice we hear in it, that of the priest, is powerless to fill those vaulted roofs, whose amplitude was made to embrace and contain the thunder of the people's voice. Widowed now and empty is the Church. Her profound symbolism, which then spoke so loud, is grown mute. It is now an object of scientific curiosity, of philosophic explanations and Alexandrine interpretations. The Church is a Gothic museum visited by the learned in such lore; they go all over it, prying about them irreverently, and praise instead of praying. Well do they know, too, what they praise! That which finds favour in their eyes, that which pleases them in the Church, is not the Church itself, but the delicate workmanship of its ornaments, the fringe of its mantle, its lacework of stone, some laborious and subtle performance of Gothic art in its age of decay.

Men of gross imagination, who think that these stones are stones, and know not of the sap and the life that circulates through them! Christians or not, revere and kiss the sign they bear; that sign of the Passion is the sign of the triumph of moral freedom. There is here something great and eternal, whatever be the fate of this or that religion. The future destinies of Christianity are nothing to the purpose. Whether it is to be henceforth a religion or philosophy, whether or not it is to pass from the mystic to the rational sense, we must always adore in these monuments the victory of human morality. Not in vain did Christ say: "Let these stones become bread!" The stone did become bread, the bread became God, and matter spirit, from the day when they were honoured, justified, transfigured, transubstantiated by the sacrifice. Incarnation, passion; these are two identical words, which are explained by a third, transubstantiation. In three different degrees,

---

\* On the gallery of the Virgin, in Notre Dame de Paris, there were a virgin and two angels holding chandeliers, in which the treasurer placed two candles after Laudes on Sexagesima. Gilbert, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Paris*.—In certain churches the priest represented our Lord's Ascension at the entrance.—Sometimes even the clergy had to perform service in the loftiest parts of the church, as for instance, when relics were sealed up under the point of the spire, as was done in Notre Dame de Paris.

they are the strife, the marriage, the identification of the two substances: dramatic and painful marriage, in which the spirit descends and matter suffers. The mediator is sacrifice, death, voluntary death. There is blood in these nuptials. That fearful, memorable day, was yesterday, is this day, and to-morrow, and evermore. The eternal drama is every day enacted in the Church. The Church herself is this drama. It is a petrified mystery, a Passion in stone, or rather it is the Patient. The whole edifice, with all the austerity of its architectural geometry, is a living body, a man. The nave with its two arms outstretched, is the Man on the cross; the crypt, the subterraneous Church, is the Man in the tomb; the pointed spire is still He, but erect and ascending to heaven. In the choir, inclined with respect to the nave, you see his head drooping in the Agony;\* you discern his blood in the glowing purple of the stained windows.

Let us touch these stones cautiously, let us tread lightly on these flags. Every thing here still bleeds and suffers. A great mystery is here taking place.† On all sides death meets my eyes, and I am tempted to weep. Nevertheless, may not this immortal death, the image of which art inscribes in an efflorescent vegetation, this flower of the soul, this divine fruit of the world, which nature decorates with her leaves and her roses, may it not be life and love under a mortuary form? "I am black, but comely," says the beloved in the Song of Songs. These sombre arches may conceal the marriage rites beneath their gloom. Are not Romeo and Juliet united in a tomb? Painful is the embrace, bitter the kiss, and the smiles of the bride are mingled with tears. This immense vault that envelopes the mystery, is it a shroud, or a nuptial robe? Yes, it is the robe of nature, the ancient veil of Isis, on which every creature is embroidered. This living foliage in which art has woven the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, this is her own mantle, her amorous tunic. He is clad with his bride.‡

The solemn and holy comedy leads the circle of its divine drama through the natural drama played by the sun and stars. It marches from life to death, from incarnation to passion and resurrection, whilst nature is turning from winter to spring. When the sower has buried the seed in the earth to bear the snow and the frost, God buries himself in human life, in a mortal body, and hides that body in the sepulchre. Fear nothing, the seed will spring forth

---

\* The choir inclines north-west in the churches of Notre Dame de Paris, of Notre Dame, and St. Ouen de Rouen, de Quimper, etc.—It is true, likewise, that in certain churches this inclination is connected with the arrangement of the locality.

† *Notate singula mystice; non enim est hic quicquam otiosum.*—Hugo de S. Victore, Rothomagi, 1648, vol. iii., p. 335. *Speculum de mysteriis Ecclesiæ.*

‡ Montaigne, speaking of a cloak belonging to his father, which he was fond of wearing, says: "I wrapped my father about me."



out of the ground, life out of the grave, God out of nature. With the breath of spring will come the breath of the spirit. When the last clouds shall have been dispersed, you will behold the Ascension in the transfigured sky. Lastly, in harvest time, the creature itself, matured by the divine ray that passed through it, ascends with the Virgin to the Lord.\*

How did mankind attain to this marvellous symbolism? How did art journey through its long route to reach so high a point? This I must endeavour to answer. My subject, too, requires this; far from departing from it in this respect, on the contrary, I go deeper into the very heart of it. The middle ages, and the France of the middle ages, have expressed their inmost thought in architecture. The cathedrals of Paris, St. Denis, and Reims, these three words tell more of the matter than long narratives. Such monuments are great historical facts. What ought I to do? Describe them and compare them with analogous edifices of other countries? This description, and even this comparison, would convey but an outward, superficial, and confused knowledge of the subject. We must go farther, and search more deeply; we must get hold of the principle of their formation, the physiological law which has governed this vegetation of a peculiar nature. Thus botanical science has found the systems of Linnaeus and of Jussieu, distinct from and beyond Tournefort's artificial and outward classification. The organic law of Gothic architecture, I have had to seek for on the one hand in the genius of Christianity, in its principal mystery, the Passion; on the other, in the history of art and its fruitful metempsychosis.

*Ars* in Latin is the contrary of *in-ers*; it is the contrary of inaction; it is action. In Greek, action is called *drama*. The drama is action, or the art, *par excellence*, the principle and the end of art.

Art, action, drama, are foreign to nature. That inert matter may become spirit, action, art, that it may be humanised and incarnated, it must be quelled and must suffer. It must suffer itself to be divided, torn, beaten, carved, and turned; it must endure the hammer, the chisel, the wedge, must shriek, hiss, and groan. This is its Passion. Read in the English ballad, *John Barleycorn*, the martyrdom it suffered from the flail, the kiln, and the vat. So, likewise, the grape in the press. The wine press is often the emblem of the cross of the Son of Man.† Man, grape, and barley, all acquire under torture

---

\* The zodiac and the gospel alternated on the portal and in the roses of the churches. Thus in Notre Dame de Paris, de St. Denis, de Rheims, de Chartres, &c., to each of the signs of the zodiac correspond bas reliefs representing the labours of each month. In Notre Dame de Chartres the series opens with Adam, to signify that it was since his fall that man was condemned to toil.—Frequently, too, the stalls exhibit small figures representing the arts and trades: see the stalls of St. Denis, transferred from the castle of Gaillon, and those of the cathedrals of Rouen, Chartres, &c.

† On a painted window in St. Etienne du Mont, Christ is represented under the wine-press. From his body flows a wine which is collected in vats.

their most exalted form ; but lately rude and material, they become spirit. The stone, too, assumes life, and is spiritualised under the steel, under the ardent and severe hand of the artist. The artist makes life gush forth from it. He was very appropriately named in the middle ages: "The Master of the Living Stones," *Magister de vivis lapidibus*.\*

This dramatic conflict between man and nature is for the latter at once Passion and Incarnation, destruction and generation. Between them they engender a common fruit partaking of the mixed characters of the father and the mother: nature humanised, matter spiritualised, art. But just as the fruit of generation represents more or less the father or the mother, and gives alternately the two sexes ; so man or nature prevails more or less in the mixed product of art: here the masculine sign, there the feminine. We must distinguish the sexual characters in architecture, just as in botany and zoology.

This is strikingly the case in India, where we meet alternately with male and female monuments. The latter, vast caverns, profound *vulva* of nature in the heart of the mountains have received the fecundation of art in their dark recesses; they draw man into them, and tend to absorb him into their bosoms. Other monuments represent the longing impulse of man towards nature, the vehement aspiration of love. They rise up in luxurious pyramids that would fain impregnate heaven. Aspiration, respiration, mortal life, and prolific death, light and darkness, male and female, the natural man, activity, passivity ; the total of all those is the drama of the world, of which art is the serious parody.

Yes, in face of this all-potent nature which makes sport of us in the deceiving phantasmagoria of her works, we set up a nature fashioned by ourselves. To that solemn irony of the world, to that eternal comedy, which, while it amuses man, plays upon and mocks him, we oppose our own Melpomene. So little rancour do we bear that homicidal and charming nature, which smiles on us while it destroys us, that we make it all our pleasure to follow and imitate it. Spectators and victims of the drama, we mingle in it with a good grace, and dignify the catastrophe by understanding, accepting, and idealising it.

The fecundity of this twofold drama seems to have been apprehended by the Indians. The Indian fig, the *bódhi*, that tree forest, which from every branch sends down a tree to the ground, that arcade of arcades, that pyramid of pyramids, is, they say, the dwelling under which the deity reached the perfect condition of contemplation, the condition of the *bódhi*, of the buddhist, the absolute sage. Like God, like tree; their names become identical, fecundity natural and

---

\* The surname of one of the architects whom Ludovico Sforza invited from Germany, to close the arches of the cathedral of Milan. Gaet. Franchetti, *Storia et descrizione del duomo de Milano*, 1821.

intellectual. This tree in which there are so many trees, this thought in which there are so many thoughts, grow up together, and aspire after union; this is the ideal of fecundity, of creation. Aspiration, aggregation, these are the male and female principles, the paternal and maternal, the two principles of the world and of the little world of art. Let us say rather the sole principle: aspiration after aggregation, of all into one, of all towards one, as all the lines of the pyramid tend to one point.

The pyramidal form, the abstract pyramid, reduced to its three lines, is the triangle. In the ogival triangle, the pointed arch, two lines are curved, that is, composed of an infinity of straight lines. This common aspiration of lines infinite in number, which is the mystery of the ogive, appears in India and Persia.\* It predominates in our West in the middle ages. At both extremities of the world is seen the effort of the infinite towards the infinite, in other words the universal, *catholic* tendency. It is the endless repetition of the same in the same,† a graduated repetition in one same ascending series. Place then, as in the Indian monuments, pyramid on pyramid, lingam

---

\* John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the court of Ava, in the year 1827—1829*, p. 64: "In all the ancient temples the gothic arch prevails; the modern buildings do not exhibit this character."—M. Lenormant thinks the ogive or pointed arch originated in Persia; the palace of Sapor, and the other monuments of the Sassanides, everywhere present this figure. It would, indeed, be logical that this mystic form should have been created by the mystic people (See Chardin). M. Lenormant found in Egypt ogives of the ninth century. Sicily and Naples would seem to have been the connecting link between oriental and western architecture."

† Report of M. Eug. Bournouf on Daniel's Collection of Views in India (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov. 5, 1827): "The religious monuments drawn by the author, belong to all parts of the peninsula, but especially to the environs of Benares, Bihar, Madura, to which the Mussulman conquest did not extend, and to the southern extremity of the peninsula. On examining these vast constructions in a general point of view, they all seemed impressed with a common character which distinguishes them essentially from the monuments of Greek architecture. Whilst the latter are composed of inseparable parts, from the mutual accordance of which results the harmony of the whole, parts which would be nothing if separated from the whole, and without which the whole could not be; the most gigantic Hindu temples are formed by the combination, and if we may so speak, by the addition of parts perfectly identical one with the other, and which might remain independent of the edifice to which they belong, because they exactly repeat all its proportions. Each monument is, therefore, as it were, the total of a greater or a lesser number of other monuments constructed in the same manner, but of various dimensions, so that their combination forms not an organised whole (*un ensemble*), but an aggregation in every respect similar to each of its component parts. This character, which has not, perhaps, been sufficiently attended to, recurs in the most minute details of Hindu sculpture, for instance, in the singular statues of their divinities, which the artist has purposely surcharged with the same attributes a thousand times repeated. Without here inquiring how this system of architecture can have been suggested to the Hindus by the aspect of the natural scenes around them, and above all by the original, if not always correct ideas, that pervade their whole religious system, we will say that it is impossible not to be struck by the system itself on examining Mr. Daniel's designs."

on lingam ; heap up, as in our cathedrals, ogives and roses, spires and tabernacles, churches on churches ; and let humanity never stop in the erection of its pious Babel, until its arms drop down powerless.

It is a long way, however, from India to Germany, from Persia to France. Identical in its principle, art varies along its route, enriching itself with variations and bringing us the copious tribute. India has contributed, but so has Greece, so has Rome, and doubtless other elements besides.

At first, on quitting Asia, the Greek temple, a simple collection of columns under the depressed triangle of the pediment, hardly exhibits a trace of the aspiration to heaven that characterised the monuments of India, Persia, and Egypt. Aspiration disappears; beauty here consists in aggregation and order, but the aggregation itself is feeble. This phalanx of columns, this architectural republic, is not yet united and closed by an arch. In Greek art, as in Greek society, the bond of union is imperfect. We know how little united was the Hellenic world, notwithstanding its Amphictyonic councils. We see in it republics and republics, cities and cities, but little combination. The colony, even, was attached to the mother city only by a religious and filial reminiscence.

The Etruscan and Roman world was more compact, so also was Italian art. Here the arch reappears; it joins above, and the vaulted roof closes. In other words, aggregation gains strength, aspiration upwards tends to reappear. Like art, like society. Here there is a social hierarchy; the force of association is great. The mother city keeps her colonies under her; however distant they be, they remain *in the city*. As an expression of such a world, the column is not sufficient, nor even the arch. Look at the monuments of Trèves and Nîmes, with their double and triple stories of arches and porticoes; all this will not even yet be enough to represent what is coming. The East has given nature; Greece the city; Rome the city of right and law. The West and the North will make of it the city of God.

We know that the Christian Church was primitively but the basilica of the Roman tribunal. The Church possesses herself of the very pretorium in which Rome condemned her. The divine city invades the judicial city; here, the advocate is the priest, the pretor is God. The tribunal becomes enlarged and rounded, and forms the choir. This Church, like the Roman city, is still restricted, exclusive; it is not open to all; it lays claim to mystery, and requires an initiation. It still loves the catacombs in which it had its birth, and digs itself vast crypts, which remind it of its cradle. The catechumens are not admitted into the sacred edifice; they wait yet at the gate. The baptistery is without, and so is the cemetery; the belfry itself, the organ and the voice of the church, rises by its side. The heavy Roman arcade seals up with its weight the subterraneous church, buried in its mysteries. Things continue thus so long as

Christianity is in conflict; so long as the tempest of invasion lasts, so long as the world does not believe in its own duration. But when the fatal era of the year 1000 is past; when the ecclesiastical hierarchy finds that it has conquered the world, that it is completed, crowned, and closed in the pope; when Christendom, enrolled in the army of the crusade, has perceived its own unity; then the Church shakes off its narrow garb, dilates to embrace the world, and issues forth from the gloomy crypts. It mounts, it lifts up its arched roofs, and rears them in bold crests, and the oriental ogive reappears in the Roman arcade.

The Roman hierarchy piled arch on arch; the sacerdotal hierarchy piles ogive on ogive, pyramid on pyramid, temple on temple, city on city. The temple, the city itself, are here but an element. The Christian world contains all the worlds that preceded it; the Christian temple all the temples. The Greek column is there, but colossal and exfoliated into a sheaf of gigantic sub-columns. The Roman arch is repeated in it, but under a form at once bolder and more solid.\* In the spire reappears the Egyptian obelisk, but mounted on a temple. The figures of angels and prophets standing on the counterforts, seem to proclaim prayer to the four winds, like the muezzin on the minarets. The flying buttresses, that ascend to the roof of the nave,† with their light balustrades, their radiating wheels, and their denticulated points, seem like Jacob's ladder, or that narrow bridge of the Persians, over which souls are constrained to cross the abyss, at the risk of being overbalanced by the weight of their sins.

Here is a prodigious piling up, a labour of Enceladus. Giants, one would think, had sweated to rear these rocks four or five hundred feet in the air;‡ Ossa on Pelion, Olympus on Ossa. But no; this is no work of giants, no confused heap of enormous things, no inorganic aggregation. There has been here something stronger

\* Circular arches are liable to sink at the crown.—The gothic arches are scarcely ever built of cut stone, but of small stones embedded in a great deal of mortar: and yet in many churches the arch is not more than six inches thick; it is but three or four in Notre Dame de Paris. Accordingly, in the latter church the roof timbers rest solely on the side walls, and pass over the arch without pressing on it. They sustain a leaden roof weighing 42,240 pounds, formerly surmounted by an elegant belfry 104 feet high. Gilbert, Desc. de Notre Dame de Paris.

† It was in the twelfth century (the first epoch of the primitive ogival style) that flying buttresses began to be projected in the air. In the eleventh century they were still concealed under the roofing of the aisles.—Then the counterforts rose like towers above the roofs of the aisles, and were crowned with little steeples. Niches were hollowed out in the piers of the counterforts; the arcades were denticulated and pierced with trefoils and roses. Caumont, ii. 238. See also the magnificent plates in Boissérée, Description de la cathédrale de Cologne.

‡ The height of 500 feet would seem to have been the ideal aspired after by German architecture. Thus the towers of the cathedral of Cologne were intended, according to plans still extant, to rise to the height of 500 German feet (443 Paris feet); the spire of Strasburg is 500 Strasburg feet high (445 Paris feet). Fiorello, Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland, i. p. 411.

than the arms of Titans.... And what is that? The breath of the spirit. That light breath which passed before the face of Daniel, sweeping away kingdoms and shattering empires, is the same that swelled out these vaulted roofs, and sent up these towers towards the sky. It has penetrated all the parts of this great body with a potent and harmonious life; it has evolved the vegetation of a vast tree from a grain of mustard seed. The spirit is the shaper of its own dwelling. Look at its workings in the human face in which it is enclosed; see how it marks the countenance, and forms and deforms the features; it hollows the eye with meditation, experience, and sorrow; it furrows the brow with thought, and even compels the strong bony framework of the body to bend and adapt itself to the motion of the inward life. In like manner it was the artisan of its stony covering, fashioned it to its purpose, and marked it within and without with its varied thoughts. In it the spirit told its own history, taking good care to omit nothing of the long life it had passed through; it engraved on it all its recollections, hopes, regrets, and loves, and made the cold stone the receptacle of its most inward and cherished thoughts. So soon as it had come forth from the catacombs and the mysterious crypt, to which the heathen had confined it,\* it reared that crypt towards the sky; deep as it had descended, it now soared as high: the flame-like spire escaped, like a deep sigh from a bosom that had been oppressed for a thousand years. And so strong was the respiration, so vigorously beat that heart of mankind, that it forced its way to the light through all parts of its covering, and broke forth in the ardour of love to meet the glance of God. Look at the osseous and deeply hollowed socket of the gothic window, that *ogival eye*,† as it first opens in the twelfth century. This eye of the gothic window is the token by which the new architecture is classified.‡ Ancient art, a worshipper of matter, based its classification on the column, the physical support of the temple (Tuscan, Doric, Ionic columns, &c.). Modern art, a child of the soul and the

---

\* Scarcely could we cite a few examples of crypts posterior to the twelfth century. Caumont, *Antiquities Monumentales*, ii. 123. It was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the great development of ogival architecture took place.—The largest crypt in France is that of the cathedral of Chartres. See Gilbert, *Notice historique et descriptive sur Notre Dame de Chartres*, p. 76.

† The German *aug*, eye, has been assigned as the root of the word *ogive*; the curvilinear angles resemble the corners of the eye. Gilbert, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Paris*, p. 56.—In the primitive ogival architecture the windows were elongated and narrow, whence they are called *lancet-shaped* by English antiquaries. Frequently two lancets are coupled and enclosed within a principal arch, leaving between their tops and the crown of the outer arch a space which is almost always worked into a trefoil, a quatrefoil, or a rose. Caumont, p. 251.

‡ This is, at least, the principal element of classification which our antiquarians of Normandy have thought themselves warranted in establishing, after comparing together more than 1200 churches of different ages. The glory of having given a scientific principle to the history of gothic art belongs to the province which possesses the greatest number of monuments in that style. At the head of our Norman antiquaries I must cite MM. Auguste Prévost and de Caumont.

spirit, has for its principle, not form, but physiognomy, the eye; not the column, but the window; not the solid, but the void. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the window, sunk in the depth of the walls, like the hermit of the Thebaïd in his granite cell, was quite retired within itself, and plunged in meditation. By and by it gradually comes forward, until it reaches the outer surface of the wall. It radiates in beautiful mystic roses, exulting in celestial glory; but the fourteenth century has hardly elapsed, when these roses change their form, and pass into flame-like shapes. Are these flames hearts, or tears? Perhaps they are all these at once.

There is the same progression in the successive enlargement of the church. The spirit, do what it will, is always ill at ease in its dwelling; in vain it enlarges,\* varies, and adorns it; it always feels uncomfortable and confined. No, lovely though you be, wondrous cathedral, with your towers, your saints, your stone flowers, your fountains of marble, your great images of Christ with their golden glories, you cannot contain me. We must build small churches round the church, and make it radiate in chapels.† Beyond the altar let us erect an altar, a sanctuary behind the sanctuary. Let us hide the Virgin's chapel behind the choir; there, methinks, we shall breathe more freely; there, there will be woman's knees for man to lay his languid head on; a voluptuous repose beyond the cross, death beyond life.—But how small is this chapel too; how irksome are these walls! Must the sanctuary then quit the sanctuary, and the arch expand into the canopy of heaven?

The miracle is, that this impassioned vegetation, which we should have expected to see throwing up the capricious luxuriance of its shoots at random, developed itself in obedience to a regular law, and subdued its exuberant fecundity to the number and rhythm of a divine geometry. Geometry and art, the true and the beautiful, met together. Thus it has been calculated, in recent times, that the curve best suited to form a strong and substantial vault, was precisely the one Michael Angelo had chosen, as being the most beautiful, for the dome of St. Peter.

This geometry of beauty is permanently conspicuous in that type of Gothic architecture, the cathedral of Cologne;‡ it is a regular

---

\* In the thirteenth century the choir becomes longer than it was comparatively to the nave. The collaterals were prolonged round the sanctuary, and were always flanked with chapels. Caumont, p. 236.

† It was especially in the eleventh century that this arrangement was generally observed. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

‡ The masters of this city built many other churches. John Hülts of Cologne continued the belfry of Strasburg. In 1369, John of Cologne built the two churches of Campen, on the shores of the Zuyderzee, on the plan of the cathedral of Cologne. That of Prague is on the same plan, and that of Metz greatly resembles it. In 1442, the Bishop of Burgos procured two stone-cutters from Cologne, to finish the towers of his cathedral. They constructed the spires on the plan of that of Cologne. Cologne artists built Notre Dame de l'Épine at Chalons-sur-Marne. Boissérée, p. 15.

body, which has grown in the proportion proper to it, with the regularity of crystals. The cross of the normal church is strictly deduced from the figure by which Euclid constructs the equilateral triangle.\* That triangle, the principle of the normal ogive, may be inscribed within the arc of the vaulted ceiling; thus it keeps the ogive equally removed from the ungainly meagerness of the pointed windows of the North, and the heavy flattening of the Byzantine arches. The numbers ten and twelve, with their submultiples and multiples, run through the whole edifice. Ten is the human number, that of the digits; twelve is the divine, the astronomic number; to these add seven, in honour of the seven planets. In the towers,† and in the whole building, the lower parts are derived from the square, and subdivided into the octagon; the upper parts, ruled by the triangle, unfold into hexagons and dodecagons.‡ The column has the proportions of the Doric order, in the relation of its diameter to its height.§ The height is equal to the span of the arch, in conformity with the principle of Vitruvius and Pliny. Thus the traditions of antiquity subsist in this type of Gothic architecture.

The arch, thrown from one pillar to the other, is fifty feet wide. This number is repeated throughout the whole edifice; it is the measure of the height of the columns. The aisles have half, and the façade three times the width of the arch. The total length of the edifice is three times its total width, or, in other words, nine times the width of the arch. The width of the whole is equal to the length of the choir and of the nave,|| or to the height of the middle of the vaulted roof.¶ The length is to the height, as two to five. Lastly, the arcade and the aisles are repeated on the outside in the counterforts and the flying buttresses that support the build-

\* We borrow this observation, and generally all the details that follow, from the description of the cathedral of Cologne by Boisserée (French and German), 1823.

† The metropolitan churches had their towers, the inferior churches only belfries. Thus the hierarchy was maintained even in the outward form of the church.

‡ Furthermore, the choir is terminated by five sides of a dodecagon, and each chapel by three sides of an octagon.

§ The ratio is that of 1 to 6 and 1 to 7.

|| The porch, the square of the transept, the chapels with the aisle separating them from the choir, are each equal to the breadth of the principal arch, and taken together are equal to the total breadth. The breadth of the transept is to its total length as 2 to 5; and to the breadth of the choir and the nave as 2 to 3.

¶ The height of the lateral arches is two-fifths of the total breadth, that is twice  $1\frac{2}{5}$  or 60 feet.—The breadth in the clear of the middle arch is to its height as 2 to 7; the ratio for the lateral arches is that or 1 to 3.—On the exterior the principal breadth of the church is equal to its total height. The length is to the height as 2 to 5. There is the same proportion between the height of each story and that of the whole building.



ing. Seven, the number of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, of the seven sacraments, is also that of the chapels of the choir; twice seven is that of the columns that sustain it.

This predilection for the mystic numbers is seen in all the churches. That of Reims has seven entrances; those of Reims and Chartres have seven chapels round the choir.\* The choir of Notre Dame, in Paris, has seven arches. The length of the transept is 144 feet (16 times 9), its breadth 42 (6 times 7); this is also the breadth of one of the towers, and the diameter of one of the great roses; the towers of the same church are 204 feet high (17 times 12). It contains 297 columns (297 divided by 3=99, which, divided by 3=33, which again divided by 3=11), and 45 chapels (5×9). The belfry which surmounted the transept was 104 feet high, like the principal arch. Notre Dame de Reims measures 408 feet in the clear ( $\frac{1}{2} \times 204 = 102$ , the height of the towers of the Notre Dame de Paris;  $\frac{1}{4} \times 408 = 102$ ).† Chartres measures 396 feet ( $\frac{1}{2} \times 792 = 396$ ;  $\frac{1}{4} \times 792 = 198$ ;  $\frac{1}{8} \times 792 = 99$ ;  $\frac{1}{16} \times 792 = 49.5$ ). The naves of St. Ouen, in Rouen, and of the cathedrals of Strasburg and Chartres, are all three of equal length (244 feet). The Sainte Chapelle, in Paris, is 110 feet high ( $\frac{1}{10} \times 1100 = 110$ ), 110 feet long, and 27 wide (3 in the third power).

To whom appertained this science of numbers, this divine mathematics? To no mortal man, but to the Church of God. The secret of it was transmitted with the teaching of the Christian mysteries, under the very shadow of the Church, in the chapters and monasteries.‡ The church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture. Often, to complete a monument, she called a whole people to her aid. A hundred thousand men worked together on

\* See Povillon-Piérard, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Reims*; Gilbert, *Descr. de Chartres*.

† The outer length is 438 feet 8 inches; 438 is divisible by 3, 2, 4, and 12; divided by 12 it gives 36.5, the number of the days in the year, with a fraction over, and this fraction marks a still nearer approach to exactness. [The reader may suspect a misprint here, but there is none. The arithmetic, such as it is, is the author's.—TRANSLATOR.] There are thirty-six outer and thirty-four inner butting pillars. The middle arch is thirty-five feet wide; there are thirty-five statues and twenty-one lateral arches.

‡ It is matter of tradition that the most illustrious bishops of the middle ages were architects and built. It was Lanfranc who constructed the magnificent church of St. Etienne in Caen. According to a tradition which we have mentioned above, Thomas à Becket built a church during his exile, &c. One of the ten abbots, Marc Argent's successors, was master of the works. Saint Ouen Gilbert.—An archdeacon of Paris constructed all the machines of war for Simon de Montfort. In the fourteenth century, William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, built Windsor for Edward III. See Bayle, art. Wickham. A carmelite of Verona, in 1497, rebuilt the bridge of Notre Dame in Paris, after its fall. Corrozet, *Antiquities de Paris*, 1586, p. 156, &c. &c. Under the first and second races, down to Philip Augustus, there was not one artist but belonged to the clergy.—No one has better pointed out the distinction between the sacerdotal epoch and those that followed it than M. Magnin, in an article (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1832) on the statue of Queen Nantechilde, and in another article on the origin of the theatre (December, 1834).

that of Strasburg,\* and such was their zeal, that night could not interrupt their labours, but they continued them by torchlight. Often, too, the Church lavished ages upon her performance, slowly accomplishing a perfect work. Renaud de Montauban carried stones to the cathedral of Cologne, and they are at work upon it at this day.† Nothing could resist this patient energy.

That Gothic art has had analogies in Byzantium, Persia, or Spain, is a thing that admits of no doubt. But what signifies this after all? It belongs to the place where it has struck deepest root, where it has approached nearest to its ideal. Our Norman cathedrals are singularly numerous, beautiful, and varied; their English daughters are prodigiously rich, delicately and subtly wrought. But the mystic genius is more strongly marked, it seems, in the churches of Germany. There is there a land well prepared, a soil made expressly to bear Christ's flowers. Nowhere have man and nature, the brother and sister, enacted a purer and more childlike love under the Father's eye. The German soul conceived a kindly love, for flowers, trees, and God's beautiful mountains, and built of them in its simplicity miracles of art; as at the birth of the child Jesus they arrange the handsome Christmas tree, all loaded with garlands, ribbons, and candle-branches for the delight of children. Herein it was that the middle ages produced golden souls, that have passed away unmarked and unknown, candid souls, at once puerile and profound, that scarcely had a notion of time, buried as they were in the bosom of eternity, and letting the world sweep on before them without discerning any thing in its stormy waves except the blue of heaven. What are their names? Who can tell? We know only that they were of that obscure and vast association that spread everywhere. They had their lodges in Cologne and Strasburg. Their emblem, as ancient as Germany, was Thor's hammer. With the pagan hammer, sanctified in their Christian hands, they continued throughout the world the great work of the New Temple, the renovation of Solomon's Temple. To know with what assiduity and self-denial they wrought, obscure as they were and lost in the great association, we must glance over the most retired and inaccessible parts of the cathedrals. Ascend into those airy deserts, to the extreme points of those spires where the plumber ventures but with fear and trembling, and there you will often find, exposed to the winds alone and seen but by the eye of God, some master-piece of art and sculpture on which the pious workman has expended his life. Not a name, not a mark,

\* See respecting this church Grandidier, *Essai sur la cathédrale de Strasburg*; *Hist. de la cath. de Strasb.*; Fiorello, *Gesch. der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland*, i. 350, sqq.

† Only the ceiling of the choir is completed; it is two hundred feet high. M. Boisserée had annexed to his description a plan for the restoration and completion of the edifice, in accordance with the primitive plan of the architects, which was recovered a few years ago by a most fortunate chance. See also Fiorello, i. 389—423.

not a letter ; he would have thought it robbing God of his glory. He wrought for God alone, *for his soul's remedy*. One name, however, which they have preserved with a graceful preference is that of a virgin who wrought for Notre Dame de Strasbourg ; a part of the sculptures that crown the prodigious spire was placed there by her weak hands.\* Thus, in the legend, the rock which all the efforts of the men could not move, rolled before the foot of a child.†

The patroness of the *masons*, too, St. Catherine, was a virgin, whom we see with her geometrical wheel, her mysterious rose, on the floor of the cathedral of Cologne. Another virgin, St. Barbe, leans there on her tower pierced with a trinity of windows. All these humble *masons* wrought for the Virgin. Their cathedrals hardly raised a fathom in the course of a generation, dedicate their mystic towers to her. She alone knows all they embody of human lives, of obscure self-sacrifices, of sighs of love, and of prayers. *O, mater Dei!*

The Gothic style, produced by the free effort of mysticism, is what some have called it without understanding it, the free style. I say free, and not arbitrary. Had it kept to the fine type of Cologne, had it remained submissive to geometrical harmony, it would have perished of languor. In other parts of Germany, and in France and England, being less controlled by arithmetical rules and by religious idealism, it received more fully the varied impress of history. As German jurisprudence when transported into France lost its symbolical character, and took one more *real*, historical, variable, and susceptible of successive abstractions ; so Gothic art lost there somewhat of its divinity, and came to represent along with the religious sentiment all the variety of actual circumstances, of men and of the times. German art, more impersonal, has rarely named the artists ; ours have marked our churches with their ardent personality ; we read their names on the walls of Notre Dame de Paris, on the tombs in Rouen,‡

---

\* Sabine de Steinbach, Erwin de Steinbach who began the towers in 1277. They were to have been 594 feet high. Fiorello, i. 356. The names of some other German architects are known. My assertion is nevertheless true in general. In France it was not until the thirteenth century that art began to take an individual character, and monuments to bear an author's name. It was then that Ingelramme directed the works of Notre Dame de Rouen, and constructed the Bec, in 1214; Robert de Lusarche built the cathedral of Amiens, in 1220; Pierre de Montereau, the abbey of Long Pont, in 1227; Hugues Lebergier, St. Nicaise de Reims, in 1229; Jean Chelle, the south lateral portal of Notre Dame, in 1257. See M. M. Magnin's ingenious article on the Revolution of Art in the Middle Ages, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1832; and a report from M. Didron to the minister of public instruction in the *Revue du Progrès Social*, August, 1834; in this paper will be found numerous personal views and observations, and a bibliography of the history of art in France.

† This is the legend of Mont St. Michel.

‡ Inscription on a stone coffin in St. Ouen : " Hic jacet frater Johannes Marc-dargent, alias Roussel, quondam abbas istius monasterii, qui incepit istam ecclesiam ædificare de novo, et fecit chorum, et capellus, et pillaria turris et magnam

on the tumulary stones and the mazes of the church of Rheims.\* Anxiety for renown and rivalry impelled these artists to desperate deeds. At Caen and at Rouen we find parallels for the story of Dædalus killing his nephew through envy. You see in a church in the latter town the hostile and threatening effigies of Alexandre de Berneval, and of his pupil whom he poinarded. Their dogs, crouched at their feet, still threaten each other. The unfortunate young man, in the sadness of a destiny unaccomplished, bears on his breast the incomparable rose in which he had the misfortune to surpass his master.†

How can I reckon up our beautiful churches of the thirteenth century? I would fain speak at least of Notre Dame of Paris.‡ But there is one who has marked this edifice with such a lion's footprint, that no one henceforth will venture to meddle with it. Henceforth it is his property, his fief; it is Quasimodo's *majorat*. He has built up beside the old cathedral, a cathedral of poetry, as firm as the foundations of the other, as lofty as its towers. If I looked on the church, it would be as a book of history, as the great register of the destinies of the monarchy. We know that its portal, formerly covered with the images of all the kings of France, is the work of Philip Augustus; the south-eastern portal owes its origin to St. Louis,§ the northern to Philip the Fair;|| the latter was constructed out of the spoils of the templars, no doubt in order to avert the malediction of Jacques Molay.¶ This melancholy portal has in its red door the monument of Jean sans Peur,\*\* the

---

partem crucis monasterii antedicti." Gilbert, *Descr. de l'Eglise de St. Ouen*, p. 18. This Marcargent was abbot from 1303 to 1339. But the transept, the tower above it, and part of the nave were not completed until the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Ibid*.

\* In several churches, among others in those of Chartres and Reims, there was a mosaic spiral, or labyrinth, or *dædalus*, placed in the centre of the transept. This was an object of pilgrimage, being the emblem of the interior of the Temple of Jerusalem. The labyrinth of Reims displayed the names of the four architects of the church. Pavillon Piérard, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Reims*. That of Chartres is surnamed *la lieue*. It would measure, if developed, 768 feet. Gilbert, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Chartres*, p. 44.

† Berneval finished the transept of St. Ouen about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and constructed the southern rose in 1439. His pupil made the northern one, and surpassed his master. Berneval killed him and was hanged. D. Pommeraye, *Hist. de l'abbaye de Saint Ouen, &c.*, p. 196.—Cardinal Cibo, nephew to Leo X., and Abbot of St. Ouen, had the principal façade erected at his own expense, in 1515. Gilbert, *Descr. de St. Ouen*, p. 23.

‡ Alexander III. laid the first stone of Notre Dame de Paris, in 1163. The principal façade was finished at the latest in 1223. The nave also belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

§ It was begun in 1257.

|| Begun in 1312, or 1313.

¶ It was on the square in front of Notre Dame that he was burned. On that square stood also the bishop's gallows; it was destroyed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and a pillory was set up in its stead, in 1767. Distances were reckoned along all the roads of France from this pillory. It was pulled down in 1790. Gilbert, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Paris*.

\*\* 1404—19.

murderer of the Duc d'Orleans. The great heavy church, all covered with *fleurs de lis*, belongs more to history than to religion. It has little buoyancy, little of that upward movement so striking in the churches of Strasburg and Cologne. The longitudinal bands that divide Notre Dame de Paris, check its spring; they are rather the lines of a book. There is a narrative here instead of prayer.

Notre Dame de Paris is the church of the monarchy; Notre Dame de Reims, that of the royal consecration. The latter is finished, contrary to the usual condition of cathedrals. Rich, transparent, spruce and fine in its colossal coquetry, it seems decked out for a *fête*; it is but so much the sadder to look on, the *fête* returns no more. Loaded all over with sculptures, covered more than any other church with the emblems of the priesthood, it symbolises the alliance between the king and the priest. On the outer stairs of the transept, devils disport themselves, gambol down the rapid slopes, and make faces at the town, whilst the people is pilloried at the foot of the Clocher à l'Ange.

St. Denis is a church of tombs, not a sombre and dreary pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant, all brilliant with faith and hope, broad and shadowless, like the soul of St. Louis, who built it; plain without, beautiful within; tall and slender, as if to weigh the lighter on the dead. The nave ascends to the choir by a flight of steps that seem to await the procession of the generations that are to ascend and descend with the remains of the kings.

At the epoch at which we are arrived, Gothic architecture had reached its plenitude, it was in the severe beauty of virginity, that brief adorable moment in which nothing can abide here below. That moment of pure beauty was succeeded by another which is also well known to us. You know that second youth when the weight of life has already been felt, when the knowledge of good and evil reveals itself in a sad smile, when a piercing glance escapes from beneath the long eyelashes, then is the time all the *fêtes* that can be had will hardly suffice to beguile the troubled heart; then is the time for gorgeous garments and ornaments. Such was the Gothic church in the second ages; it displayed a delicious coquetry in its dress: rich windows capped with imposing triangles,\* charming tabernacles attached to the gates and the towers, like catkins of diamonds, a fine and transparent lace-work of stone, spun by the fairies' spindle. Thus it went on increasing in bravery and gorgeousness in proportion as the evil within was augmenting. You strive in vain, suffering beauty; the bracelet hangs loosely round your emaciated arm; you know too much, thought devours you, you are languishing under a powerless love.

Art sank deeper and deeper every day into this state of emaciation. It grew envenomed against the stone it wrought, wreaked

\* These triangles are the favourite ornament of the fourteenth century. They were then added to many doors and windows of the thirteenth. See those of Notre Dame de Paris.

on it its anger at feeling its own life-springs drying up, and hollowed and ransacked, and attenuated and subtilised it. Architecture became the sister of scholastic philosophy, like which it divided and subdivided. Its scheme was Aristotelic, its method that of St. Thomas. It was like a series of stone syllogisms that did not reach that conclusion. People think there is coldness in all these refinements of Gothic art, in the subtleties of the schools, and in the scholastic lore of the troubadours and of Petrarch. This comes of not knowing what passion is, how ingenious, obstinate, intent, subtle, and keen in its pursuits. Thirsting for the infinite of which it has briefly beheld a fugitive gleam, it gives the senses an extraordinary vivacity, it becomes a magnifying glass that exaggerates and distinguishes the least details. It pursues that infinite in the imperceptible globule of air in which floats one ray of heaven, it seeks it in the thickness of a single glossy hair, in the last fibre of a beating heart. Dissect, dissect, keen scalpel! thou mayst pierce and cut, thou mayst split the hair and slice the atom, thou wilt not find thy God there.

In daily urging forward this ardent pursuit, what man met was man himself. The human and natural part of Christianity became more and more developed, and took possession of the church. The Gothic vegetation, tired of climbing in vain, stretched itself on the ground, and gave out its flowers. What flowers? Images of man painted and sculptured representations of Christianity, of the apostles and the saints. Painting and sculpture, the materialist arts which reproduce the finite, gradually suffocated architecture;\* the latter, the abstract, infinite, silent art, could not keep its ground against its livelier and more speaking sisters. The human counte-

---

\* Painting on glass begins in the eleventh century (the Romans since Nero's time used coloured glass, particularly blue). A beautiful red is most frequent in the old windows: it used to be said proverbially, *Wine the colour of the windows in the Sainte Chapelle*. The windows of this church are of the first period, those of St. Gervais of the second and third, and from the hand of Vinaigrier and Jean Cousin. In the second period, the figures becoming gigantic, are intersected by the square panes. To this period belong also the fine panes of the great windows of Cologne, which bear the date 1509, the apogee of the German school; they are treated in a monumental and symmetric manner. Angelico da Fiesole is the patron of the painters on glass; William of Cologne, and Jacques Allemand are also named. John of Bruges invented smalts, or glasses with double layers. The reformation reduced this art in Germany to a purely heraldic use. It flourished in Switzerland until 1700. France had acquired so much reputation in this way, that Guillaume de Marseilles was sent for to Rome, by Julius II., to decorate the windows of the Vatican. During the epoch of Italian influence, the desire for harmony and chiaroscuro caused the black and white style of painting to be used in the windows of Anet and Ecouen; this was an obtrusion of Protestantism into painting. In Flanders, the epoch of the great colourists (Rubens, &c.) brought on a distaste for painting on glass. See in the *Revue Française* an extract from M. Brongniart's report to the *Académie des Sciences* on painting on glass. See also the notice of the coloured windows of Rouen by M. Langlois; and the work to be published by M. de Caumont on painting in the middle ages.

nance diversified and peopled the holy nakedness of the walls. Under pretext of piety, man everywhere placed his own image; first, it gained admittance as Christ, apostle, or prophet; then, in its own name lying humbly on the tombs: who would have denied the asylum of the temple to these poor dead men? At first, they were content with a single slab in the pavement, on which the image was engraved; then, the slab rose up, the tomb swelled, the image became a statue. Then the tomb was a mausoleum, a catafalque of stones that filled the church: what do I say? it was itself a chapel, a church. God, squeezed into a corner of his own house, was fortunate in being able to keep a chapel for himself. Man was enthroned in a Christian church; what remained for the latter but to become pagan once more, and put on the form of the Hellenic temple?

Architecture rests on two ideas: one natural, that of order; one supernatural, that of infinity. In Greek art, the former prevails. The strong Greek column, elegantly grouped, carries with ease a light pediment; the weak leans on the strong; this is logical and human. Gothic art is supernatural, superhuman. It is born of a faith in the miraculous, the poetic, the absurd. This is not said in mockery; I borrow St. Augustine's phrase: *Credo quia absurdum*. The divine mansion, forasmuch as it is divine, has no need of strong columns; if it accepts a physical support, this is an act of mere condescension; enough for it is the breath of God. These supports it will reduce to nothing if possible. It will delight in placing enormous masses on slender *colonnettes*. The miracle is evident. In this consists the principle of life for Gothic architecture; it is the architecture of miracles. The idea of a miracle is that of an instantaneous act, of a fiat, of a sudden aid accorded to the infirmities of human nature; in that case it is sublime. A regular miracle, like the course of the sun, becomes common-place, and without effect. A motionless, petrified miracle, without pressing necessity, produces all the effect of an absurdity. Love delights in believing the absurd; this, again, is self-devotion, an immolation. But the moment love shall have become wanting, the strangeness and oddity of these forms will be obvious, and the sense of beauty will be shocked quite as much as logic.\*

If it is the very essence of art to be disinterested, to be to itself its proper object, then Gothic art is less art than was that of Greece. The latter aims at the beautiful, nothing more; it is a young art which finds its full satisfaction in form. Gothic craves the good and the holy; art is here as a means of religion, as a moral power. Art in the service of a religion of death, of a system of morals which prescribes the annihilation of the flesh, must encounter and cherish

\* Architecture fell from poetry into romance, from the marvellous into the absurd, when it adopted *culte de lampe* in the fifteenth century, when the pyramidal forms were turned with their points downwards. See those of St. Pierre de Caen which seem ready to fall and crush you.

ugliness. Voluntary ugliness is a sacrifice, natural ugliness is an occasion of humility. Penitence is ugly, vice still more so. The god of sin, the hideous dragon, the devil, is in the church, vanquished indeed and humbled, but at any rate he is there. The Greek style often makes the brute divine; the lions of Rome, the steeds of the Parthenon have remained gods. Gothic bestialises man, to make him blush for himself, before making him divine. Here is Christian ugliness. Where is Christian beauty? It is in that tragic image of mortification and woe, in that pathetic look, those arms opened to embrace the world. Terrific beauty, adorable ugliness, which our old painters feared not to present to the sanctified soul. Must it be that a time shall come when man looks in it for something else, when he prefers the graces of life to the sublimity of death, when he carps about the forms of a God who died for him?

In all Gothic art, sculpture, and architecture, there was, we must confess, something complex, old, and importunate. The enormous mass of the church is propped by innumerable counterforts, and laboriously upraised and sustained, like Christ on the cross. It is wearisome to see it surrounded by countless struts and stays that give it the appearance of an old house that threatens to topple down, or of an unfinished building.

Yes, the house was toppling, it could not be finished. This art, assailable in its form, failed also in its social principle. The form of society whence it sprang was too unequal and too unjust. The system of castes, however attenuated by Christianity, still subsisted. The Church, sprung from the people, was soon afraid of the people, shunned it, and made alliance with its old enemy feudalism, and then with royalty when this was victorious over feudalism. It took part in the melancholy victories of royalty over the communes, to the birth of which itself had lent its aid. The cathedral of Reims displays at the foot of one of its belfries the image of the bourgeois of the fifteenth century punished for having resisted the imposition of a tax.\* This image of the pilloried people is a brand upon the Church herself. The voice of the sufferers rose with the chants. Did

---

\* There are eight figures of gigantic size serving as caryatides. One of the bourgeois holds a purse, out of which he is in the act of taking money, another shows marks of branding; others pierced with wounds, present torn tax rolls. Some amateurs are of opinion that these figures allude to a revolt which occurred respecting the gabelle, in 1461, and which went by the name of *miquemaque*. Louis XI. had 200 of the rebels hanged. Others allege, that the inhabitants of Reims having rebelled against Gervais, their archbishop, were condemned to construct the belfry at their own expense. Four similar statues were placed on silver columns surrounding the great altar. Pavillon Piérard, *Descr. de Notre Dame de Reims*.—We look for new light to be thrown on the history and antiquities of this important town by M. Varin, one of the most distinguished professors of history in the university.—A corn merchant of Rouen having been hung for using false measures, his property was confiscated. A part was given to the poor and the rest was expended in building a portal to the great church of the town, whereon the life of the convicted merchant is represented from his childhood to his death. Taillepié, *Antiquities de Rouen*, p. 77.



God gladly accept such a homage? I know not: but it seems to me that churches built by *corvées* (forced labours) raised out of the tithes of a famishing people, all blazoned with the pride of bishops and lords, and filled with their insolent tombs must have become day by day less pleasing to Heaven. Beneath these stones there were too many tears.

The middle ages could not suffice for the human race; they could not maintain their haughty pretension to be the world's final and supreme phase, its *consummation*. The temple was to be made larger. The divine embrace, promised to the world by the outstretched arms of Christ, was to be realised. In this embrace was to operate that miracle of love, the identification of the loving and the beloved object. Mankind was to recognise Christ in itself; to perceive in itself the perpetuity of the Incarnation and the Passion. It remarked it in Job and Joseph, it traced it again in the martyrs. This mystic intuition of an eternal Christ, ceaselessly renewed in humankind, presents itself everywhere in the middle ages; confused, indeed, and obscure, but daily acquiring new distinctness. It appears spontaneous and popular; foreign, and often opposed to the influence of the clergy. The people, whilst obeying the priest, still makes a very clear distinction between the priest and the saint, between Christ and God. From age to age it cultivates, exalts, and refines this ideal in the reality of history. This Christ of meekness and long-suffering appears in Louis le Débonnaire, spat on by the bishops; in the good King Robert, excommunicated by the pope; in Godfrey de Bouillon, a warrior and a Ghibelline, but dying chaste in Jerusalem, as a plain *baron* of the Holy Sepulchre. The ideal takes still loftier proportions in St. Thomas of Canterbury, forsaken by the Church, and dying for her. It attains a new degree of purity in St. Louis, a priest-king and a man-king. By and by the generalised ideal will spread through the people; it will be realised in the fifteenth century, not only in the man of the popular class, but in woman, in the pure woman, the Virgin; let us call her by her popular name, *La Pucelle*. This type of Christ, in whom the people dies for the people, will be the last one of the middle ages.

This transfiguration of the human race, which recognised in itself the image of its God, which generalised what had been individual, which fixed in an eternal present what had been regarded as temporary and past, and placed a heaven on earth, was the redemption of the modern world; but it appeared the death of Christianity and of Christian art. Satan set up a shout of scornful laughter at the unfinished church, a laughter embodied in the grotesques of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He thought he had won the fight; fool that he is, he has never been able to perceive that his apparent triumph is always but a means. He saw not that God is not the less God for having made himself humanity, that the temple is not destroyed for having become co-extensive with the world. He saw not, that, however motionless, divine art is not dead, but that it

is only recovering breath; that, before re-ascending to God, humanity has been obliged once more to descend into itself, to undertake the task of self-examination and complete itself in the foundation of a juster, more equal, more divine system of society.

Meanwhile, the old world must pass away, the last trace of the middle ages must become fully effaced, we must behold the death of all we loved, of what suckled our infancy, of what was our father and our mother, of what sang to us so sweetly in our cradle. In vain the old Gothic church lifts ever more to heaven its suppliant towers; in vain its storied windows weep, its saints do penance in their stone niches. "Though the waters of the great deep overflow they will not reach the Lord." This condemned world will pass away with the Roman, the Greek, and the Oriental worlds. It will lay its bones by theirs. God will grant it at the most, as to Hezekiah, one round of the dial.

Alas! then, is it all over? Will there be no mercy? Must the tower halt in its soaring towards the sky? Must the spire fall back, the dome topple down on the sanctuary? Must this stone heaven sink down and press on those who adored it? Is all at end when the form is at an end? Is there nothing for religions after death? When the cherished remains snatched from our trembling hands descend into the grave, is there nothing left? Oh, I put my trust for Christianity and Christian art, in that very phrase which the Church addresses to her dead: "He who believes in me shall never die." Lord, Christianity has believed, loved, comprehended; God and man have met in it. It may change its garb, but perish—never. It will become transformed to live again. It will appear one morning before the eyes of those who think they are gazing on its tomb, and will rise again the third day.

# ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

---

THE documents which were to have followed this book are reserved for another place. They are derived, in a great measure, from the archives of the kingdom. One word only as to these archives, the functions which have made it the author's duty to search out the history of our antiquities to the bottom, the peaceful theatre of his labours, and the spot that has prompted them. His book is his life; it is the almost necessary result of the circumstances in which he has found himself placed. This consideration will perhaps entitle him to some indulgence on the part of the equitable reader.

Employed in the archives of the kingdom, and professor in the Ecole Normale, he has for many years concentrated his studies on the national history. The facts and ideas gathered in that rich depository of the official acts of the monarchy, were, thanks to this twofold position, taught to the young professors, who, in their turn, have been able to propagate them all over France.

The nucleus of the archives is the Trésor des Chartes, and the Collection of the Registers of the Parliament. The series of judiciary monuments to which these registers belong, fills the Sainte Chapelle and the attics of the Palais de Justice. The Trésor des Chartes, and by far the most considerable portion of the archives (the historical, domanial and topographic, legislative and administrative sections) occupy the triple Hôtel de Clisson, Guise et Soubise in the Marais; antiquity within antiquity, history within history. A tower of the fourteenth century guards the entrance of the royal colonnade of the Palace of the Soubise. We can account to ourselves, as we enter, for the haughty motto of the Rohans, their ancestors: "Roi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis."

The Trésor des Chartes contains in its registers the series of the government acts since the thirteenth century; in its charters, the diplomatic acts of the middle ages; among others, those that brought about the union of the several provinces, the titles of acquisition of the monarchy; or, in other words, what constituted, as used to be said, *the king's rights*. This was the old arsenal, from which our kings drew forth the artillery with which they battered the fortress of feudalism. Fixed in Paris, by Philip Augustus, this dépôt was confided sometimes to the garde des sceaux, sometimes to a simple king's clerk, a canon of the

Sainte Chapelle, and in the last place, to the procureur-général. Among these *Treasurers of the Charters*, a Budé, and two of the name of De Thou,\* are particularly deserving of mention. The destinies of this precious dépôt were none other than those of the monarchy. Each time that the royal authority acquired new vigour and activity, there was an anxiety about the Trésor des Chartes, that being indeed a real treasure, where were found titles to be put to profitable use, and where lands, castles, and, many a time, provinces, were to be fished up. The sons of Philip the Fair, a greedy generation, had the first inventory drawn up. Charles V., a good clerk and real *prud'homme*, when France was setting herself to rights after the English wars, visited the Trésor, and was distressed by the confusion into which it had been thrown (1371); it was like France itself. Under Louis XI., a new inventory was made; another under Charles VIII. Under Henry III. the disorder had reached its acme. Learned men helped to increase it: Briçonnet and Du Tillet, *who worked for the king*, carried off and dispersed the documents. Du Tillet was then writing his great work, *La France Ancienne*, various parts of which he printed. But this inventory of the rights of the monarchy was not made until Richelieu's time. No one possessed in so high a degree as he the art of enriching the archives, and turning them to good account: throughout all France, he razed castles and collected titles and muniments; he was a great and most able collector in this department. The terriers he employed in the diplomatic hunt, the Du Puy, Galands, Godefroys, and Marcas, carried on his work with indefatigable zeal, collecting, making catalogues, and interpreting. One of the chief results of their labour was the book of the *Droits du Roy*, by Pierre du Puy. It is a learned and curious work, amazing for its erudition and its intrepid servility. There you will see it proved that our kings are legitimate sovereigns of England; that they have always possessed Bretagne; that Lorraine, an original dependence of the *French* kingdom of Austrasia and Lotharingia, passed into the possession of the emperors only by usurpation, &c. Erudition of this sort was of precious value to the minister who was bent on completing the centralisation of France. Du Puy went about ransacking archives, finding unknown titles, and colouring acquisitions more or less legitimate; the conquering archivist marched in advance of armies. Thus, when it was intended to lay hand on Lorraine, Du Puy was sent to the archives of the Trois Evêches, and then the duke was summoned to produce his titles. Languedoc was, in like manner, challenged by Galand to prove in writing its right of frank pledge, of free property. In vain were alleged ancient rights, tradition, immemorial possession; our archivists would have written documents.

This storehouse of political suits, this depository of so many doubtful rights, our Trésor des Chartes, was surrounded with formidable mystery. It was necessary to have a *lettre de cachet* to the Treasurer of the Charters to be entitled to consult it, and this office of treasurer was at last combined with that of attorney-general to the parliament of Paris. M. d'Aguesseau prosecuted and obtained sentence of banishment to thirty leagues from

\* See Du Puy, Notice sur l'Histoire du Trésor des Chartes, MS. 4to. in the Bibliothèque du Roi; printed at the end of his book on Les Droits du Roy (1655). See also Bonamy in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

Paris upon a man who had contrived to procure copies of some documents deposited in the Trésor des Chartes, and trafficked in them.\*

Monarchical confiscation created the Trésor des Chartes; revolutionary confiscation made our archives such as we have them at this day. To the old Trésor des Chartes, thenceforth proscribed, were added its brethren the Trésors of St. Denis, St. Germain des Prés, and a host of other monasteries. The venerable and fragile papyri which still bear the names of Childebert and Clotaire, came forth from the ecclesiastical asylums to appear in this great review of the dead. In this violent and rapid concentration of so many monuments, many perished, many were destroyed: parchments had also their own revolutionary tribunal under the appellation of *Bureau du triage des titres*, a tribunal terrible and expeditious in its judgments; an immense number of muniments had a deadly designation applied to them: *titre féodal*; when that was said the matter was all over. Revolutionary confiscation not grounding its proceedings on texts and written titles, like monarchic confiscation, had no need of these parchments. Its one sole title was the social contract, as the Koran was his who burned the Alexandrian library.

If the Revolution did little service to knowledge in scrutinising and criticising the muniments, it served it greatly by the vast concentration it effected. It shook all this dust briskly: monasteries, châteaux, depositories of every kind, it emptied all, turned out every thing on the floor, and gathered all up together. The stores in the Louvre, for instance, were crammed full of papers, the very windows were blocked up, whilst the archivist hired out several rooms to the Académie. If one wanted to make researches he was obliged to have a candle in broad noon. The Revolution, once for all, let in daylight upon the dusty masses.

The Du Puys and Marcas, of the second period (I am speaking only of their science), were two deputies of the Convention, MM. Camus and Daunou. The former a Gallician, like his predecessor, Du Puy, served the Republic with the same passionate ardour as Du Puy served the monarchy. M. Daunou, the successor of M. Camus, was, properly speaking, the founder of the archives; and at that period the archives of France were becoming those of the world. This prodigious classification belongs to him. It was then a glorious time for the archives. Whilst M. Daru was opening for the first time the mysterious depositories of Venice, M. Daunou was receiving the spoils of the Vatican. At the same time from the north and the south the archives of Germany, Spain, and Belgium, were arriving in the Hôtel Soubise. Two of our colleagues had gone in quest of those of Holland.

At present the archives of France are no longer those of Europe. We still see on the doors of our halls the trace of inscriptions, reminding us of our losses; Bulles, Dateries, &c. Nevertheless, there still remain to us about a hundred and fifty cartons. Though the provinces refuse to let their archives be collected together, though even many ministerial offices continue to retain their own, want of space will at last induce them to get rid of them. We shall conquer, for we are death, we have its potent attraction; every revolution turns to our advantage. We have but to wait: "*Patiens, quia æternus.*"

---

\* See D'Aguesseau's original letters, at the head of a copy of the inventory of the Trésor des Chartes, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, fonds de Clairambault.

Soon or late the victors and the vanquished come to us. We have the whole monarchy from Alpha to Omega ; Childebert's charter by the side of Louis XVI.'s will; we have the Republic in our iron chest, keys of the Bastille—minute of the rights of man—deputies' urns, and the great republican machine, the implement for stamping assignats. There is nothing, even to the pontificate, but has left us something; the pope has taken back his archives from us; but in reprisal we have kept the poles of the litter on which he was carried to the emperor's coronation. Beside these bloody toys of Providence is placed the immutable standard of measure, which is examined every year. The temperature is invariable in the archives.

As for me, when I first entered these manuscript catacombs, this admirable necropolis of the national muniments, I would gladly have said, like the German entering the monastery of St. Vannes, "Here is the habitation I have chosen, and my rest for ever and ever!"

I was not long, however, before I perceived, that in the apparent silence of these galleries there was a movement, a murmur, which pertained not to death. These papers and parchments long left unregarded, desired nothing better than to return to the light of day. These papers are not papers, but lives of men, provinces, and peoples. First of all the families and the fiefs, blazoned in their dust, cried out against oblivion. The provinces rose up, alleging that centralisation had wrongfully thought to annihilate them. The ordonnances of our kings asserted that they had not been effaced by the multitude of modern laws. Had one hearkened to them all, as the grave-digger said on the field of battle, there was not one dead individual among them. They were all alive and talking, and surrounded the author with an army of a hundred languages, that rudely silenced the grand voice of the Republic and the Empire.

Softly, dead sirs, let us proceed in order, if you please. You all have a rightful claim on history. The private is very well as a private, the general as a general. The Fief is right, the Monarchy more so, and more again the Empire. You shall have your say, Godefroy; and you, Richelieu; and you, Bonaparte. The province shall revive; the old diversity of France shall be marked out by a strongly defined geography. It shall reappear, but on condition that as the diversity gradually wears away, the identification of the country shall succeed in its turn. Let the monarchy revive, let France revive! Let a great effort of classification serve for once as a clue through this chaos. Such a systemisation will be serviceable, however imperfect. To live again is something after all, even though the head sit awry on the shoulders, and the leg be not fitted quite as it should be to the thigh.

And in proportion as I breathed upon their dust I saw them rise. They drew from the sepulchre, one a hand, another its head; as in Michael Angelo's Day of Judgment, or in the Dance of Death. This galvanic dance of theirs around me, I have endeavoured to reproduce in this book. Some, perhaps, will consider this neither handsome nor true; they will be shocked especially at the harshness of the provincial contrasts I have pointed out. It is enough for me to observe to my critics, that it may very possibly be they do not recognise their own ancestors, that we French possess, above all other nations, that gift which one of the ancients longed for, the gift of forgetting. The songs of Roland and Renaud, &c., have certainly been

popular; the fabliaux succeeded them; and all this was so obsolete in the sixteenth century, that Joachim du Bellay lays it down, "There is nothing in our old literature but the Romance of the Rose:" these are his very words. In the time of Du Bellay, France was Rabelais; afterwards it was Voltaire. Rabelais now belongs to the domain of the erudite, Voltaire is less read than formerly. Thus does this people go on transforming and forgetting itself.

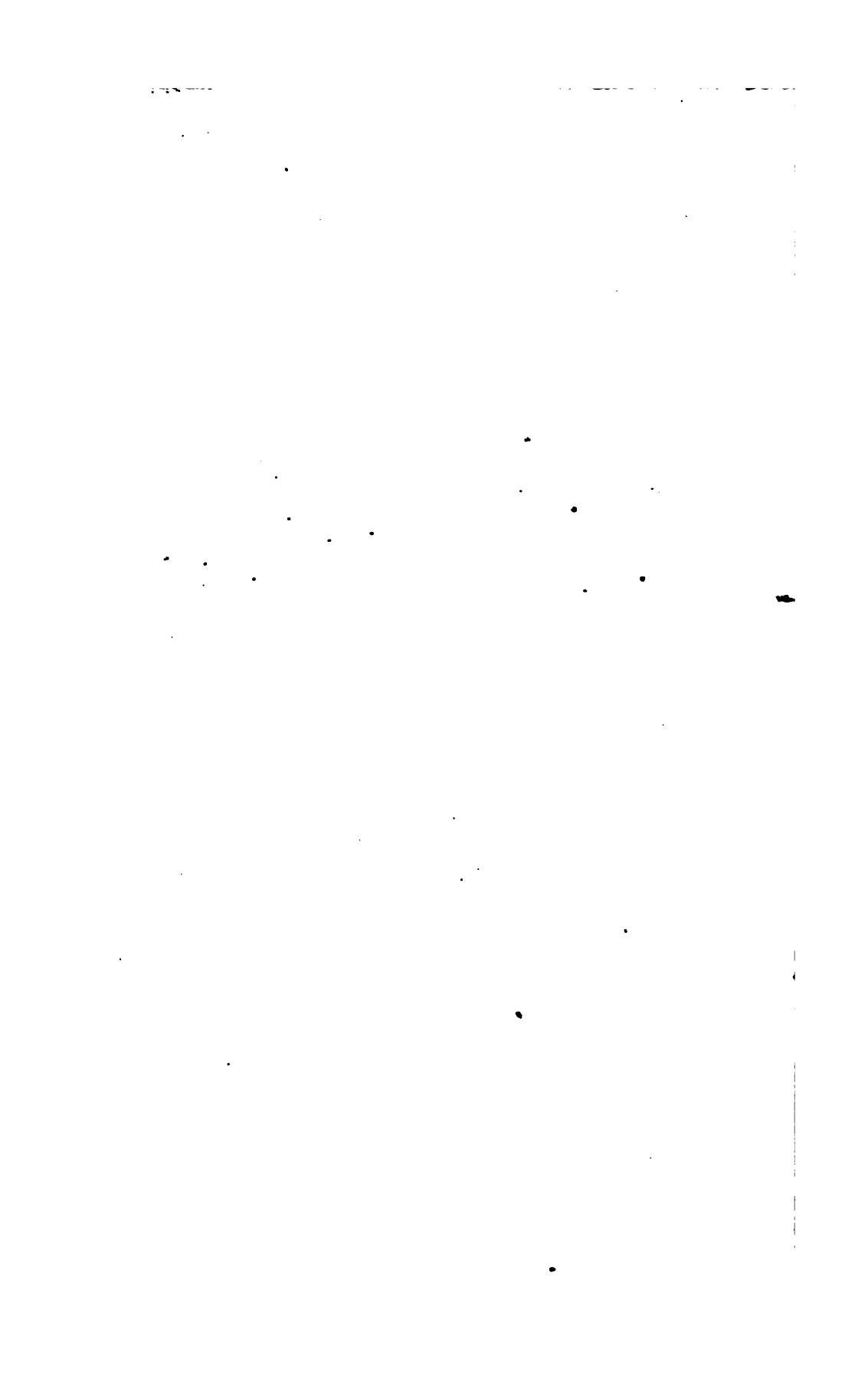
France, at this day one and identified, may very well deny that old heterogeneous France I have described. The Gascon will not recognise Gascony, nor the Provençal Provence. To this I reply, that there is no longer a Gascony or a Provence, but a France. I now present that France in the original diversity of its old provinces. The last books of this history will exhibit it in its unity.

END OF VOL. I.













1

.

.

.



